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Food Stamp Plan Raises an Issue

Harold S. Rand

The Old Age Threat in Colorado

Don C. Sowers

Five P. R. Elections

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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The League's Business

League Plans Regional Conferences

The first Southern Regional Conference of the National Municipal League will be held February 6, 7, and 8 in Atlanta, Georgia, in coöperation with the Institute of Citizenship. The general theme of the conference will be "The Improvement of Local Government in the South." Conference headquarters will be at the Piedmont Hotel.

Plans are being made for two other League regional conferences on government in the near future. A Southwestern Conference will be held at Dallas, Texas, probably late in March. A five-state conference on citizenship and government will be held at Minneapolis on February 19, 20, and 21.

Summary of Secretary's Report*

THE year 1939 can be regarded with satisfaction as one in which the National Municipal League registered substantial achievement. Perhaps more was actually accomplished this year by the League staff and committees than in any other recent year.

As a result of the funds made available by Mrs. Nellie S. Childs, it has been possible to expand both field and publication programs to an extent greater than ever before.

Additional Personnel

Dr. P. P. Womer. In the spring of 1939 the League was fortunate to be able to make arrangements with Dr. P. P. Womer, former president of Washburn College, Topeka, Kansas, to spend full time in the field, promoting the organization of local citizen groups. Dr. Womer has been chairman of the citizens' council section of the National Municipal League for several years and himself organized one of the most successful of these groups in his own city.

Dr. Roy V. Peel. Formerly head of the division of public administration at New York University and chairman of the City Fusion party in New York City which elected La Guardia mayor. Dr. Peel joined the staff of the National Municipal League, in September 1939, as research director for the purpose of working out with the University of Indiana a coöperative research program in the field of the relation of the citizen to his government. Dr. Peel is author of *Political Clubs of New York City,* one of the first realistic studies of political methods in a large city, and has written other books and many articles in professional and scientific journals. In 1933-35 he was sent to Sweden by the Rockefeller Foundation to study public administration in that country.

Elwood N. Thompson. The League has also been fortunate in adding to its staff another full time field representative. Mr. Thompson is a graduate of the University of Nebraska where he specialized in political science and law. He later studied at Columbia University where the School of Journalism awarded him a Pulitzer travelling scholarship to spend a year abroad. Mr. Thompson worked with Dr. Luther Gulick of the Institute of Public Administration in 1935, handling publication and promotional material in connection with the famous "Better Government Personnel" study. He also served on the staff of the New York State Commission for the Revision of the Tax Laws. For the last three years Mr. Thompson has been in Washington with the Asso-

(Continued on Page 75)

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*A complete copy of the secretary's report, containing details as to activities, may be obtained by any member who is interested by addressing a request to the League's office.

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

A Lingering Death for the Counties

WE'VE known it all along, but evidence continues to pile up to show that in some sections of the country our counties will have to mend their ways or die.

The decreasing usefulness of counties as now constituted is spotlighted again by two recently completed scientific studies of Tennessee counties. The report on one study, by Dr. Charles P. White, professor of finance, and Dr. Lee S. Greene, associate professor of political science, at the University of Tennessee, recommends elimination of eleven counties by attaching them to richer neighbors. They warn that counties will disappear entirely if they are not put on a sound financial basis.

The findings of the other study, by M. H. Satterfield, of the Tennessee Valley Authority, which appear in this issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, reveal little hope of consolidation as the result of permissive legislation. On the contrary, it is predicted that more compelling methods must be used.

The author might well be pessimistic. Experts have worried about counties for years. They have shown that counties are becoming empty shells. It has been demonstrated convincingly that we would get along much better with less than half the more than three thousand counties now existing. More and more, states are having to foot the bill and virtually take over so-called county services.

This and other evidence brings virtually no constructive action. Political leadership ignores or runs directly counter to it. Habits of thought seem to blind county seat towns to the fact that the mere presence of the courthouse no longer makes a community the trading and cultural center of the area.

Those who with their petty organization and personal selfish interests manage to control political action apparently are determined that the counties shall die slow, lingering, and expensive deaths—that there shall be no new lease on life through reorganization and rejuvenation.

Newark Discovers Democracy

FOR years people in Newark (New Jersey) have worried about the apparently low grade of political morality there. Many recognized that the true issue lay between the leaderless citizens and the professional politicians—the fellows who thrived on the idea that the city was their private oyster. But these thoughtful people threw up their hands in despair. Newark, they said, was different. All the "natural leadership" had moved out of town to the suburbs; therefore, no good government movement could get anywhere.

So Newark moved along from scandal to scandal, to indictment after indictment of trusted officials, to constantly more burdensome debt and taxes which fell alike on rich and poor—until the "ordinary people" who didn't have money enough to move into the suburbs got good and tired of it.

No one paid any attention to the little meetings which began to be held in private homes about two years ago. It was novel but still not worth much notice when, a little later, the meetings grew big enough to need—and get the use of—church clubrooms all over town. It was considered a bit curious, too, that these little bands of earnest people began not only to discuss but to study. They held classes in public speaking and classes to examine methods by which all these various services, commonly known as city government, were run.

Suddenly the city became aware that all this quiet activity had resulted in the forming of a new organization, the Newark Citizens' Union. It was an organization which reached into every precinct—and knew where it was going. Its thousands of members paid only twenty-five cents a year dues, but it didn't need money because this was a job in which everyone did his bit—rang doorbells to awaken his neighbors to the new order, spoke before small meetings, spent long hours checking names of voters, circulating petitions, and doing the other tasks which used to be considered the private prerogative of the professional politician who made his living at them.

Last September consternation spread through political circles when it was disclosed that more than 25,000 voters had signed petitions for an election to discard the discredited commission form of government in favor of the modern council-manager plan. Actually only 15,000 signatures were required to force an election.

The series of strange events which followed furnished the people of Newark a perfect picture of the professional politician struggling to keep a strangle hold on his oyster, grown suddenly slippery in his grasp. The city clerk refused to give a receipt for the petitions, so the citizen leaders, having reason to know the ways of the politician, held on to the precious sheets and threatened court action. Finally a receipt was given.

With the petitions in their hands, the city hall crowd adopted singularly original methods of "checking" them for validity. Letters were sent to the 25,000 signers demanding to know whether they had actually signed. The clerk, suddenly solicitous over the welfare of taxpayers, brazenly and gratuitously added: "A special election will cost the taxpayers approximately $53,000."[1] Uniformed policemen and other city employees were sent to the homes of signers to question them. If this wasn't a deliberate attempt at intimidation, what was it? Weeks went by and no election was called. Determined they would not have their months of hard work nullified, members of the Citizens' Union went to court and demanded action. Through week after week the politicians squirmed and sought loop-holes until even their resourceful inventiveness could think of no more. The middle of this month the result of these many weeks of hearings will go before the highest court of the state for final action.

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[1] Later estimates are considerably below this figure.

So the good people of Newark, with the unintentional aid of the political gentry, have been discovering democracy in a big way. They are learning, for one thing, that professional politicians aren't really smart at all—they just work at the "job" regularly and along old-fashioned lines. And the people are learning, for another thing, that the professional politicians represent a pitifully small minority and appear to be strong only because they have well disciplined organizations which never get tired and disgusted with delays—as they hope the "ordinary people" will.

Citizen Action

A NEW department, "Citizen Action," makes its initial appearance in this issue of the Review. It is intended to cover some of the more significant activities of citizens' organizations not now covered completely in other departments such as those following council-manager, proportional representation, and local research bureau developments. "Citizen Action," edited by Elwood N. Thompson of the National Municipal League staff, will be a monthly feature.

New Editor for County News

THE Review is pleased to announce that Mr. Elwyn Mauck has become editor of its notes on county and township government. Mr. Mauck succeeds Dr. Paul W. Wager, of the University of North Carolina, who has served as editor of the department since its inception in May 1934, but who has found it necessary to resign because of the pressure of other duties. Mr. Mauck, formerly a staff member of the New York State Commission for the Revision of the Tax Laws, is on the faculty of the Department of Political Science at the University of North Carolina. He is author of *Financial Control in the Suburban Areas of New York State* and numerous articles on local government.

Toledo, Taxes, and Relief

Severe restrictions on power of Ohio cities to adequately finance themselves basis of recurring crises in relief and education.

By **DONOVAN F. EMCH**
University of Toledo

TOLEDO is once again in the nation's spotlight. In 1931 it served as the bellwether for nation-wide bank failures, it presaged nation-wide labor strife in the "Battle of Chestnut Hill," and later defaulted on its public debt.

Then in 1934 began an era of good will when the Toledo Industrial Peace Board was hailed as an outstanding experiment in local industrial relations, when city manager government was adopted, and business revival joined with a revival of community faith and activity.

Now the light is focused upon Toledo's relief shutdown and the closing of the public schools. But Toledo shares the spotlight with other Ohio cities this time. Cleveland, Akron, Dayton, and even Painesville, are among the communities which had financial difficulty in 1939, and Cincinnati fears for 1940.

That the major Ohio cities are in difficulty indicates not only that there never has been an adequate system of financing relief but that there is a serious maladjustment in the whole structure of financing local government in Ohio.

The problem of financing local government in Ohio existed prior to the unceremonious dumping of relief upon the cities in April 1937. Limitations upon the power of the communities to finance themselves are found in the constitutional reduction of the tax limitation on property from 15 to 10 mills; the requirement of 65 per cent majorities for voted levies; the limitation of unvoted bonded indebtedness to one per cent of assessed valuation; the limitation of bonding power to 90 per cent of bond retirement; state department approval upon refunding of bonds; and the limitations for a time imposed by the Portsmouth case, which required borrowings for special assessments and public utilities to be considered in the determination of the subdivision's ability to incur indebtedness. These problems were superimposed upon the falling away of the tax duplicate by more than one-third, as in the case of Toledo, and failure to pay taxes.

While there has been an increase in state-collected locally-shared taxes, the tax rate in Toledo shows a loss of 30 per cent in the total tax rate from 1930 to 1939 and a loss of 67 per cent in the operating rate. The collections from property taxes have fallen off 41 per cent in the period from 1930 to 1938.

There have been some relaxations of restrictions during the course of the past several years. The Portsmouth case has been overruled in some respects, the voting requirements for levies have been reduced for temporary periods, the state has by special acts for limited periods permitted the funding of deficiencies

TOLEDO TAX VALUATIONS, RATES AND COLLECTIONS

Collection Year[1]	Valuation (000,000)	Operating Levy	Debt Levy	Total Levy	Collection (000)
1930	$603	6.242	5.188	11.43	$6,596
1931	579	6.031	5.649	11.73	6,045
1932	476	5.45	6.27	11.72	4,463
1933	415	4.31	6.19	10.5	3,112
1934	400	4.143	7.223	11.366	4,287
1935	395	1.862	7.8146	9.6766	4,155
1936	394	4.071	5.143	9.214	4,060
1937	398	4.0518	4.5989	8.6507	3,854
1938	436	3.8927	4.23193	8.12463	3,859
1939	433	2.114	5.9506	8.0646	

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[1] Duplicate year is previous year in each case.

Source: *Toledo City Journal,* 1939, p. 38.
Financial Report of the City of Toledo, 1938, p. 24.

particularly with respect to relief, and the state officials have at times been persuaded to permit refunding of bonds in cases of dire distress.

The city of Toledo has for a number of years been forced to operate at a level of expenditure above its income. The Citizen's Survey Committee in 1935 came to the conclusion that: "As to more economical government—practically every report made to the survey committee by groups of well qualified Toledo citizens indicates the need for more money for city services rather than less—the need of more police and fire protection, better health service, better maintenance of bridges at general expense rather than by special assessment, etc." The budgets of the chief executives of the city—both mayor and city manager—have persistently decried the lack of funds. For the past decade financing has been a matter of defaulting the public debt, illegal expenditures of bond funds, improper creation of floating debt for relief purposes, borrowing illegally from public utility funds through the issuance of city scrip redeemable from such funds, and the mortgaging of the future by funding operating deficiencies and then refunding.

The general operating resources in Toledo from 1928 to 1938 give a general picture of operating problems:

1928[a]	$4,018,899
1929[a]	4,068,015
1930[a]	4,073,231
1931[a]	3,539,846
1932[b]	1,657,366
1933[c]	1,648,965
1934	2,119,335
1935[d]	2,275,773
1936	2,947,563
1937[e]	3,250,475
1938	3,192,599
1939[f]	3,313,775

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[a] During this period the principal sources of revenue were general operating taxes including real estate and public utility taxes, inheritance tax, cigarette licenses, city licenses, etc.

[b] General and classified personal added.

[c] Beer and liquor permits added.

[d] Sales tax added.

[e] Sales tax reduced in yield.

[f] Budget estimate.

The operating expenses of the city for the same years were:

1928	$4,016,671
1929	4,146,102
1930	4,274,320
1931	4,570,586
1932	3,302,505
1933	3,460,390
1934	2,963,975
1935	2,995,706
1936	2,913,037
1937[a]	3,158,832
1938[a]	3,470,590
1939[a][b]	3,307,080

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[a] Not including poor relief.
[b] Budget estimate.

From these tables it may be seen that even aside from the problem of relief the city of Toledo was operating under difficulties. The proposition that the city might help itself through the levy of additional real taxes is disproved by the record in Toledo. Of twenty-six issues involving taxes or additional resources submitted to the voters of the city from 1931 to 1940 the following were the only issues receiving favorable votes:

1931—City—1½ mill poor relief levy
1933—State—10-mill tax limitation
Old-age pensions
1935—School—2-mill operating levy continued for five years
1936—State—Abolishment of sales tax on food
1937—City—$9,200,000 lake water supply project, to be financed from earnings and PWA aid in building

This general picture of finance in Toledo is somewhat typical of finance in the eight major industrial cities of the state of Ohio, which together make up about 40 per cent of the state's population.

This picture will also serve as background for the relief problem in Toledo. A fact worthy of note in connection with the city's relief picture is that in neither the 1938 nor the 1939 budget was there any estimate of available resources for relief purposes. Of course, there was none in 1937 since relief was handed over to the cities in April of that year. In Toledo this is particularly noteworthy because City Manager John N. Edy, who was responsible for the preparation of the budget, is known for his budgeting ability, and City Law Director Martin S. Dodd is a recognized authority on local government finance in Ohio.

Beyond the general financial picture underlying Toledo's relief problem is the additional factor that Toledo industry is primarily dependent upon the automotive industry as a whole and seriously affected by its fluctuations. For instance, *Toledo Business* estimates that the Chrysler strike in Detroit resulted in the enforced idleness of 2,300 Toledo workers for a period of eight weeks with a wage loss of more than $600,000.

RELIEF EXPERIENCE

The Toledo relief problem first became acute in 1931 at which time the relief payments increased from a previous high of $406,000 to more than $1,000,000. The payments for relief in the two subsequent years increased to $1,500,000 and $1,700,000. In these two years the Reconstruction Finance Corporation assisted Toledo to the extent of $2,114,000 for relief purposes.

During the latter part of 1933 the State Relief Administration assumed control of relief in Toledo and was thereafter succeeded by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. In 1934 Toledo expenditures dropped to $137,000, which was contributed to FERA. Late in 1935 the FERA was followed by the Lucas County Relief Administration which operated until April 23, 1937. During the years 1935 and 1936 city relief expenditures dropped back to the 1928-1929 level with payments of $64,000 and $48,000.

With the expiration of "stop-gap" legislation on April 23, 1937, the burden of furnishing poor relief fell back to the cities under OGC 3476, a not too modern "Elizabethan poor law." At this time the direct relief case load was 4,570, according to the 1938 budget of the Toledo city manager. Business and industrial conditions were on the upgrade, and the relief load was comparatively low. As a matter of fact, the all-time low for the past three years was reached in July 1937, when a case load of 2,967 was reported. This month also showed an all-time low for WPA employment of 5,574 persons.

Then came the slump. Relief and WPA employment mounted slowly, then relief spurted to an all-time peak for the last three years in March 1938, with a case load of 14,437. WPA employment was increased to 15,416. The 1937 relief costs totalled $643,000 for the city, of which amount $593,000 was provided by the issuance of bonds against delinquent taxes.

The city manager in 1938 stated in his message that the budget had been delayed "for several weeks in the hope that it would reflect the action of the state legislature. It is apparent, of course, that the city cannot carry the relief burden alone. The revenues estimated for this budget exhaust all present resources and are allocated to necessary operating activities. I do not see how any part of our expected income for 1938 could be used to match state relief appropriations, so that if matching is required some new source of revenue will have to be provided." Though the direct relief load fell off throughout the balance of the year, while WPA employment took up the slack, the relief expenditures reached $2,220,000. Of this amount $52,000 was available from current city revenues for relief.

LARGE DEFICIT

After taking full advantage of state revenues for financing relief in 1938, as well as city borrowing against future state resources as permitted under special acts of the state legislature, there still remained a deficit of $999,000. This was liquidated by the issuance of deficiency bonds under a special act of the state legislature. Further, because of the already burdensome city debt and the limitations upon municipal indebtedness, it was necessary to postpone the maturities of the bond issue until the years 1945 to 1949.

In 1939 City Manager Edy estimated the relief expenditures at $1,947,000, and the average monthly case load at 6,000. There was no estimate of available resources for relief purposes because the legislature had not yet convened and its policy in regard to financing relief could not be predetermined. The city, however, repeatedly informed state officials and the Lucas County delegation to the state legislature of the city's relief problem and financial plight. And the policy of the reduction of the WPA rolls kept forcing up the direct relief load of the city.

After the legislative session it was recognized that the provision for state assistance in relief financing was inadequate, especially in so far as the major Ohio cities were concerned. The legislature provided an appropriation of $10,000,000 for relief for 1939 and for 1940, of which Toledo's share approximated $835,000. In order to secure these funds from the state, the city was required to match dollar for dollar subsequent to June 30, 1939. The state's philosophy of sharing half the cost fell short of its intent in that it represented but about 40 per cent of the estimated total relief costs in Ohio. As a matter of fact, the "matching" by the state was but 32 per cent of the cost until November 1939, when the state contributed its half for the first time. An annoying fact in this matching picture is that in the past some of the allocations for relief purposes have gone to counties where there was relatively little need for the money: these counties incurred balances and trouble brewed when attempts were made to use the grants for other purposes in the county.

In addition to the appropriations for matching, the state legislature passed several bills concerned with enabling local governments to raise funds to match the state's appropriations. Toledo was able to take advantage of the several laws by the realization of $45,000 from a transfer of water revenues and $38,700 by additional borrowing against future beer, malt, wort, admissions, and utility excise taxes. A further Senate bill authorized a vote upon a relief levy at a primary or special election during 1939, limited to 1½ mills, to continue for a period of two years.

CITIZEN GROUP INVESTIGATES

Early in 1939 a citizen's committee had been appointed in Toledo to investigate ways of financing the city's portion of the relief costs. The committee met more than six weeks in the spring of the year and reported two suggestions to the council on March 13: (1) excise taxes, and (2) increased real estate millage tax. The committee reported that it did "not recommend a real estate levy." After an exploration of the proposed excise taxes it was determined that none which would produce any substantial returns could be enacted by the city without state permission. In conference with the Governor and other state officers the committee was informed that Toledo's only means of providing additional revenues was through local property taxation—as Cleveland did.

As a result of the study and conferences, the city council determined to place a 1½ mill levy upon the ballot at a special election in September. On the basis of collections of 100 per cent the levy would have yielded about $650,000 in 1939 and 1940. At the time the levy went to vote the direct relief costs for the year had reached $1,347,000, exclusive of statutory relief expenses of approximately $93,000. Unpaid bills totalled more than $700,000. But, despite a somewhat half-hearted campaign by a citizen's committee, the Toledo voters ran true to form, defeating the levy by a vote of 29,689 to 11,611.

Following the failure of the relief levy, the merchants and wholesalers who had been carrying a considerable portion of the relief load in unpaid bills announced that the "ceiling" had been reached and refused to extend further credit.

Direct relief was shut off September 15. At that time the load was 8,562 cases, comprising more than 16,000 individuals. The private relief and charitable agencies stepped into the breach and rendered assistance. A citizen's emergency fund committee was established, which administered seventeen feeding stations for needy children and collected more than $11,000 in voluntary contributions received by the *Toledo Blade.*

MANAGER EDY RESIGNS

During this crisis City Manager Edy tendered his resignation to the Toledo city council on September 18, effective October 1, in order to accept a position as administrative assistant to Public Works Administrator John Carmody. George N. Schoonmaker, chief waterworks engineer and former service director and city employee for twenty-five years, was appointed city manager.

After discussing the situation with council the new city manager was able to secure the appropriation of $140,000 to restore relief on a restricted basis. The appropriation amounted to about $50,000 per month for the balance of 1939. On October 10 food orders were again issued but only to unemployables having no income and to special diet cases, and milk was distributed to families with children under ten years of age. Though a ceiling of 3,000 cases was agreed upon, the load was found to be but 1,000 unemployables and 800 employables under the severe restrictions.

The press association writers have commented upon the lack of relief disturbances in Ohio cities. It seems apparent that the reliefers have become well informed in Ohio communities of the problems of city officials where the point of "perpetual crisis" has become a normal thing, and have accepted the fact that local officials are doing all within their power to help them.

After the re-establishment of partial relief in Toledo, its officials joined forces with other Ohio communities in seeking some solution to the relief financing problem. The Governor has been beseeched to call the legislature in special session, since it is not scheduled to meet again until 1941. Even if the 1939 crises are ameliorated, the 1940 problem remains to be solved. The Governor has taken the attitude that the local communities must exhaust all local resources before he will call a special session. If there are such resources, the Governor's point is well taken for the immediate time. Cleveland was able to issue bonds against delinquent taxes to the extent of $1,050,000, in addition to its passage of a relief levy. Toledo was not able to accomplish either of these.

During conferences with the Governor and state welfare director several suggestions were made which the city has pursued unsuccessfully. One was that the county has some funds available which could be turned over to the city to avert trouble in 1939. Upon contacting the county officials the city officials found them adamant, and facing deficit themselves. In order to settle the issue beyond doubt, the city has filed action in the courts to attempt to force the county to pay over the funds mentioned.

CITY SUED FOR RELIEF BILLS

At this time the city's creditors determined to file suit against the city to collect $560,000 in unpaid bills for 1939. This is but half the total. The attorney for the creditors has stated that if the courts hold in favor of the creditors, establishing a valid legal claim against the city for relief obligations incurred contrary to legal requirements, the creditors will be willing to extend further credit to the city. If the city loses the suit judgment will have to be met from bonds.

In December Toledo was able to secure some additional operating funds through the refunding of $273,000 worth of bonds issued in prior years. Fortunately, the bonds will bear a lower interest rate than when originally issued. A windfall of $90,000 has been mentioned by the state welfare director in the allocation of a surplus of an excise tax collected by the state to pay off relief bonds.

With the availability of more funds the city prepared to resume relief on a full scale in the latter part of December. A committee consisting of representatives of the Council of Social Agencies and city officials proceeded with the task of reclassifying the persons on the relief rolls on the basis of need.

A highly encouraging sign has developed out of the conference on reclassification. It appears that the relief rolls will be reduced about one-third from the September load. The trend in reduction, discernible at the time relief was shut off completely in September, was credited to increased employment in private industry and a scheduled increase in WPA employment. The city has secured the approval of two major WPA projects and the state highway director has announced that 2,000 men will be employed in Lucas County by February on highway projects.

An attempt is being made by the welfare director in Toledo to force the county authorities to assume a

SUMMARY DIRECT RELIEF STATEMENT, APRIL 23, 1937
TO JULY 31, 1939

Total Cost of Relief, 1937	$ 643,350.71	
1938	2,184,556.03	
1939 to Aug. 1	1,145,870.11	$3,973,776.85
Classified Personal Tax Receipts	119,871,05	
Water Funds	90,000.00	
Miscellaneous Receipts	1,871.45	
State Grants	740,787.32	
Bonds and Notes	2,315,237.95	$3,267,767.77
DEFICIT as of July 31, 1939		$ 706,009.08

Source: *Toledo City Journal,* 1939, p.410.

portion of the Toledo relief burden. The problem is one of definition of county responsibility. In an address before the Ohio Welfare Conference, Wendell F. Johnson stated that the division of responsibility between county government on the one hand and cities and townships on the other is "one of the most foggy and confusing features of the Ohio poor law. Ever since 1853 the law has undertaken to make a distinction between the responsibility for those in need of temporary or partial relief and those in need of total and permanent relief. The former were to be provided for by the immediate subdivision in which they have legal settlement, namely, the township or city; the latter were chargeable to the county in which they have legal settlement." Each county within the state has drawn the dividing line differently. The Toledo welfare director estimates that 800 cases could be dropped from the city relief rolls if the Lucas County officials would assume responsibility. The state welfare director has threatened to send a representative from his office into the counties wherein difficulty arises to pass on the responsibility for cases.

PERMANENT SOLUTION NEEDED

The prospect for relief financing in 1940 is but slightly better than the retrospective picture. State aid in placing men on highway projects, improvement of business conditions with resultant drops in the relief rolls, the possibility of the transfer of some of the relief load to the county, and new city resources for financing WPA make the picture brighter at the turn of the year.

The local finance problem is not yet solved, however. The year 1940 still poses the problem of money to finance additional WPA projects, of finding money to match state allocations, of what is to be done with the 1939 deficit, of meeting the bond retirement needs, and incidentally of operating the city services—police, fire, and the like. The proposition that sufficient economies can be effected in a $3,000,000 operating budget to meet a $2,000,000 relief load or even a $1,000,000 relief load is absurd.

Proposals that a 5-mill levy might be placed on the ballot or that the people of Toledo will vote the debt requirement outside the 10-mill limitation will probably bear no fruit in the face of the strong current against tax levies in Toledo.

The most recent tangible proposal has been made to the Senate Taxation Committee by Law Director Dodd. He suggests a utility consumer tax of 5 per cent with a limit of one dollar per month. It is estimated that such a tax would raise $900,000 a year in Toledo.

The necessity is that of additional appropriations from the state or the freeing of a field for new local taxation other than the real property tax. Funding and refunding, in the hope of paying the piper in prosperity, has gone on for a decade. Each state legislature hopes that it can pass the decision off on a subsequent one. The facts must be faced, and soon.

The Food Stamp Plan Raises an Issue

Planned originally as an aid to the farmer, new method of distributing surplus foods proves boon to reliefer and retail food merchant, but added burden to taxpayer.

By **HAROLD S. RAND**
Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research

THE federal government seldom reaches down into the people to bring its economic bounty directly to them. But the food stamp plan is one example of a social-economic program which relates federal aid to the recipient through the medium of the municipality. In this case, however, the municipality is at liberty to weigh the pros and cons of such a plan and make its own decision as to its worth. Just what may be involved in reaching such a decision can be gleaned by the experience of Rochester, New York, the city where the food stamp plan was first tested.

The food stamp plan is a very ingenious device which enables the federal government to distribute surplus food crops through the regular channels of distribution and trade without incurring for itself the former costs of purchase, packing, distribution, and disbursement.

It is interesting to note that a graduate of the University of Rochester, Dr. Louis H. Bean, now economic advisor to Secretary Wallace, was the originator of the food stamp plan. For a number of years the government has been faced with the task of answering the demands of American producers who ask the same protection for food crops that industry has been able to obtain by means of the tariff for its products. It was finally decided to set aside the tariff revenues from duties on food imports and distribute them to producers of surplus crops by means of the food stamp plan. In other words, this scheme was designed to aid the farmer and not the reliefer or the grocer or the banker or anyone else. How far the plan has deviated from its original intent can be seen as its development is traced.

The operation and administration of the food stamp plan is relatively simple. All persons of every public relief category within the geographical boundary of the community are eligible to participate. Each family or individual must ask for an identification card from the relief agency. This card is then taken to the office operated by the federal government. There a master card is made out on which each purchase of stamps and the amount of the purchase is recorded. The purchaser's signature is kept on the master card and the signature on that card and the identification card compared at each purchase of stamps to prevent "chiseling."

Two kinds of stamps are given out. Orange stamps, which are negotiable and can be used for the purchase of any food product, and blue or surplus stamps, which are good only for the purchase of a specific list of commodities. The orange stamps are sold in books of two-dollar denominations ($2, $4, $6, $8, and $10). For each two dollars' worth of orange stamps the books contain one dollar's worth of blue stamps. Purchases are limited to the size of the family. Each member of the family is allowed one dollar to one and one-half dollars' worth of orange stamps a week.

BLUE STAMPS FREE

Instead of buying up surplus foods from the producer and distributing them itself, the government has given the blue surplus food stamps to the relief client gratis, and the surplus foods are moved from the wholesale warehouse through the shelves of the retail grocer. Lists of foods which may be purchased with the blue stamps are issued periodically by the Department of Agriculture, and the grocer accepts the blue stamps as legal tender for the listed food items. The grocer is expected to charge the prevailing market price just as in a regular transaction. There is no limitation on the amount of surplus food the blue stamps can purchase. The only restriction is the amount of stamps issued to a person which, in turn, is limited by the size of the client's family. All retail groceries accept food stamps.

Rochester is on a cash basis for direct relief. Checks are issued twice a month. Twice a month, then, the surplus food office in Rochester's aged federal building is besieged by impatient purchasers standing in queues which wind out the doors of the building itself and down the block. The first day of every "pay day" finds some four thousand persons in line; the next day, two to three thousand; the third day the crowd has dwindled to a mere thousand. By the end of the third day the rush is over.

The result of such rush periods of business in the stamp office is a staggered personnel. The city maintains about eight men at the stamp office, the federal government some forty odd. During the rush periods forty more checkers are added to the federal payroll. The federal employees not only check the eligibility of purchasers of the food stamps, but also handle all the detail of checking stamp cards turned in by banks, wholesalers, and grocers.

The food stamps are in twenty-five cent denominations. Odd cent purchases with blue stamps are a grocer-customer matter. In some cases the grocer gives the purchaser credit coupons; in other instances non-surplus items of small monetary value are taken to make up the difference. The grocer obtains stamp cards, on which twenty stamps, five dollars' worth, can be attached. The full cards are then turned over to wholesalers who take them as payment on account or to banks which accept them as deposits. Since 1,375 food stores in Rochester are participating in this plan, there is a large amount of work in the handling of these cards.

In theory the grocers should turn over nearly all food stamp cards to the wholesalers. In fact they, as well as the wholesalers, have turned cards over to the banks. The burden on the banks has been almost doubled by this practice. For the convenience of cashing the food stamp cards the federal government has stationed in Rochester a representative of the disbursing office of the treasury department. This is the only city to have such an office. Other cities must send their food cards to the nearest federal reserve city where disbursing officers are stationed.

BANKERS' AGREEMENT

The controversy between bankers and grocers in Rochester arose because prior to November 15, 1939, 87.5 per cent of the food stamp cards which the grocers turned in for reimbursement were being cashed by the banks. After discusssing the matter of the proposed one per cent tax, the grocers agreed to use the method originally suggested, namely, turning the food stamp cards over to the wholesalers in payment of accounts. In the next two weeks, November 15 to November 30, only 35.2 per cent of the food stamp cards were cleared through the banks, and by the year's close less than 25 per cent of the clearance was being handled by the banks.

In Rochester there are 13,090 welfare cases eligible for participation in the stamp plan. For the month of October 9,463 cases or 73.2 per cent of those eligible participated. There were 1,702 single or non-family cases, 13 per cent of the total, which did not participate.

The stamp plan was placed in operation on May 16. During the first period of operation $39,064 worth of orange stamps were sold; for the October period $95,696 worth of orange stamps were sold. Periodic or semi-monthly volume has leveled out at approximately the latter figure. From May 16, 1939, to December 1, 1939, a total of $1,032,896 worth of orange stamps were sold at the Rochester office. The total value of purchasing power, since blue stamps equal to half the amount of orange stamps were disbursed, amounted to $1,549,344.

The real question posed by the food stamp plan is one of plain economics as against social philosophy. We know that the plan was set in operation to aid the producers of surplus crops. No one, however, has given very serious attention to whether or not such surplus commodities are being moved in any greater quantities than before the stamp plan went into effect. The federal government is contributing a great deal to help set the plan in operation and give it a fair trial. Sooner or later most of that aid will be withdrawn. The community then will have to decide whether it should continue the plan with additional administrative costs.

What are the facts? What additional costs must be incurred? The old commissary plan, in Rochester for instance, took a small crew of men to operate. Conceivably the stamp plan can be operated with a 50 to 100 per cent increase in personnel as compared to the commissary. The commissary plan was a miserable failure. The stamp plan has worked. The merchant benefits from the stamp plan. He didn't under the commissary idea.

COMMUNITY BENEFITS

The food stamp plan means turnover of money. The cash relief check in the hand of the welfare client increases its food purchasing value. The increased food purchasing value goes to the grocer and then goes to the wholesaler. The triple turnover of the blue stamp money value alone means just so much more money in circulation within the community. Already the position of the small grocer has improved in many instances. Under this plan he can meet his bills more promptly.

There is the other side of the picture, of course. The stamp plan automatically increases all relief budgets from one-quarter to one-third. Careful family budgeting can make the surplus foods—lard, butter, seasonal fruits, eggs, beans, and flour—care for a large part of the food items. The regular budget can then be stretched to include items not allowed in the regular relief budget. The retail trade benefits, but the municipality and its taxpayers benefit not at all. Welfare costs are the most important item before the city administration at all times. It, too, would like to have its income augmented or its expenses curtailed.

The administrative difficulties in the food stamp plan such as the rush periods of purchasing, chiseling, demand for service fees, and the rest can easily be adjusted. The old system of distributing surplus foods cannot be compared to the food stamp plan. The question, though, is how will the citizenry look upon a plan which benefits certain definite groups and also increases administrative costs?

The citizen-at-large has not yet troubled himself enough about the plan to answer. The bald question, "Do you favor the food stamp plan?" as asked in a Gallup poll, shows the public for the plan by a decided majority. The real test of opinion will come when its costs must be compared with economic betterments brought to the retail food merchant. And then what of the producer?

New Thoughts on the Short Ballot

Warnings of Woodrow Wilson and Richard S. Childs recalled by recent study of "bedsheet" ballots.

By **JAMES K. POLLOCK**
University of Michigan

WHEN Thomas Mann referred to the United States as "the lone bulwark against the destruction of liberty and freedom," he apparently overlooked the long ballot with which the average American voter has to wrestle in order to keep control over his democratic system. For more than thirty years we have been implored to shorten our ballots. In 1909 the National Short Ballot Organization was inaugurated in this country and Woodrow Wilson at that time termed the short ballot "the key to the whole problem of the restoration of popular government."[1]

In the thirty years since the organization was first established, governmental developments vast and and important in nature have served to re-emphasize and underline the importance of Mr. Wilson's sage remark. During these thirty years the direct primary system for the nomination of public officers has had a wide vogue in this country. During the same period, we have had important reforms in municipal government and a few important state reorganizations, both of which reforms have resulted in shorter ballots. We have also had a period of ups and downs in the matter of distribution of party strength. But perhaps, most important of all, we have had a great increase in the number of candidates for political office, and we have also seen the creation of many new offices.

In a word, the number of candidates and the number of offices has grown rather than lessened. The complexity and importance of government have similarly increased. The result is that the ballot in the United States today is not only longer instead of shorter, and therefore more difficult rather than easier for the voter to handle, but the decisions made by the ballot also have graver and more vital consequences.

It is submitted, therefore, that it is high time for students of democratic government to pay more attention to reducing the burden of the ballot so that the ordinary voter may have a greater opportunity of having his opinions carried out by his public officers. We must see that the machinery of democracy shall represent real public opinion and real public interest.[2]

Unfortunately, in these last thirty years, we have observed a continuation of a low popular participation of voters in both primaries and general elections. We have also observed a wide variation in the response of voters in primaries as compared to general elections. What we have not been so quick to discover and point out is the wide variation in the number of votes cast for offices at the top of the ballot as contrasted with those at the bottom. A few figures along this line are exceedingly revealing.

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[1] See William B. Munro in *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences,* Vol. 14, p. 43. Also Richard S. Childs, *The Short Ballot,* New York, National Municipal League, Sixth edition, 1930.

[2] See author's discussion on "Election or Appointment of Public Officials," *Annals,* Vol. 189, pp. 29-35.

In Michigan in the general election of 1936, 156,000 fewer votes were cast for congressmen than for governor. In Illinois, in 1932, 300,000 fewer voters voted for the office of clerk of the Supreme Court than voted for the presidency, and only one voter out of three expressed an opinion on a single constitutional amendment which was submitted. In Pennsylvania, the same year, 120,000 voters who voted for president failed to vote for the office of auditor-general. In Indiana, in 1930, 420,000 voters failed to express an opinion on the question: "Shall there be a constitutional convention?" Even in New York State, where a somewhat shorter ballot obtains, there is a significant difference between the votes cast for the head of the ticket and for those lower down and at the bottom. In Detroit, in the primary election of 1936, 160,000 voters did not vote for members of the state legislature. Further study along this same line, if undertaken in a number of areas, will doubtless reveal a situation little appreciated when we first adopted the direct primary system and the initiative and referendum.

Today, it should be clear that the short ballot idea has even more application to primaries than to general elections. As indicated previously, we have noted, especially in the last ten years, a great increase in the number of candidates running for public office. In other words, in addition to the large number of offices carried on the ballot, we now also find an inordinately large number of candidates running for these offices. Professor Harold M. Dorr has indicated one attack on this problem of multiplicity of candidatures—a problem which incidentally has never bothered English democracy.[3] Unfortunately, however, little headway is being made in solving this newer phase of the long ballot.

HANDICAP TO DEMOCRACY

In general elections we still find a veritable jungle of names and offices, and the passing of time has only served to re-emphasize what was stated by so many acute observers at least thirty years ago. A study by Dr. Albright of the ballots used in the 1932 election showed that "the average party column ballot consisted of 505 square inches of paper on which were printed over 102 names." He hastened to add that "short ballot arguments appear even more convincing after an examination of ballots throughout the nation. The handicaps set upon the workings of democracy undoubtedly undermine democratic opportunity."[4]

By way of some slight contribution to a modern attack on the problem of the jungle ballot, I should like to set forth some data which has been collected in connection with a comprehensive study I have been making of the operation of the direct primary system in the state of Michigan.

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[3] *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 30, pp. 514-22; and Vol. 31, pp. 56-65.

[4] *Bulletin*, American Legislators Association, Chicago, May 10, 1933.

This information indicates strikingly what happens to the voter when he is confronted with an enormous blanket ballot. Graphs show what I have come to call "fatigue curves"—that is to say, curves which show the increasing fatigue which overcomes the voter as he goes about his task of marking his bedsheet ballot. This material covers an enormous mass of figures gleaned from voting records in the state of Michigan over the period from 1908 to 1934 inclusive. In other words, it represents as completely and accurately as possible the general tendency in primaries and general elections in Michigan, rather than isolated results from certain areas or in certain elections.

It points to the startling fact that in primaries only two out of every seven voters who vote for governor manage to last out the difficult ordeal of marking their ballots and registering their votes for the last office on the ticket, the *very* important office of county surveyor! Or to put it another way, four out of every five persons who vote for United State senator in a primary, or three out of every four who vote for the same office in an election, do not vote for the offices lower down on the ballot.

Another fact brought out by the study is that over the whole period of the direct primary in Michigan approximately twice as many votes have been cast for the office of governor as for the office of sheriff. These and other similar facts which could be adduced show the dismal result of asking the voter to assume a burden greater than he can bear. Other studies of the same sort which have been made in individual counties throughout the state and in other states and in individual elections only serve to support the same point.[5]

Dr. Hecock's study of Detroit's elections has indicated how the voter "when confronted with forty-seven offices to be filled, takes the easiest way out and makes a cross at the top of the column in which he recognizes a few names."[6]

PARTY VOTING FACILITATED

Were it not for the fact that the party column ballot is still used in Michigan and most of the other states, even fewer votes would be recorded for the unimportant offices still carried on the ballot. Perhaps it would not be too much to say that the party column ballot has not only resulted in sweeping into office large numbers of unknown (not to say incompetent) officials, but it has also kept us from realizing the fatiguing (not to say demoralizing) effects of the long ballot.

(Continued on Page 47)

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[5] See the author's *Voting Behavior: A Case Study* (Ann Arbor, 1939), where among other things it is observed (p. 10): "If we expect to secure majority rule, we must apparently consult the voters on rare occasions when important matters are at stake, and not expect them to have an opinion on all kinds of offices and questions at all times of the year. What we are doing now is to spread the opinions of one-third of the registered voters over three elections a year on the average, and spread this small sample of public opinion very thin indeed over a very large ballot."

[6] Donald Hecock, *Detroit Voters and Recent Elections*. Detroit, Bureau of Governmental Research, 1938, p. 11.

The Old Age Threat in Colorado

Funds for state administrative services, education, charitable and penal institutions, relief, drastically cut as Colorado makes highest per capita contribution in nation to old-age pension funds.

By **DON C. SOWERS**
University of Colorado

THE effect upon state and local finances in Colorado of the adoption of the constitutional amendment providing for the payment of a minimum old-age pension of $45 per month to persons over sixty years of age has been more serious than anyone contemplated at the time and its future effects are still unpredictable.

The earmarking of 85 per cent of the proceeds of the sales and liquor taxes for old-age pensions imposed upon the state the necessity of raising additional funds to meet an urgent relief situation, since 37 per cent of these revenues, amounting to about $2,500,000 annually, had been allotted previously to the relief of unemployables. In fact, the sales tax was adopted originally in 1935 for the express purpose of enabling the state to contribute its fair share to the relief burden.

Another provision of the amendment provided that all future excise taxes on commodities should go into the old-age pension fund. This placed a serious limitation on the taxing power of the legislature because it meant that every type of excise tax on commodities or even an increase in the sales tax would be entrapped into the old-age pension fund. Finally, after months of study, the legislature adopted a 2 per cent service tax to meet relief and other general fund needs of the state and the State Supreme Court decided that the service tax was not an excise tax and therefore not subject to the entrapment. The service tax has produced about $1,200,000 annually, a sum inadequate to meet the current operation needs of the state since the legislature appropriated $2,500,000 annually for relief purposes alone.

In order that the anticipated deficit in state operation might be kept as small as possible, Governor Ammons ordered a 10 per cent reduction in the operating budgets of every state department and institution, a few state services were discontinued, and no attempt was made to pay any appropriations except those in the first and second classes which include the state administrative departments, boards and commissions, and the charitable, penal and eleemosynary institutions. State educational institutions fall in the third class and their appropriations were not paid.

In spite of these retrenchments, a deficit of about two million dollars confronted the incoming administration. Governor Carr proposed that the deficit and the increasing demands of the state during 1940 and 1941 be met by diverting 65 per cent of the proceeds of the state income tax which had previously been allocated to the public schools of the state and was to be used to replace the general property tax. This plan was carried out in spite of bitter opposition from farm, labor, and educational groups which had supported the passage of the income tax with the clear understanding that it would be a replacement tax.

Another repercussion, not foreseen at the time the amendment was adopted, is a substantial reduction in municipal revenues, due to a Supreme Court decision which holds that 85 per cent of all liquor licenses collected by municipalities for municipal purposes must also be paid into the pension fund. It is estimated that about one million dollars will be diverted from municipal treasuries to the state pension fund, of which Denver must pay nearly one-half. In order to pay this sum the city and county of Denver has increased property taxes and seriously considered imposing special commodity taxes.

Another Supreme Court decision, in effect, perpetuates the liquor industry in Colorado. One clause of the amendment provides that if any of the revenues assigned to the old-age pension fund are diverted to other purposes, the state must provide equivalent revenues from other sources. This means the perpetuation of liquor revenues since it will be difficult if not impossible to find other sources of revenue to replace them.

The possible future effects of the amendment are still in doubt. The revenues assigned to the old-age pension fund have proven to be inadequate to pay the minimum pension of $45 a month, less other income, as specified in the constitution. The full authorized awards have been paid during only five months out of the thirty months that the plan has been in operation. A Denver court has ruled that a pensioner is entitled to demand from the state the difference between the $45 minimum pension and the amounts he has actually received. Should this ruling be permitted to stand, and should the courts decide that the state is obligated to pay the minimum pension specified, a substantial portion of all state revenues may be required to be transferred to the old-age pension fund, leaving most meager revenues for the financing of all other state activities.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLAN

Briefly stated the constitutional amendment, adopted November 1936 by a vote of 239,289 to 134,377, provides for the payment of a minimum pension of $45 a month less any income received to persons who have attained the age of sixty. The law implementing the amendment provides that persons between sixty and sixty-five years must have resided in Colorado continuously for thirty-five years. No person is to be denied a pension because he owns real estate occupied as a residence or personal property which by law is exempt from execution or attachment, and no pensioner can be required to repay any money paid him as a pension. No variation in the amount paid or other discrimination between pensioners is permitted.

The program is financed by assigning to the old-age pension fund 85 per cent of all sales and use taxes, the same percentage of liquor taxes, 10 per cent of the inheritance and incorporation taxes, and 85 per cent of all future excise taxes which may hereafter be levied. In the event that any of these specified taxes should be repealed the state is required to provide an equivalent amount of revenue from other sources. Any moneys remaining in the old-age pension fund at the close of the calendar year must be paid out pro rata to qualified pensioners.

In November 1938 an organization known as the Federation for Workable Old-Age Pensions, Incorporated, submitted a constitutional amendment to the voters which would have authorized the general assembly to provide for the payment of old-age pensions from the general fund of the state and for their administration. This amendment was defeated.

THE PLAN IN OPERATION

The number of pensioners has increased from 26,913 in September 1937, when the law became operative, to 39,218 in August 1939. The monthly pension payment has increased from $1,078,988 to $1,225,566. The average payment per recipient has declined from $40.09 in September 1937 to $31.25 in August 1939, due to lack of funds to pay the full authorized awards. Colorado ranks second among the states in the average monthly pension paid. California pays $32.44 and the national average is $19.43. Colorado ranks third among the states in the number of recipients per 1,000 aged population—485. Oklahoma ranks first with 578 and Utah second with 507. The national average is 236. In Colorado both husband and wife may draw a pension if eligible under the law. Twenty-five per cent of the pensioners live in homes in which another member of the family also receives a pension.

Colorado is the most liberal state in the union in the amount of monthly grants initially approved for recipients. About 40 per cent of the applicants received the maximum award of $45 per month while 67 per cent received awards of $35 or more. In New York State only 7 per cent of the applicants were granted $35 or more.

Colorado is the only state paying pensions to persons between sixty and sixty-five years of age. The number of recipients in this age group is slightly over three thousand and the total cost amounts to over $1,000,000 a year or about $1 per capita of the state population. The entire cost of this group is borne by the state since federal contributions are made only to pensioners sixty-five years of age or over, and its inclusion is one reason why the state is unable to pay the full authorized award to those over sixty-five. Another reason is the jackpot or bonus provision which requires that all money remaining in the fund at the close of the calendar year must be distributed to qualified pensioners. In January 1938 there was paid to 34,701 pensioners a bonus of $963,647 or $27.77 per pensioner, in addition to the regular monthly pension payment of $39.60 per pensioner made during the previous year.

The total cost of pensions during the year 1938 was $12,686,020, but if the bonus payment and the cost of burials are included, the amount expended was $13,738,398. Of this sum the state contributed $8,303,245 and the federal government $5,435,151. The per capita payment for old-age pensions in 1938 was $11.87. The national average was $3.04 per capita. Colorado is spending more per capita for pensions than any other state in the union and nearly four times the national average. California ranks second with an expenditure of $7.37 per capita.

The total cost of paying the pensioners in full would require $18,625,000 per year. The federal contribution of $20 per month would amount to $8,622,000, leaving a net cost to the state of $10,003,000. The total revenue of funds assigned to old-age pensions amounts to about $7,500,000. This leaves a deficiency of $2,500,000 which represents the amount of additional tax revenues which would be required to comply with the constitutional provision and pay the pensions in full.

The total current operating revenues of the state, exclusive of the two constitutionally earmarked funds —highways and old-age pensions— amounted to $16,440,000 for the year ending June 30, 1938. This figure should be compared with the state's contribution to pensions amounting to $8,303,000 in order to realize the enormous burden of pension payments upon state finances.

In direct contrast are the state expenditures for general relief. In 1938 the state expended $2,360,000 for the assistance of a monthly average of 16,000 cases. A general relief case usually represents a family so that the number of persons given aid was at least 50,000 or an average of $4.00 per person per month. Whole families on relief must live on $22 a month or less while single pensioners may receive $31 or more a month and married couples twice that.

Other vital functions of state government such as charitable, penal, and eleemosynary institutions, the higher educational institutions, and state departments and commissions, have been forced to exercise the most rigid economy in order to keep functioning at all.

ECONOMIC BASIS OF $45 A MONTH

The pension system in Colorado is actually a method of transferring purchasing power from the great mass of hard working productive citizens, who are producing the goods and services which constitute the wealth of the state, to the group of citizens above sixty years of age. A monthly pension of $45 per month, as required by the constitutional amendment, is equivalent to $540 per year. The plan requires the productive workers of the state to contribute to each pensioner a sum larger than the average workingman earns for each member of his family. The average American wage-earner covered by the social security act earned from $841 to $1,204 per year in 1937. Assuming the typical family of four persons, this would allow from $18 to $25 a month per person in the workingman's family, in contrast with $45 a month per person for old-age pensioners.

PENSIONS AND POLITICS

The experience of Colorado with old-age pensions indicates clearly that the most dangerous aspect of the old-age pension movement is its rather general contamination with politics. There is a marked tendency for the old-age pension supporters to form a political pressure group and to work solely for their own advantage regardless of the financial ability of the state and its citizens or of the effect upon other governmental services. On the other hand, there is a tendency for pension funds to be misused by politicians seeking to promote their political ambitions.

Free and open discussion of the issues involved in pending legislation affecting pensions has been practically eliminated in Colorado. Certainly no measure so important and vital to the welfare of the state as the old-age pension amendment was ever voted upon with less critical examination and less understanding of its far-reaching effect. Candidates for political office generally did not question its wisdom and favored it in their campaigning. In some communities merchants were threatened with boycott by pensioners if they refused to contribute to pension campaign funds or generally support the movement. Citizens generally were not informed of the appalling financial costs which were involved in the pension plan or of its effects upon other governmental services.

The pensioners have not been paid in full because the tax resources assigned to this purpose are inadequate to meet the costs. The pension payments are higher than the general standard of living of the citizens of the state and are not adjusted to the needs of the recipient. Other dependent groups are obliged to get along on woefully inadequate funds. The state's deficit of nearly two million dollars last biennium was directly traceable to the amendment.

The ultimate cost and effects cannot be foreseen. The number of pensioners increases monthly and Colorado with the most liberal pension plan of any state in the union will undoubtedly be a mecca for the aged and those who are approaching old age in other states who will come in increasing numbers to swell the ranks of the pension group.

It is still a moot question whether the state government can raise the revenues required to keep the state a going concern in view of the restrictions placed on the taxing power of the legislature under this amendment.

Tennessee Counties Stand Pat

Economic instability of "horse-and-buggy" units makes strong case for consolidation under recent permissive legislation; but counties take no action.

By M. H. SATTERFIELD
Tennessee Valley Authority

TENNESSEE'S present counties, ninety-five in number, were all organized prior to 1880. This was the "horse-and-buggy" period and numerous courthouses were necessary in order that the county seat be accessible to county residents. Other considerations favored, or at least did not stand in the way of, the establishment of small counties. The establishment of county-seat towns provided a means of opening up and developing a new country. During this period the services required of counties were few in number and relatively inexpensive. Consequently, the necessity for consideration of such matters as tax base and cost of government did not exist.

After the turn of the century, however, factors favoring the small county largely disappeared. Since the advent of the automobile and the consequent improvement of roads, the distance to the county seat is no longer an important consideration. Improved transportation facilities have brought the state capitol "closer" than county seats were four decades ago. The services now required of counties are more numerous, more complex, and considerably more expensive. Furthermore, concentration of wealth in property other than real estate and tangible property has caused a shift in taxpaying ability. The result has been that counties which served well the needs of a "horse-and-buggy" era are no longer able to pay for the services required of them.

Tennessee has its share of small, uneconomic counties. For example, the areas of the ninety-five counties range from 122 square miles in Lake County to 801 square miles in Shelby. There are five other counties that have areas of less than 200 square miles each, whereas only one other, Wayne, has an area of as much as 700 square miles. The differences in population are even more pronounced. Van Buren County had a population in 1930 of only 3,516, whereas the population of Shelby County was 306,482. Fourteen other counties in addition to Van Buren had fewer than 10,000 inhabitants. The 1930 population was less than 20,000 in each of fifty-one counties of the state. Three counties in addition to Shelby had populations in 1930 of over 100,000. These four counties, which contain the state's four major cities, constituted 32.3 per cent of the total population of the state. On the other hand, the fifty-one counties with fewer than 20,000 inhabitants accounted for only 23.9 per cent of the population.

More important than the size or population of Tennessee counties is their financial ability to perform the services imposed upon them. Although it is not possible to compute the full economic power of Tennessee counties, the value of their local tax bases can be estimated fairly accurately. Because of the marked difference among Tennessee counties in assessing procedures, assessed valuation cannot be used as a basis for reflecting their economic resources. In 1937, however, the Tennessee Taxpayers' Association made a rather careful computation of the ratio of assessed to full values for all counties in the state.[1] Applying these ratios to 1938 assessments, while not entirely accurate, gives a fair indication of the economic resources of the counties. The full valuation of taxable property varies from $1,619,294 in Pickett County to $408,266,361 in Shelby County. In seventy-two of the ninety-five counties taxable property amounts to less than $20,000,000, as the following tabulation shows:[2]

Estimated Value of Taxable Property	*Number of Counties*
Under $5,000,000	17
$ 5— 10,000,000	26
10— 15,000,000	18
15— 20,000,000	11
20— 25,000,000	8
25— 30,000,000	5
30— 40,000,000	3
40— 50,000,000	2
50—100,000,000	1
Over 100,000,000	4

It is interesting to note the close relationship between taxable resources and population. Of the forty-three counties with taxable resources of less than $10,000,000, all but three had populations in 1930 of less than 20,000 each. Furthermore, twelve of the seventeen counties whose taxable resources are under $5,000,000 had fewer than 10,000 inhabitants each. A majority of the forty-three counties mentioned above are counties of declining population; twenty-eight had a decline in population between 1920 and 1930, and ten of these had fewer inhabitants in 1930 than in 1890.

STATE AID NECESSARY

Another indication of the economic instability of the Tennessee counties with small taxable resources is the proportion of their revenues received from state funds. The state in 1938 supplied 45.6 per cent of the total revenue receipts of county elementary schools in the ninety-five counties of the state. The forty-three counties whose taxable resources are under $10,000,000 received 68.2 per cent of their school revenues from the state. Only one of these counties received from the state less than the average for all counties, and in two others the proportion of state funds was less than 50 per cent of total school revenues. In the remaining forty counties the proportion ranges from 53.9 to 84.5 per cent, and twenty-two of them received 70 per cent or more of their school revenues from the state.

Since the state now furnishes a large proportion of the revenues and will probably have to increase the amount of such aid to these unsound and uneconomic units of government, it means that essential services in these counties are being provided at an unnecessarily high expense to the taxpayers. Is there a less expensive method of meeting the situation? County consolidation has been advanced as one means of solving this problem.

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[1] Tennessee Taxpayers' Association, *The Taxpayers' Report upon the Second Annual Statewide Survey of County, City and Town Government in Tennessee,* Nashville, 1938.

[2] In one county it was necessary to base the estimated value upon 1937 assessments.

PROCEDURE FOR MERGER

The movement for the consolidation of counties in Tennessee began in 1919 when by legislative action James County was absorbed by Hamilton County. Since that time numerous proposals for consolidation have been made but no further legislation was passed until 1939, when the General Assembly enacted legislation setting up machinery for the consolidation of counties. This legislation has been hailed as the most "basically important" and "far reaching" introduced during this or any other session of the legislature.

Under this statute two or more counties or parts of counties may consolidate or merge. Any county desiring to take advantage of the statute may do so by securing the signatures of qualified voters in the county equal in number to at least 25 per cent of the votes cast in the preceding gubernatorial election. This petition must be presented to an ex-officio state consolidation committee consisting of the governor, the attorney-general, the commissioners of taxation, highways, education, and conservation, and the executive director and secretary of the State Planning Commission. Upon receipt of the petition the governor appoints a county consolidation committee, composed of the county judge or chairman and trustee of the petitioning county, the county judges or chairmen of the absorbing counties, and five signers of the petition. These two committees, in joint session within the petitioning county, hold public hearings which representatives of the governing bodies of the counties concerned are invited to attend.

The joint committee is required to report its findings and recommendations on the feasibility of consolidation within ninety days of receipt of the petition. These findings are published and distributed in each of the counties affected and, if consolidation is recommended, an election must be called in the petitioning county within ninety days after publication of the report. The consolidation proposal, to be effective, must be approved by a two-thirds vote of the qualified electors in the petitioning county.[3] Furthermore, no consolidation becomes effective until September 1, 1942, and quadrennially thereafter.

In addition to establishing machinery whereby consolidations may be accomplished, the act provides for certain financial inducements to encourage consolidations. In the first place, each county participating in a county consolidation proposal receives, within sixty days after consolidation is voted, a lump sum grant from the state not to exceed $50,000.[4] In addition, each absorbing county receives, for a period of five years following the effective date of consolidation, a state grant equal in amount to a tax rate of eight mills on the taxable property of the county being absorbed. Both grants are to be used to reduce the outstanding indebtedness of the counties receiving them.

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[3] No election on consolidation is held in the absorbing county and the act has been criticized in that respect. It has been argued, however, that since the constitution does not require approval by the absorbing county, to have provided for an election would have further delayed consolidations. The two-thirds favorable vote in the petitioning county is required by the constitution.

WILL COUNTIES MERGE?

Now that machinery for the consolidation of counties has been provided, what likelihood is there of reducing the number of counties in Tennessee? One must admit that the prospects are not very promising. Innumerable obstacles stand in the way of county consolidation. As one authority on county government has stated: "The government of an area such as a county is not only a rectangle on the map, it is an affair of human beings, with all that implies in the way of interests, prejudices. passions, jealousies, and distrusts."[5] Tennessee counties are no different from counties in other states in this respect.

Since the act became effective, only one county has attempted to take advantage of its provisions. A petition was filed with the state consolidation committee in April 1939 requesting that Union County be merged with Knox County. At the time of this writing, almost nine months later, no action has been taken toward securing consideration of this proposal. It is reported that the Governor failed to appoint the county consolidation committee because of opposition in both Knox and Union Counties. Elected officials in both counties publicly denounced the proposal. Knox County officials oppose the consolidation because of its possible effect upon party control within the county. Public officials in Union County are naturally reluctant to merge their stronghold with a much larger county. These and other obstacles emphasize the difficulty of securing consolidation through permissive legislation. In addition to the "courthouse gang," business and professional groups that have become established in county-seat towns may be expected to array themselves against consolidation, for it would mean removal of the county seat to another locality.

While a number of Tennessee counties are small and uneconomic units of government, it is probable that some method other than consolidation through permissive legislation must be sought to relieve them of their plight.

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[4] It should be pointed out, however, that counties receiving such grants are required to reimburse the state the principal amount of the grant over a period of twenty years. Such payments are to be made by the state's withhholding a sufficient amount of the two-cent portion of the gas tax now distributed to the counties.

[5] Lane W. Lancaster, *Government in Rural America,* New York, D. Van Nostrand Co., 1937, p. 388.

Saginaw: A Lesson in Efficiency

Lower tax-rate, reduced bonded indebtedness, pay-as-you-go fiscal policy, plus distinguished record of municipal achievement, result of four years of city managership.

By HOWARD M. KLINE
University of Maryland

A PREVIOUS article on the political aspects of manager government in Saginaw noted the events and forces leading to its adoption, the continued support given by leading citizens, and the coöperation between the manager and council—the principal characteristics of the four years since January 1936. The purpose of this article is to survey the many administrative accomplishments and physical improvements in this same period.

PERSONNEL

All administrative personnel is recruited on the basis of the merit principle. There are over five hundred such employees, whose merit system is administered by a Personnel Advisory Board composed wholly of appointees from outside the system.[1]

Prior to the installation of the merit system a complete job analysis survey was made and a classification and compensation schedule was drawn up to conform to the job specifications. In each of these steps the Michigan Municipal League's Personnel Service coöperated, and it regularly assists the board in giving and grading competitive examinations.

A personnel manual, containing all existing rules and regulations, has been compiled and distributed. Employee service rating forms have been prepared and their use is officially required of appointing officers. Individual personnel records designed to make easily available a history of each employee's relation to the city also have been installed.

Each succeeding year has shown an increase in the number of applications returned, the number of persons reporting for examination, and the number of persons passing examinations. Whether these flattering indices are attributable to the attractiveness of public jobs generally, to the difficulty of finding industrial employment, or to the high standards introduced, the board does not undertake to decide, but it is generally known throughout Saginaw—indeed, through a large part of the state—that the municipal merit system is "on the level" and that politics are "out."

IN-SERVICE TRAINING

One of the hallmarks of an aggressive city administration is the attention given to in-service training. In Saginaw this has been confined largely to the police and fire departments. Although the total police force numbers only eighty-five, the department budget for the current fiscal year makes provision for a full-time police instructor. A lieutenant attended the FBI school; the chief investigator of the traffic division held a fellowship for an eight-months course at Northwestern University's Traffic Institute;[2] a supervisor from the same division took a ten-days course in first aid at the Kellogg Foundation; sixteen men took the Red Cross first-aid training; numerous men participated, at their own expense, in tests given by the United States Revolver Association.

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[1] The Personnel Advisory Board is composed of three non-salaried members from outside the city hall. One is appointed by the manager, one by the mayor, and the third by the other two.

The two fire department drill masters attended a course at the Detroit Fire College sponsored by the State Board of Education for Vocational Training, and all active firemen spend at least one hour daily studying fire-fighting technique, hydraulics, hazards of chemicals and gases, city geography, and the location of alarm boxes and water connections. During the summer months these studies are augmented by regular instruction at the department drill tower.

In-service training has not gone beyond these two major departments, except that four mechanics from the municipal garage attended evening courses in modern methods of automotive repair and maintenance at the General Motors Institute in Flint. Present plans include both an extension to other departments of the opportunity for further study and an intensification of those programs already begun.

DEPARTMENT REORGANIZATION

Probably the sharpest contrast between the new manager government and the former commission government is to be found in the plan of departmental reorganization. Under the commission, the relative burdens on the several commissioners were grossly inequitable; the public safety and the light-water-sewers portfolios were both more extensive and politically more advantageous than the other three posts. Reorganization and reallotment of duties to accomplish a more equitable distribution was made impossible because these two important posts were held by men whose ambitions and continued clashes were the immediate cause of the advent of the manager plan. Then, too, the Saginaw commission faced the same problem which every commission confronts, namely the necessity of forcing all municipal functions into a fixed number of departments whether or not they are integrally related to other duties already committed to those departments.

The new manager administration, unhampered by charter requirements of a fixed number of departments, and free from the personal rivalries occasioned by the combination of legislative and administrative functions in the same hands, undertook administrative reorganization immediately. The new charter facilitated the changes by leaving the number of departments, bureaus, and divisions to be determined by temporary regulation of the manager until the administrative code should be prepared and enacted.[3]

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[2] Northwestern University sent a group of its students to Saginaw to study and observe the organization and operation of the traffic division as being "one of the best in the country."

Availing himself of this authority, the manager created at once a division of purchases, subsequently made permanent by its inclusion in the code. Annually, this division has purchased supplies costing over a quarter of a million dollars. The cost of maintaining the division has ranged below 2 per cent of the total of such purchases, and the division estimated that it had saved the city nearly 15 per cent of the total cost of its purchases during its first full year of operation. A further step in centralized control was taken when the mimeographing office and all office stationery and supplies were placed under the control of the purchasing division and a central storeroom was created.

Public Administration Service was invited to come to Saginaw to survey and make recommendations respecting the central garaging and servicing of all motor equipment. Their recommendations were followed. All motor equipment except that assigned to the fire department is now stored and serviced in a central garage located behind the city hall, thus eliminating four departmental garages. A cost accounting system and individual equipment history records were installed in order to provide accurate accessible information on a phase of municipal activities which heretofore lent itself to estimates only.

In order to cut gasoline costs—the city uses over 10,000 gallons per month—a 16,000-gallon gasoline tank was built to accommodate tank car lot purchases. Hence, gasoline costs were cut from the 1935 figure of 14 cents per gallon paid by the commissioners to 7.2 cents per gallon.

The police department was also reorganized along lines suggested by Public Administration Service after a special survey. The department now contains five divisions—patrol, investigation, crime prevention, traffic accident prevention, and records and communication. Civilian clerks replaced policemen who had been assigned to the desk and the latter were returned to active duty. In 1938 Saginaw won first place in the National Safety Council contest as the city in its population group which made the greatest reduction in its record of traffic injuries and fatalities.[4] The city's crime rate shows a slight decrease. Prevention, both of criminal offenses and of traffic accidents, has been receiving emphasis.

Of the modernized department of finance the manager is especially proud. In this department, the three offices of assessor, controller, and treasurer, formerly separate, were consolidated and to it all water accounts were transferred. Other changes include replacement of old

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[3] The charter provided for an administrative code to be enacted by the council on the recommendation of the manager. The code defines the number of departments and offices, their duties, and the manager's control over them. Released in the summer of 1938, it has been widely distributed among students of municipal administration and officials of other cities.

[4] The record:

	1933-4	*1934-5*	*1935-6*	*1936-7*	*1937-8*	*1938-9*
Fatalities	16	18	18	20	17	7
Injuries	455	434	576	506	449	350

hand methods in the accounting and billing divisions with mechanical equipment; adoption of the uniform classification of accounts as set up by the Municipal Finance Officers' Association; substitution of the double entry system of bookkeeping on an accrual basis for the old single entry system; installation of a payroll audit system.

Because of these improvements, the Saginaw finance department is being recognized as one of the finest and most modern in the country for a city of its size.

GUESSWORK ELIMINATED

City administration on the basis of approximations and guesswork has been abandoned. The record of the last three years under the old commission government fails to disclose any significant instances in which the commission admitted its inadequacy or inexpertness to deal with the problems confronting it. Any doubts in its mind were apparently resolved by public hearings for the benefit of those citizens immediately concerned.

The attitude of the new government is significantly different. The council and manager have been willing to call in advisers from outside the city. The council does not assume to have ready-made solutions for city problems without some investigation, and it has reconsidered and re-examined earlier plans and programs from time to time.

Prior to 1936 there had not been in over ten years a comprehensive audit of all city accounts; there was no full map of one of the municipal cemeteries; there had been no inventory of city property and equipment within the recent past. All these omissions were supplied within the first year of the new government. Of course, these delinquencies are not the *sine qua non* of municipal administration; they merely suggest the carelessness of past officials.

An important engineering firm was retained to make an examination of and prepare estimates on the condition of the city's seven bridges. On the basis of its recommendations and estimates discussions were undertaken with the State Highway Department looking toward reconditioning or replacement over a period of years. Saginaw's bridges have been standing many years and have long been a source of unfavorable comment and local irritation.

In coöperation with the State Stream Control Commission, studies of river pollution have been continued and plans for a new source of water supply have reached an advanced stage.

Before new programs have been undertaken, special committees of the council, which in all cases include the manager, have often been created to make investigations and to reexamine past commitments. The whole problem of the insurance and bond requirements of the city was restudied, and proposals for a new market site and for abandonment of the old city hospital were referred to a special committee for study. The conclusions of these special committees received full council support.

On the direction of the council, the manager submitted a ten-year capital improvement program, to which continual reference is made for general planning purposes. When the gas and electricity franchises expired in December of 1938, a special committee on utilities was named to study the whole utility-city relationship. This committee ultimately recommended a municipally-owned electric plant and changes in the franchises; the city won significant rate reductions and rate structure simplifications.

IMPROVED PUBLIC RELATIONS

The new government has consistently emphasized improved relations with the public. The charter provides for a Bureau of Public Information and Complaint for the purposes of furnishing information to citizens and of receiving complaints from them relative to municipal services. The bureau has been assigned a conspicuous office in the city hall, and the number of inquiries handled has progressively increased. The bureau also has custody of the Municipal Reference Library which, although primarily for city officials, is open to the public.

The office hours of all city employees were extended from six and one-half to seven and one-half hours per day and all offices used by the public were kept open during lunch hour. The hours of tellers in those offices receiving tax and water moneys were staggered in order to keep the offices open during Saturday afternoons[5] and, during final payment periods, evenings.

To facilitate the handling of traffic violations, a fixed schedule of fines was adopted and a Traffic Violations Bureau established as an adjunct to the Municipal Court. The revenues from traffic violations increased 82 per cent in the first year of the bureau's operation and the city has begun to collect large sums which formerly went unpaid.

Hardly a year in the last ten has passed without finding the city and the gas and electric utilities companies in some controversy, conference, or court action. Rates, both for private and for municipal purposes, rate schedules, and franchise interpretations, as well as the "rights" of the parties, have been argued, and a municipally-owned electric plant has been proposed (threatened) on several occasions. During the nearly four years of manager government the city representatives succeeded in having a complex rate schedule simplified and is getting a lower rate for street lighting. Three hundred street lights, out since 1933 as an economy measure, have been relighted; yet the total cost of present street lighting is lower than before the reduction.

PUBLIC IMPROVEMENTS

In three and one-half years the new administration has undertaken more public improvements than Saginaw had seen in the preceding twenty. Of course, many of these improvements have been financed, in whole or in part, with federal and/or state funds; but the council and the manager have been alert to their opportunities. The policy of the council has been to avail itself fully of federal and state moneys, particularly those for work programs, and as a result millions have been poured into physical facilities. Federal money for public works, it will be remembered, has been obtainable since the summer of 1933 and the former commissioners had a reasonable period in which to qualify for their share.

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[5] This practice was abandoned after three years' trial, on the grounds of insufficient patronage.

An $18,000 addition to the municipal garage, a 16,000-gallon gasoline tank, twenty-two new voting machines, a 500-watt police radio transmitter and fifteen mobile transmitters for scout cars,[6] a new $138,000 central fire station[7] with $18,000 in new alarm equipment have been bought or constructed from city funds exclusively. And they were paid for in cash!

The council early decided to use WPA funds and WPA workers for as many "permanent" public improvements as possible, and has given over many council sessions to studying and planning new projects. The list of works undertaken and completed is impressive. Street name signs placed in 1933 by CWA workers were utterly illegible in most cases within two years. The city purchased, through the Michigan Municipal League, 8,800 new signs for nearly 2,000 street intersections. The city paid for the signs and for some new pipe, and the signs were placed by WPA labor under the direction of the city engineer.

Five new sections in the municipal cemetery were shaped, graded, and drained; more than 175 miles of unpaved streets were graded and ditched; abandoned street car tracks were removed from eight important thoroughfares, until the project was discontinued because of the excessive cost to the city; all the machinery and the whole interior of the city water works were cleaned and painted by WPA painters; the most important of the city's seven bridges was reconditioned, practically reconstructed, to prolong its usefulness twenty additional years. This bridge project required nearly ten months to complete and was budgeted at $125,000.[8] The municipal airport was subjected to a $370,000 project.[9]

Perhaps the most ambitious of all the works projects is a general parks program of $2,000,000 involving every piece of city-owned park property. The project was set up on a two-year basis to average 1,000 men, and calls for the removal of more than 1,500 dead trees, the shaping and turfing of the city land along paved streets between the sidewalks and the curb, a swimming pool, a field house, bleacher seats for 5,000 persons, various shelter houses, picnic facilities, twenty-two softball and four hardball diamonds, eighteen concrete tennis courts.

Long needed sewer facilities were

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[6] Both the main transmitter and the 15 mobile units were built and installed by members of the department. An index of the economy effected may be gathered from the fact that the city paid $1,400 for parts for the main transmitter and the contract cost was fixed at $12,000 by a commercial firm. The parts for each of the mobile units cost $130 and the contract cost was fixed at $350.

[7] This old central station was condemned by the state fire marshal in 1918 and four times since that date.

[8] Of this amount the city's share was $52,000.

[9] The city's contribution to the airport project is estimated at approximately $24,000.

brought to a section of the city, annexed in 1921 and with a present population of nearly 5,000, when a new mile-and-a-half, seven-foot monolith sewer was built by WPA labor.

The council and the manager have not overlooked PWA in the quest for opportunities to add to their building record at moderate cost. The federal highway, which passes through the heart of the city and is the main artery of north-south city traffic, was repaved, replacing a forty-two-year-old pavement which had been worn out for more than ten years. Indeed, PWA put up nearly one-third of the cost of the new $324,000 city hall, after the charred ruins of the old one had been cleared away with WPA labor.[10] A new secondary downtown fire station will replace an 1862 barn that was made over into a fire station some decades ago.[11]

It seems permissible to repeat that every dollar of the city's contribution to the costs of these projects was paid in cash from the city treasury, and that no debts were incurred. Beyond these, 2.50 miles of street pavements, hundreds of sidewalks, and 1.41 miles of water mains were laid and the costs (except for water mains) assessed against the abutting property owners. Here, indeed, is a record to which, it is believed, there is neither peer nor parallel among cities in the 80,000 population class.

OLD DEBTS SETTLED

The commission government left a heritage of delinquent and uncollected accounts. For example, the commission entered into understandings with townships outside the city limits whereby the city fire department would answer fire alarms and give full service in these areas for a contract sum. These accounts were very often delinquent[12] and went unpaid for months, or until a fire of some proportion occurred. The new manager government has collected the sums due and has negotiated new contracts with five townships providing a schedule of hourly charges, a guarantee of payments, and adequate insurance to both men and equipment.

Similarly, hundreds of water accounts were delinquent,[13] including both metered and unmetered line service, while the commissioners fought over which of two corporations should get a contract for meters. The commissioners accused a large local foundry of having used, without authorization, $80,500 worth of city water and one of their last acts before the advent of the manager plan was an offer to settle the claim for $6,300. This offer, besides being a confession of the preposterous nature of the original claim, compromised the new administration somewhat, and they accepted the smaller sum. The point is, however, that an obligation of five years' standing was settled and an arrangement made to prevent a future recurrence.

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[10] The actual cost of the city hall reached $341,000, when landscaping, grading and paving were included. Of the original estimate on the building alone the city contributed $210,000 and PWA $114,000. See Manager Cookingham's own explanation of the redesigning in *Public Management*, February 1938, pp. 35-39.

[11] PWA made a 45 per cent grant on the project cost of $46,000.

[12] Nearly $8,000 was owing from eight townships on July 1, 1938.

[13] The new finance director reported to the manager in March 1936 that $200,000 was outstanding in overdue water bills.

The commissioners frequently blamed their fiscal embarrassment on the fact that so large a section of the tax levy was unpaid. It is true that delinquency reached 33 per cent at its depression peak. The finance commissioner persuaded his reluctant colleagues to grant him $2,000 for a "pay-your-taxes" campaign only after a long debate and threatened court action, and this was the only apparent effort to collect more than what came in voluntarily. Delinquent tax moneys were pooled in the general fund and spent for current expenses. The new council and manager immediately began to segregate delinquent tax collections and keep them apart in a capital improvement fund. Most of the improvements noted above have been financed from this capital improvement fund. Further, the percentage of the current tax levy collected has continually increased—whether from "better times," or from a greater public confidence in the new system.

Percentage of Current Tax Levy Collected

1928-29	92.36%
1929-30	90.04%
1930-31	85.40%
1931-32	78.24%
1932-33	67.61%
1933-34	67.08%
1934-35	71.74%
1935-36	77.65%
1936-37	85.81%
1937-38	87.47%
1938-39	89.7 %

The contrast between the methods by which two sets of officials handled these delinquent fire, water, sewer, and tax accounts does not reflect upon the integrity of the former commissioners. They were merely unbusinesslike, whereas the new group are efficient in every particular.

REPORTS TO MANAGER

With so many activities in progress, it is hard to understand how the manager keeps informed on them all. He can, however, discuss with any office caller the method, the status, and the reasons for any action the city has taken or is taking. He uses his lunch hour and his calls to various parts of the city to pass by the numerous projects under construction. One of the principal factors, however, in his over-all supervision is the system of reporting which has been established. Literally, scores of reports come to the manager's desk. A copy of each complaint made to the Bureau of Public Information and Complaint is sent to him. For many months after the manager took office the Police Department sent him a copy of its daily log, but this has been replaced with the monthly consolidated police report. Three monthly traffic reports come from the Traffic Violations Bureau, the traffic division of the Police Department, and the traffic cases in Municipal Court. The county relief commission sends a daily analysis of the case load and a weekly summary of city cases; the WPA district office forwards on Fridays the actual count of workers available and assigned according to their Wednesday count; the inspection division of the Department of Public Works submits a monthly report of inspections made; and the city engineer sends periodic progress on all projects under his supervision.

The financial reports are probably the most important to the manager and are studied very carefully. Every ten days the manager receives from the bank a report, independent of that of the city finance department, on the condition of all funds. By maintaining a percentage chart of the portion of the annual budget already expended, the manager can know at a glance whether the city is ahead of or behind its budget, and what the situation was at a comparable date the previous year.

The Department of Finance's monthly financial report to the manager contains a complete summary of the status of all accounts and all funds, and shows for each budget item both the amount and the percentage of the total expended. The department may be called upon to give more frequent statements on the larger funds and appropriations such as construction moneys. The frequency of these financial reports, and the careful scrutiny given them, explains in large measure why the city has had a surplus at the end of each of its last three fiscal years.

FINANCIAL SITUATION

Saginaw is probably not the only city which has, in the last few years, reorganized its administrative departments, instituted progressive and "accepted" reforms, and made such a substantial record of physical improvements. If this were all, the records would have been good, but not so unusual as to invite special attention. But the story does not stop there. Saginaw is one of the Michigan cities which is operating under the fifteen-mill tax limit. At the time the limit was voted by Saginaw citizens, dire predictions were made of the future of fire and police protection, water and sewer maintenance, health services, and educational and recreational facilities; it was alleged that capital improvements would be next to impossible. The record is otherwise, however, even though the city's share of the fifteen mills has decreased a little:

	1935-36	*1936-37*	*1937-38*	*1938-39*	*1939-40*
City	6.9	6.9	6.7	6.85	6.75
Schools	4.6	5.0	4.675	4.9	5.0
County	3.5	3.1	3.625	3.25	3.25

More than this, the new city government has paid off sums averaging more than $500,000 annually on outstanding debt,[14] without borrowing a single penny.[15] Every city expenditure has been a cash transaction and has been paid in full, except for sewer and sidewalk construction which was financed by the usual special assessment bonds. Nor is this all. In addition to having suffered a loss in millage, having floated no new bonds, and having paid out half a million dollars annually for principal and interest on outstanding debts, the city tax rate for 1939-1940 is the lowest in this century in Saginaw and barely half that of ten years ago. The tax rates since 1929 follow:

1929-30	$18.41
1930-31	18.28

See following page for footnotes 14 and 15.

1931-32	18.17
1932-33	17.55
1933-34	14.27
1934-35	14.08
1935-36	10.69
1936-37	10.65
1937-38	10.65
1938-39	10.65
1939-40	9.75

Tax rates have been reduced while assessed valuation has remained relatively unchanged. By collecting a higher percentage of current levies and by setting aside collections on delinquent accounts, the city has managed to maintain its budget at approximately the same figure—slightly over one million dollars. City budgets toppled 40 per cent from their 1930-1931 peak of $1,805,500 to $1,038,000 in 1938-1939. Meanwhile, Saginaw citizens saw a drop of 60 per cent in the total sums raised for state, county, city, and school purposes during the same period, or from five to two million dollars.

In conclusion, the 80,000 citizens of Saginaw have enjoyed substantial tax relief in the last ten years from all sides, but these reductions have been even more remarkable in view of the distinctive record of municipal achievements decided upon by an alert council and supervised by an informed manager.

To other cities which have also been mired in the bog of personal ambitions and ward politics, which have been led by the stumblings of local politicians along unplanned paths, which have been "administered" by the horse-and-buggy methods of patronage appointments and fiscal guesswork, which have had no significant public improvements to escort their higher tax rates and increased bonded indebtedness, the lesson to be learned from these four years of accomplishments in Saginaw is this: *It can be done.*

Editor's Note.—This is the second of two articles on the manager plan in Saginaw, Michigan. The first appeared in the November 1939 issue of the Review.

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[14] The amounts of debt retired:

	1936-37	*1937-38*	*1938-39*
Principal	$412,000.00	$381,000.00	$312,955.73
Interest	163,313.75	146,182.50	131,463.68
Total	$575,313.75	$527,182.50	$444,419.41

[15] The gross bonded debt (less special assessment debt), the percentage of the gross bonded to the assessed valuation, and the per capita gross bonded are shown in the following table.

	Gross Debt	*Per Cent of Assessed Valuation*	*Per Capita*
1828-29	$4,581,000	4.74%	$57.83
1929-30	4,613,000	4.67	57.15
1930-31	4,371,000	4.55	53.60
1931-32	4,369,000	4.65	53.04
1932-33	4,053,000	4.39	48.71
1933-34	3,787,000	4.46	45.07
1934-35	3,469,000	3.73	40.88
1935-36	3,234,000	3.43	37.74
1936-37	3,007,000	3.12	35.49
1937-38	2,786,000	2.86	31.90

A Municipality That Is Different

Ocean Grove, New Jersey, a private corporation organized for religious purposes, continues to be governed by self-perpetuating board of trustees with full powers of control although now a recognized municipality of three thousand permanent and forty thousand summer inhabitants.

By **MADGE M. McKINNEY**
Hunter College of the City of New York

FEW people are aware that there are, within the boundaries of the United States, communities in which the laws are made by municipalities which are in no sense responsible to the public and in which license fees are collected by political bodies that make no financial report. Such communities are not numerous—but they exist and they are protected by the laws of the state in which they are located.

Their existence was made possible by the bestowing of governmental powers upon private corporations, a procedure which was fairly common in the last century, if the private corporation was organized for religious purposes. At the time it seemed very natural that religious bodies should be given large authority over the small and often desolate areas which they owned. The tremendous real estate developments of the last few decades, however, have changed some of these areas into well populated and prosperous communities—which are still under the control of a self-perpetuating board of trustees of a semi-private corporation.

Ocean Grove, New Jersey, was organized in 1869 "to provide for the holding of camp meetings and the promotion of holiness" and was incorporated as a camp meeting association in 1870. Today, it is a popular seaside resort with certain unique religious restrictions, such as the closing of its streets on Sunday to all vehicles excepting those on errands of mercy. Although it occupies only a square mile, it now has, in addition to its summer population of about 40,000, a permanent population of 3,000 inhabitants—the size of an average American village. It is still operating under its original charter which made Ocean Grove Camp Meeting Association a body corporate and *politic*.[1] The community has long been treated as a municipality but it was not until 1931 that the courts definitely applied that term to it.[2]

The charter named twenty-six men who constituted both the original membership and the trustees of the association. These men were to "manage the affairs of the said corporation." When a vacancy occurred they were empowered to choose a successor by a two-thirds vote, but such successors were to be and remain members of the Methodist Episcopal church in good and regular standing. This is the governing body of Ocean Grove today—a self-perpetuating Board of Trustees who must be Methodists. The by-laws of the association have added another restriction that one-half of the board must be Methodist ministers. There is no requirement that they reside in Ocean Grove and in actual practice the majority live elsewhere.[3]

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[1] N. J. Acts 1870, c. 157.
[2] *Whitehead* v. *Board of Public Utilities*, 108 N. J. L. 258 (1931).

These qualifications are understandable for the trustees of a camp meeting association but they are peculiar requirements for the governing body of a municipality. Moreover, although the powers of the organization have frequently been challenged in the courts, the religious requirement has not been specifically attacked. In a case involving municipal franchises the question of a religious test attached to such franchises was raised. In that case, the court maintained that the existence of other acts *in pari materia,* unchallenged for nearly fifty years, should turn the scale in favor of the law, if there was any doubt of its constitutionality.[4]

SIMILAR TO MANAGER PLAN

The powers of the trustees are enormous—over the little area that the association owns they are almost dictatorial. They can make ordinances which have the effect of law and are enforceable through the courts. They can determine who may and who may not live upon the property owned by the association, they may lay out streets, pave them (or leave them unpaved), determine how the streets may be used, license vehicles for trade purposes and other businesses located within their boundaries. Moreover, they may appoint their own peace officers to enforce their ordinances, prescribe penalties for infraction of their rules, and build a jail for the detention of their prisoners.

Excepting for the method by which it is chosen, the Board of Trustees is very like a city council under a manager form of government. The board elects its president, secretary, treasurer, and other officers. These are selected from its own members and are unpaid. The trustees also appoint a manager who is a paid official administering the affairs of the corporation—and like many city managers he is influential in its formulation of policy.[5]

The public nature of the association is clearly brought out when its powers are carefully scrutinized. Its ordinance power is as complete as that of any municipality. This power rests partly upon the charter and partly upon the laws of New Jersey pertaining to camp meeting associations. Provision is made for the publication of ordinances and the method of enforcement is definitely prescribed. The board itself may fix penalties for violations and such penalties may be recovered through the regular courts.[6]

There are few limitations upon

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[3] Many of the trustees who reside in other places spend some weeks in summer months at Ocean Grove. A number of the trustees give their residence as Philadelphia and New York. One is located in Missouri, one in Maryland, and one in Massachusetts; others are scattered over the state of New Jersey.

[4] *Percello* v. *Ocean Grove,* 100 N. J. L. 407.

[5] The present manager is Joseph A. Thoma. He is a man who has risen through the ranks of the employees of the association and is thoroughly acquainted with its problems. He was appointed in 1934.

[6] N. J. Rev. Stat. (1937) 40: 95 to 100.

this power and most of them are of minor importance. The board must fix the precise penalty for an infraction. The court refused to recover judgment for a violation where the board had named a maximum and a minimum penalty and left it to a justice of the peace to fix the exact amount.[7] It has also been said that suits for recovery are civil suits in the courts for small cases and as such are not reviewable by *certiorari* in those cases where parties are given appeal to the Court of Common Pleas.[8] These limitations are not unlike the restrictions upon other municipalities.

Some of the powers of the association are exercised through its proprietary rights. The charter gives the association the right to purchase and hold real and personal property and to dispose of such property as it sees fit. Today, all of the land in Ocean Grove belongs to the association and is under the control of its trustees. The lots are leased for ninety-nine years, subject to renewal by the lessee, his heirs, or assigns forever. Leases were originally sold by the association to parties "who may be vouched for as to good moral character in sympathy with the objects of the association." In addition to the purchase price of the lease, the association collects an annual rent of $10.50 on each lot. The courts have upheld the trustees in their contention that this compensation is rent not a tax, and the lease contains a provision for re-entry if the rent is not paid.[9]

Every lessee pledges himself to abide by the rules of the association. This arrangement gives the Board of Trustees complete control over the selection of "tenants"—a right which is carefully exercised. Real estate agents in Ocean Grove do not hesitate to state that there are religious qualifications for ownership (technically a lease) of land in that territory. Moreover, although the land is technically owned by the association and leased to the tenant, the association can force the tenant to construct and repair sidewalks and curbings facing the property which he occupies.[6]

TAXES PAID TOWNSHIP

The tenant pays taxes to Neptune Township, in which the association is located, both upon the value of his lease and upon any buildings which he has built upon it, for the courts have upheld the contention of the association that the lot tax should be paid by the tenant.[10] Failure to pay these taxes results in a curious situation in which ownership of the buildings is taken over by the township of Neptune but the land always remains the property of Ocean Grove Camp Meeting Association.[11]

Another power that the association exercises as a body politic is the license power. This little community organized in 1870 for religious purposes has become a prosperous village and there are located upon its grounds over seventy-five hotels, restaurants, tea rooms, grocery stores, drug stores, a department store, ice cream parlors, gift shops, taxi stands, and all of the other accompaniments of a seaside resort. From all of these the association can, and does, collect license fees.[6] These fees are fixed by the Board of Trustees, collected by their officers, and subject to their conditions. This power has been repeatedly contested in the courts and always upheld.[12]

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[7] *Slocum* v. *Ocean Grove,* 59 N. J. L. 110 (1896).

[8] *Layton* v. *Ocean Grove,* 59 N. J. L. 369 (1896) following *White* v. *Neptune,* 56 N. J. L. 222 (1893).

[9] *Ocean Grove* v. *Sanders,* 68 N. J. L. 631 (1902).

[10] *Ocean Grove* v. *Reeves,* 79 N. J. L. 336, affirmed 80 N. J. L. 464 (1910).

[11] N. J. Acts 1872, c. 457.

License fees may be for revenue and yet no restrictions are placed upon the purposes for which such money shall be used and no published annual report or financial statement is required. In the early days a financial report was made public each year but none has been published since 1919.

The association has the power to maintain its own peace officers. This power was given to it by its charter which says:

> Said trustees shall have the power to appoint such peace officers as shall be deemed necessary for the purpose of keeping order on the camp grounds and premises of the corporation, which officers shall be paid by said corporation for their services; but shall have, when on duty, the same power, authority, and immunities which constables and other peace officers under the laws of the state possess and enjoy. . . .

There are today seventeen policemen in Ocean Grove, endowed with the powers of public officers but selected and paid by the association. It appears that at one time the legislature of New Jersey felt that the responsibility for such officers should not be left to the association alone, for in 1876 it passed a law which read:

> It is lawful for the governor, on application in writing of the board of trustees of any duly incorporated camp meeting association, . . . to commission one or more persons whom such trustees shall designate and request, not exceeding six in number, as peace officers for the purpose of keeping order on the camp grounds. . . .[6]

One history of Ocean Grove states that a police force was so commissioned in 1876.[13] There is no evidence that this law was ever repealed but in recent years the police have received their commission from the association alone according to the rights given to it in the charter, prior to the law. Thus, the trustees obtain direct control over the enforcement of their ordinances. Moreover, the association has built its own jail for the detention of its prisoners. The police department is well equipped and the police car is constantly cruising the streets of the corporation. According to a history of Ocean Grove compiled by the *Ocean Grove Times*, the police filed 1,755 reports in 1938.[14]

Many of the powers of the corporation provide for the performance of public services and entail considerable expense. The laws permit the association to establish streets, sewers, drains, and parks,[6] and it has established all of these services.

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[12] *Thompson* v. *Ocean Grove*, 55 N. J. L. 507 (1893); *Slocum* v. *Ocean Grove*, 59 N. J. L. 110 (1896); *Percello* v. *Ocean Grove*, 100 N. J. L. 407 (1924); *Whitehead* v. *Board of Public Utilities*, 108 N. J. L. 258 (1931).

[13] *The Story of Ocean Grove*, by M. S. Daniels. New York, The Methodist Book Concern, 1919.

[14] *History of Ocean Grove*, by Gibbons and Gibbons. Ocean Grove, N. J., *Ocean Grove Times*, 1939.

The association charges a fee for the disposal of sewage. Each lease holder is charged $6.50 a year for this service. Garbage collection is now taken care of by the township of Neptune.

In 1925 the association (solely upon the action of the Board of Trustees) sold the Ocean Grove Electric and Water Plants to the Eastern New Jersey Power Company and thus relieved itself of some of its responsibilities.

The Fire Department is under the control of a fire district and, although the boundaries of the district coincide with those of Ocean Grove, this service is not under the control of the association.

It is through the ownership of its property that the corporation maintains most of its power and it has guarded this right zealously. On one occasion it resisted condemnation of one of its lots by the township of Neptune for the purpose of erecting a public school. After a bitter court fight, the property was condemned. It had been leased for ninety-nine years to a commercial enterprise and the court carefully stated that it was not necessary to determine whether it could have been condemned if it had not been so leased and was being used for religious purposes.[15]

This is not the only setback that the association has had at the hands of the courts. The charter allowed the association $5,000 property exemption—which at the time was more than the value of its property. The tax law of 1903 repealed all exemptions from taxation excepting those allowed in the law itself. The courts decided that this law might repeal charter exemptions and Ocean Grove lost its valuable tax immunity.[16]

The character of the territory adjoining Ocean Grove was at one time influenced by the association. Early in its history the trustees were successful in getting a law through the legislature which prohibited any board from granting licenses to sell liquor within one mile of the outside limits of any camp meeting association. The law was upheld by the courts and a license granted by Asbury Park was voided.[17] It remained in force through the pre-prohibition days but was repealed in 1933.

COMMUNITY DEBT-FREE

There is one way in which Ocean Grove differs from many municipalities. Although little can be learned about the financial condition of the association, the trustees are very proud to tell you that it is out of debt. There are three facts that throw some light upon this high degree of solvency. First, the proceeds from the sale of Ocean Grove Electric and Water Plants in 1925 were applied to the existing debt, which was said to have been about half a million dollars. Second, expenditures for education, the largest item on most municipal budgets, are borne by Neptune Township. Of course, Ocean Grove taxpayers contribute as individuals to the township fund for educational purposes, but this in no way affects the balance sheet of the association. Another reason why the association is out of debt is found in its sources of revenue. Aside from the ground rent and sewer tax collected from the lessees and the license fees which have already been described, the association has many sources of income which arise from the fact that Ocean Grove is a seaside resort. It operates its own bathing beach (everyone who uses the beach for swimming must rent a bathhouse owned by the association), it owns a large number of houses which it rents as would any other landlord, it maintains a tent colony which it leases to summer tenants, it receives remuneration for concessions upon the boardwalk, and it operates a three-hundred-bed hotel facing the ocean. In addition to this, the collections from the large religious meetings held in the auditorium, which has a capacity for 8,500, go through its hands. Of course, the association pays taxes upon its real property. It is impossible to estimate its income—but its sources of income are numerous.

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[15] *Ocean Grove Camp Meeting Association* v. *Neptune,* 3 N. J. Misc. 349 (1925).

[16] *Hanover Township* v. *Camp Meeting Association,* 76 N. J. L. 65 (1908).

[17] *Sexton* v. *Board of Excise Commissions,* 76 N. J. L. 102 (1908).

SOME DISSATISFACTION

That the inhabitants of Ocean Grove have not always been satisfied with its government is evidenced by the fact that there have been many attempts to transform the association into a borough. The last and most successful attempt was made in 1920. After much agitation a bill was passed by the New Jersey legislature creating a borough in Ocean Grove but specifically stating that the streets were to be closed to vehicles on Sunday. This bill was referred to the voters of Ocean Grove in a referendum and received a majority vote. It went into effect in the summer of 1920. Borough officers were elected and a borough government was set up. But the government was short-lived. Almost immediately appeal was made to the courts and a few months later the New Jersey Court of Errors and Appeals declared that the act constituted special legislation and was unconstitutional.[18]

There have been other times in the history of Ocean Grove when the inhabitants have shown discontent and have formed various organizations to voice their protest. These organizations have been known as the Lessees' Association or as the Board of Representative Lessees. No such organization is active today and none is known to be in existence. The manager claims that he receives few petitions and that those he does receive pertain to minor questions.

In general, there is an atmosphere of complacency in Ocean Grove. Interrogation of a number of the citizens, however, did show some smoldering discontent—perhaps no more than in other municipalities. When asked how he liked the government under which he lived, one business man replied that he could not understand why he paid a higher license fee than persons in the same business

(Continued on Page 84)

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[18] *McCrain* v. *Ocean Grove,* 96 N. J. L. 158 (1921).

Uncle Sam Counts Noses

1940 Census Covers Wide Range of Subjects of Vital Importance to Municipal Officials

By **ROSCOE WRIGHT**
Chief of Public Relations, United States Bureau of the Census

THE sixteenth decennial census of the United States is a major federal government activity in 1940. Already under way, since early January, are the censuses of business, manufactures, and mines and quarries.

Scheduled to begin on April 1 are the censuses of population, agriculture, and housing.

New inquiries for the census of 1940

The population schedule for the census of 1940 will be notable for a number of new questions concerning employment status, migration, and education, and for the innovation of the sampling technique to widen the scope of the inquiries.

Employment and wages

A comprehensive picture of the variations of employment status will be obtained for all persons of fourteen years or more by inquiries determining: those employed (actually working or having a job); those unemployed, or new workers, all of whom are seeking work; those engaged in home housework, attending school, unable to work, or retired; the number of hours worked during the week of March 24-30, 1940; the duration of unemployment up to March 30, 1940, in weeks; the number of full-time weeks worked and the amount of money wages or salary received during the twelve months ending December 31, 1939; the occupation, trade, profession, or particular kind of work performed by each worker; the industry or business group in which each worker is employed; and the class of worker such as employer, own account worker, unpaid family worker, private wage worker, or regular or emergency government wage worker.

The net effects of internal population migration during the preceding quinquennium will be obtained by requesting place of residence for each person as of April 1, 1935—state (also territory or foreign country), county, and incorporated place having 2,500 or more inhabitants.

Extent of education

The amount of formal education will be revealed by a question asking for the highest grade of school completed.

On the basis of a 5 per cent sample (questions to be asked of each twentieth respondent), the following subjects will be covered: the usual occupation, industry, and worker class as a supplement to information obtained concerning present occupation, in order to determine the availability of and shifts to various kinds of labor; whether the respondent has a federal social security account number, and whether wage deductions have been made for federal old-age insurance during the twelve months ending December 31, 1939; data showing the number of children ever born to women who are or have been married, to make studies of differential fertility; mother tongue or native language obtained by a question asking what language was spoken in the home in earliest childhood; the status of all veterans of foreign wars and their wives, widows, and children; and information concerning the place of birth of the father and the mother of all respondents.

Complete survey of housing

In 1940, for the first time, the decennial census will include a separate housing schedule designed to give detailed information for each dwelling unit in the United

States, whether occupied or vacant, rural or urban. For each dwelling unit data will be secured as to the number of rooms, water supply, bath and toilet facilities, and light equipment. For each occupied unit, or household, infomation will be obtained concerning the principal refrigeration used, the presence or absence of a radio, the character of the heating equipment, and the principal heating and cooking fuels used.

Character of houses

In the case of each residential structure it will be determined whether it is for single, double, or multiple family occupancy, whether or not it contains a business unit, for what purpose and in what year it was originally built, the principal exterior material of the structure, and whether it is in need of major repairs.

Vacant dwelling units will be identified as to whether they are ordinary dwellings or suitable only for seasonal occupancy, whether they are for sale or for rent or held for occupancy of an absent household, and the estimated monthly rental value of each such non-farm dwelling unit. For each non-farm renter-occupied dwelling unit it will be determined whether or not the monthly rental includes the use of furniture (and if so of what value) as well as the average monthly cost of utilities and fuels paid for by the renter in addition to the monthly rental.

Owner's estimate of value

In the case of the non-farm owner-occupied dwelling unit an estimate of the market value of the property will be obtained, whether or not there is a mortgage or land contract on the property, and the present amount of the first and second mortgage indebtedness. Finally, for each owner-occupied dwelling unit having a first mortgage or land contract the amount and periods of payment, the interest rates charged, and the type of corporation holding the mortgage will be determined.

Correlating the information

The individual returns given for population, housing, and agriculture are cross indexed to facilitate comparison, checking, and joint use, to the end that all three inquiry categories may be considered essentially as one superschedule.

NEW THOUGHTS ON THE SHORT BALLOT

(Continued from Page 20)

These facts, it is submitted, prove quite conclusively what is pretty much everyone's experience—that at the present time the average voter, particularly in primary but also in general elections, is not performing his voting responsibility with any degree of intelligence. In other words, the shortening of the ballot, which means the simplification of the voter's task, seems today, as it did to those early founders of the short ballot movement in 1909, to be an indispensable and urgent reform to restore the control of the government to the people.

The words of Richard Childs should be emphasized once more, and over and over again: "The long ballot is the politician's ballot, the short ballot is the people's ballot."[7]

Editor's Note.—Address delivered before Forty-fifth Annual Conference on Government of National Municipal League, Indianapolis, November 17, 1939.

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[7] Richard S. Childs, *The Short Ballot* (New York, National Municipal League, 1930), Sixth edition.

He Is an American

Editorial Reprinted from
The New York Sun

He is an American.

He hears an airplane overhead, and if he looks up at all does so in curiosity, neither in fear nor in the hope of seeing a protector.

His wife goes marketing, and her purchases are limited by her needs, her tastes, her budget, but not by decree.

He comes home of an evening through streets which are well lighted, not dimly in blue.

He reads his newspaper and knows that what it says is not concocted by a bureau, but an honest, untrammeled effort to present the truth.

He has never had a gas mask on.

He has never been in a bombproof shelter.

His military training, an R. O. T. C. course in college, he took because it excused him from the gym course, and it was not compulsory.

He belongs to such fraternal organizations and clubs as he wishes.

He adheres to a political party to the extent that he desires—the dominant one, if that be his choice, but with the distinct reservation that he may criticize any of its policies with all the vigor which to him seems proper—any other as his convictions dictate, even, if it be his decision, one which holds that the theory of government of the country is wrong and should be scrapped.

He does not believe, if his party is out of power, that the only way in which it can come into power is through a bloody revolution.

He converses with friends, even with chance acquaintances, expressing freely his opinion on any subject, without fear.

He does not expect his mail to be opened between posting and receipt, nor his telephone to be tapped.

He changes his place of dwelling, and does not report so doing to the police.

He has not registered with the police.

He carries an identification card only in case he should be the victim of a traffic accident.

He thinks of his neighbors across international borders—of those to the north as though they were across a state line, rather than as foreigners—of those to the south more as strangers since they speak a language different from his, and with the knowledge that there are now matters of difference between his government and theirs, but of neither with an expectancy of war.

He worships God in the fashion of his choice, without let.

His children are with him in his home, neither removed to a place of greater safety, if young, nor, if older, ordered ready to serve the State with sacrifice of limb or life.

He has his problems, his troubles, his uncertainties, but all others are not overshadowed by the imminence of battle and sudden death.

He should struggle to preserve his Americanism with its priceless privileges.

He is a fortunate man.

He is an American.

Comments in Brief

Nothing New Under the Sun!

DEEP in the stacks of the Palto Alto public library there was found recently a file of the earliest issues of the first magazine of the League of California Cities. . . . This first issue [1899] contained an editorial entitled, "A Profession of Municipal Management." Written forty years ago, long before the first city manager charter was drafted, it is believed to be one of the first, if not the very first, published suggestions of the city manager form of municipal administration.

This early editorial suggested that the city's "business manager should be something of an engineer, he should have a technical knowledge of street construction, he should understand sewer construction, he should know something concerning the science of electricity, the science of hydraulics, and the operation of machinery . . . and furthermore, he should be an accountant and also have a fair knowledge of municipal law." . . .

Mr. Mason [H. A. "Dad" Mason, first secretary of the League of California Cities] ended his editorial with a reasoned plea for training for the work of managing municipalities stating that "every city that receives and spends $50,000 annually ought to have a salaried business manager." *Western City.*

AMERICA is reputed to be the birthplace of the city managership system. But the principle of the city managership, if not the title, was established in Birmingham [England] a hundred years ago. It would be interesting, indeed, to know if John Dester, who served the Street Commissioners of Birmingham for a period of thirty-three years, was actually the first city manager. Dester seems to have been responsible for everything concerned with the administration of Birmingham except the legal work of the clerk to the commissioners and the surveying and engineering work of the surveyor. Among his duties were those of rate collector, accountant, road surveyor, inspector of nuisances, superintendent of watchmen and street-keepers, and superintendent of scavengers, horses, and carts. *Municipal Journal and Public Works Engineer.*

Welcome to Our City

AN "Acquaintance Improvement Bond" is a clever new advertising promotional novelty used by the city of Santa Ana, California. Printed to resemble a regular bond form, it sets forth that "Under and by virtue of an act of the City Fathers, said city will endeavor to pay to the bearer of the bond a large and overflowing portion of HOSPITALITY, FRIENDSHIP, and ENTERTAINMENT." The bond carries the signature of the Mayor, City Clerk, and City Auditor. It is being used by the city to extend its invitations to various associations and group meetings held within the city. *Editorial Research Reports.*

The Morning After

AMERICAN cities have been on a hundred-year "bender"—a century of wild, reckless, unplanned growth! This is the cold, grey dawn of the morning after, a time to find out where we are, what we have done, and where we are going. SHERMAN S. SHEPPARD, address before Tampa, Florida, Chamber of Commerce.

Gleaned from the Daily News Columns

The Horsey Set

A WELL known society girl of White Plains [which voted recently on the adoption of proportional representation] attended a P. R. meeting. . . . After hearing the discussion on P. R. she rose to her feet and said: "Mr. Chairman, I am heart and soul against P. R. and I want to register a protest against open horse betting. This P. R. which legalizes gambling should be defeated at all costs."

With a hurried "I thank you," she left the hall. Before she got out of the door, however, she was grabbed by one of the P. R. boosters and told that P. R. had nothing to do with horse racing or gambling.

"Oh, dear," she sighed, "I thought that P. R. meant Pari-Mutuel." *Westchester Bulletin,* Yonkers, New York.

No One Wants the Money

Oklahoma County [Oklahoma] owes $5,307 to creditors who won't come in and collect it.

"It's a strange condition," mused Commissioner Grover Pendleton, "when people we owe money won't bring their bills in and collect. We have the money available and still they won't come in." *Christian Science Monitor.*

Asks a West Point for Legislators

State Senator Joe R. Hanley of Perry [New York], Republican majority leader, advocates establishment of a civil academy to train young men and women for public service.

Senator Hanley said the academy could operate much as West Point and Annapolis. Graduates could be selected by the public for its senators and representatives. *World Telegram,* New York City.

Contributors in Review

CONSTANT association with affairs of local government in Toledo serves **Donovan F. Emch** (*Toledo, Taxes, and Relief*) as background for his current analysis of the relief crisis there. After his appointment to the political science faculty at the University of Toledo in 1931, Professor Emch plunged into the following assorted activities (among other endeavors): 1933—three-month audit of relief in Toledo for Lucas County Relief Administration, short appraisal of the city manager plan for the city council, member of advisory committee for CWA research; 1935—research secretary of the Lucas County Charter Commission; 1937—report on delinquent special assessments in selected areas for Lucas County auditor.

MOST of the vital statistics regarding the professional career of **Dr. Howard M. Kline** (*Saginaw: A Lesson in Efficiency*) were recorded in the November 1939 issue of the REVIEW, when the first of his two articles (written in collaboration with Mrs. Kline) appeared.

AN ANNUAL summer vacation from professorship at Hunter College was responsible for **Madge M. McKinney's** discovery of *A Municipality That Is Different.* Dr. McKinney has taught also at Western Reserve University and at Cedar Crest College in Allentown, Pennsylvania. Her extra-curricular activities, besides the periodic sojourn at Ocean Grove, include the authorship of articles on such diverse subjects as training for citizenship in the secondary schools of New York City, the right of asylum, and constitutional amendment in New York State.

TO HELP assume an unbiased ballot" **James K. Pollock** (*New Thoughts on the Short Ballot*) was named by the Saar Plebiscite Commission in 1935 to preside over one of the voting bureaus. The appointment constituted a recognition of Professor Pollock's reputation as a specialist on political parties and elections in the United States and Europe which was built up as a fellow of the Social Science Research Council traveling in Europe in 1927-29, as chairman of the Michigan Civil Service Study Commission, as author of nine scholarly volumes and numerous articles, and as professor of political science at several universities, currently the University of Michigan.

FOR the Brookings Institution, **Harold S. Rand** (*The Food Stamp Plan Raises an Issue*) has just begun an administrative and organization study of all public relief agencies in Monroe County, New York, of which the city of Rochester is the seat, and in which, in turn, the food stamp plan originated. He is a staff member of the Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research and also an instructor in American government at the University of Rochester. Mr. Rand has just completed the real property inventory of Rochester which the bureau undertook at the request of the city administration.

AN ASSOCIATE social science analyst with the Social and Economic Research Division of the Tennessee Valley Authority, **M. H. Satterfield** (*Tennessee Counties Stand Pat*) has been making surveys of county and city government in the Tennessee Valley area. Except for a brief period as an instructor in political science at the University of Nebraska and later as field representative for the American Municipal Association, Dr. Satterfield's employer has been the federal government. He was once assistant state director of resettlement with the FERA, later becoming regional representative for the Resettlement Administration.

(Continued on Page 54)

The Researcher's Digest: January

Washington municipal salaries top 1929 levels; trends in Buffalo school costs; New York State research bureau disputed; a new Newark research periodical; sheriffs and what to do with them.

IS THE depression over? It depends upon what business you're in. For public employees of Washington cities—to narrow the field with due caution—it appears that it is. A painstaking compilation of salary data by the **Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of Washington** (Report No. 40, November 1, 1939) shows, not in words, for no verbal conclusions are drawn, but in statistics, that most civil servants in Washington cities are being paid, in 1939, at least as well as in 1929, and in many cases better.

On the basis of questionnaires sent to city clerks, the bureau compiled salaries paid by 109 municipalities in the state for the year 1939, and statistically analyzed salary trends from 1929 to 1939 for official positions in the fifty largest cities of the state. Using an index rating of 100 for the average salary paid in the big cities in 1929, for each of twenty-seven different positions, ranging through mayor, department heads, stenographers, manual labor, etc., the bureau followed the salary through the key years 1933, 1936, 1938, and 1939. In 1933, as might be expected, the indexes dipped way down into the eighties and in some cases as low as seventy. The rally in 1936 was noticeable, but few salaries reached the 1929 level. By 1938 there was a big rise, however, only slightly topped by the 1939 wage levels.

The bureau also shows the cumulative salary index for each city. In 1933 the median salary index was 91, the average 89, the range 67 to 104. In 1936 the range had increased to 68 to 112, but the median was still 91 and the average had risen only two points over 1929. By 1939, however, the median was 101, slightly above the 1929 level, while the average was 102, and the range was 77 to 131.

Still another type of analysis was employed by the bureau. For each of the twenty-seven positions, for each of four periods—1929-1933, 1933-1936, 1936-1938, and 1938-1939—there is given the number of cities in which salaries increased, were reduced, or remained the same. The salary slaughter is shown to be terrific in the 1929-1933 period, but the number of reductions greatly decreased in the next three years, while by 1939 hardly any reductions are recorded.

Pricing an Educated American

Another exhaustive compilation from official records, in a different field from that of the Washington bureau but in a similar vein, has been made recently by the **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau.** Using the same technique as the Washington bureau—the presentation of cost figures over a period of years without comment—the Buffalo bureau shows trends in the *Cost of Education in the Public Schools of Buffalo* from 1931-32 to 1939-40. As a foil for the recent omnibus report presented by the Regents' Inquiry into the Character and Cost of Public Education in the State of New York, the bureau's compilations show the situation in Buffalo as compared with the rest of the state.

The Regents' Inquiry reported that the gross current expense of operating the public schools in the state increased in the ratio of 100 to 376 between 1917 and 1935. The Buffalo bureau found that the local cost rose from 100 to 390 in the same period. Carrying the local study further, the bureau discovered that by 1938-39, four years later, Buffalo school costs increased to 4.2 times the 1917-18 appropriation. The bureau makes further generalizations with regard to trends in the local school population, teaching load, salaries and wages, per pupil cost of instruction, number of employees, state aid, school borrowings, etc.

New York Relief Controversy

The **New York State Bureau of Governmental Research** has had an exciting record of controversy in the relatively short period of its being—which would be two years come spring. From the beginning the bureau has placed most emphasis on research studies purporting to show the high cost of government in New York State, as compared with other states. Relief administration, especially, has come in for the bureau's critical scrutiny, and periodic bulletins have charged that fraud, inefficiency, and "politics" are seriously impairing the effectiveness and increasing the cost of public welfare in the state's localities. In the bureau's September 18 bulletin, five recommendations were made for improving relief administration: (1) an audit of relief by an independent state agency under the comptroller; (2) power to the state social welfare department to require reductions in local staffs and to limit other administrative costs; (3) setting up of appeal boards to which persons on relief can carry grievances; (4) extension of the State Civil Service Commission's supervision over relief administrative staff workers; (5) a Hatch bill for relief workers.

Many of the bureau's cost of government allegations have been assailed by state officials and others, but the statements regarding relief have come in for most of the rebuttal. A memorandum issued on December 5 at the request of the state legislature by the New York State Charities Aid Association, citizens' organization devoted to promoting effective public welfare and health administration, disputes four of the five relief recommendations, as well as the original premise on which they were based. The association's assistant secretary denies that the cost of relief in New York is indeed unjustifiably greater per capita than elsewhere, and supplies its own figures to prove its assertions; insists that the bureau's proposal of an independent audit of relief would duplicate existing audits which are already adequate and would further increase the cost of welfare; warns that an increase in the powers of the State Department of Social Welfare as advocated by the bureau would wipe out local responsibility for relief; claims that proposed appeal boards would increase, not decrease, relief expenditures; points out that steps have already been taken to extend civil service to relief bureau personnel, and finally agrees with the bureau's suggestion that there should be a "Hatch bill" for relief employees. As a final blow, the association questions the validity of the data on which the bureau bases its charges of fraud and inefficiency.

"Notes on Newark"

Colorful capsule periodical bulletins continue their increase in popularity among research bureaus. Latest recruit is the **Newark Bureau of Municipal Research,** which announces a new publication, *Notes on Newark,* which will "cover important municipal topics and report in condensed form the results of more extended formal research. Planned for wider circulation than the bureau's survey reports, *Notes* will be purposely brief, possibly curt, always timely, factual, and nonpartisan." The initial issue of the new bulletin, devoted to explaining what the bureau is and why, is printed on heavy paper, the color scheme an attractive bright blue and gray.

Boston Considers the Sheriff

Counties and their vestigial elective offices make citizen heads ache regardless of geographical location. Hence there should be more than local interest in the **Boston bureau's** recent attack on that moot question, what to do with the sheriff and his entourage. In a December 11 bulletin peremptorily titled "Modify the Office of Sheriff," the bureau not only explains the sheriff's legal and practical place in the Boston political scene, but also suggests remedies for the evils which derive from the position as it is now constituted. The bureau advocates transferring control of the Charles Street Jail, over which the sheriff now holds sway, to the Penal Institutions Department of the city, placing personnel under civil service, audit of the fees of the sheriff's deputies, and expert survey of county government affairs in general.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Budget

A Budget Manual for Washington Municipalities. By Arthur N. Lorig. Seattle, Bureau of Governmental Research, University of Washington, Sept. 1, 1939. 23 pp.

The City Budget Compared. Providence Governmental Research Bureau. Nov. 1939. 1 p.

Finance

Financial Remedies Available. New York State Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* Nov. 30, 1939. 2 pp.

Salaries

Salary Trends in Washington Cities. Seattle, Bureau of Governmental Research, University of Washington, Nov. 1, 1939. 40 pp.

Schools

The Cost of Education in the Public Schools of Buffalo. Buffalo, Municipal Research Bureau, Inc., Nov. 1939. 23 pp. Fifty cents.

Our School Children—Their Achievement. Citizen Planning Committee for Public Education in New Orleans, La., *Planning for our Schools,* Nov. 26, 1939. 12 pp.

Financing our Schools. Citizens Planning Committee for Public Education in New Orleans, La., *Planning for our Schools,* Dec. 3, 1939. 10 pp.

Sheriff

Modify the Office of Sheriff. Boston Municipal Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* Dec. 11, 1939. 4 pp.

Tax Rate

Tax Rate for City Taxpayers. Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc., *Municipal Research,* November 1939. 1 p.

CONTRIBUTORS IN REVIEW

(Continued from Page 51)

BEGINNING at the training school conducted by the New York Bureau of Municipal Research, **Don C. Sowers** (*The Old Age Threat in Colorado*) has spent most of his career in numerous capacities in various bureaus of municipal research, including those in Dayton, Akron, and the University of Colorado, where he has been since 1922. Dr. Sowers has also been secretary-treasurer of the Colorado Municipal League since 1923, in which year he served as assistant budget commissioner under Governor William E. Sweet. Under Director Sowers the Bureau of Business and Government Research of the University of Colorado has conducted over forty business surveys and reports, in addition to numerous reports on governmental subjects.

News in Review

City, County, State Progress in Brief

Training for Public Service to the Fore

Federal, State, and Local Governments Offer In-service Programs

Many Cities Discuss Manager Plan

Edited by

H. M. OLMSTED

More than 27,000 public employees were enrolled in federally-aided training programs during the year ended June 30, 1939, according to a preliminary survey of statistical reports from State Boards for Vocational Education, as reported in "Public Service Training Notes," by Lyman S. Moore, public service training consultant, U. S. Office of Education. More than 13,000 of these were firemen, more than 7,000 were policemen, and the remainder consisted of such diverse groups as waterworks operators, sewage-works operators, employment-service supervisors, foresters, finance officers, sanitary inspectors, tax collectors, weights and measures inspectors, public utility operators, public welfare officials, hospital employees, highway employees, motor vehicle tax inspectors, and prison officers. Twenty-seven states conducted fire training programs, nineteen police training programs, and fourteen conducted programs for public employees other than firemen and policemen. Thirty-two states conducted public in-service training programs under the provisions of the Smith-Hughes and George-Deen acts.

Significant State Legislation for Better Civil Service

Improvements in methods of selecting personnel directors, legislation giving the directors more complete charge of the technical functions of state merit systems, and provision for in-service training of public employees are significant developments in state civil service laws adopted during the past three years, according to a digest prepared by the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada.

Eight of the states which adopted or amended their civil service laws in 1937 or 1939 delegated to the personnel director the administration of all technical functions of the merit system, instead of following the former fashion of establishing full-time, bipartisan commissions to supervise all operations.

Under the newer laws, the civil service commissions are relieved of responsibility for technical and administrative details. They act more in an advisory capacity on major policies. States in which this procedure is followed under the provisions of recent laws include Alabama, Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Rhode Island, and Tennessee.

The personnel director, appointed by the governor in most states, is chosen from an eligible list established through competitive examination in two of the states—Rhode Island and Minnesota—which adopted civil service in 1939. The Civil Service Commission in Minnesota actually makes the final choice. In Rhode Island the commission selects the examining committee and thus shares with the governor, who makes the final choice, the responsibility for securing a well qualified person. Both states, as well as Wisconsin which chooses its personnel director in the

Rhode Island manner, declared non-residents eligible for the position.

Provision for in-service training of state employees as a regular function of the state personnel agency was written into the laws of Alabama, Rhode Island, and Minnesota this year. The personnel director is in charge of this training.

One-Day Regional Schools for Civil Service Officials in New York

Regional municipal training schools for civil service commissioners and secretaries of the cities of New York State were held in seven centers during November and December. The schools operated under the direction of the Municipal Training Institute administered by the New York State Conference of Mayors and other Municipal Officials. Coöperating agencies included the State Department of Civil Service, the Bureau of Public Service Training of the State Education Department, and the Conference of Mayors.

The schools gave instruction in the fundamentals of the jobs of civil service commissioners, secretaries, and members of their office staffs. The subjects of instruction presented in all regional schools included powers and duties of municipal civil service commissions and local civil service rules, examinations, certifying and appointing eligibles, checking and certification of payrolls, personnel forms and records and methods of filing, and relation of the State Civil Service Commission to local commissions. There was also an extensive round table discussion and question box period on problems of civil service commissions.

Training for City Planning in New York

New York University School of Architecture and Allied Arts has announced an intensive twelve-weeks course beginning January 3 in the Theory and Practice of City Planning, with special emphasis upon New York City and the metropolitan region. The legal basis, organization, functions and methods of the New York City Planning Commission will be used as the fundamental background for the various phases of the course, which will include lectures, laboratory work, and special design.

The course will provide special training for aspirants to city planning opportunities, public and private, particularly in connection with the difficult and expanding tasks of the New York City Planning Commission.

Dr. Carol Aronovici will have charge of the course, assisted by a corps of experts including Sir Raymond Unwin, Clarence Stein, Harold S. Buttenheim, Harold M. Lewis, and others.

Merit System Progress in Cities, Counties, States

Twenty-seven local governments adopted, extended, or consolidated civil service provisions for their employees in 1939, according to a survey of local developments in the merit system by the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada. Recent advances in various municipal, county, and state governments are reported in the Assembly's December *News Letter*.

Atlantic City, New Jersey, on November 7, saw voters approve a civil service system covering approximately one thousand municipal employees. The State Civil Service Commission, which will administer the merit system, is already at work on a classification plan for the city. A similar civil service referendum was defeated by the electorate in Maplewood, New Jersey.

By action of the Alabama legislature, a Personnel Board has just been created to administer a merit system for the county of Mobile and its municipalities. The cities included are Mobile, Citronelle, and Prichard. Similar to the act establishing the Jefferson County, Alabama, merit system, the statute provides for election of the Personnel Board by a Citizens' Supervisory Commission. The board, which appoints a director of personnel, is authorized to determine the need for personnel, to order the increase or decrease of personnel, and has power to fix salaries in the classified service.

Official returns from the civil service referendum election held at West Palm Beach, Florida, showed that 796 votes were cast for the merit system and 620 against it.

An ordinance was adopted in Wheeling, West Virginia, consolidating the activities of the Municipal Civil Service Commission, Police Civil Service Commission, and Fire Civil Service Commission under a new five-member commission.

Counties in the state of Wisconsin were given permission by the state legislature to establish civil service systems applicable to all county personnel including personnel authorized by statute to be appointed by officers, boards, committees, or commissions, with the exception of the members of the governing body, elective constitutional officers, members of boards and commissions, and members of the judiciary. It was further provided that the counties might establish a retirement system for their employees.

Voters in Detroit, Michigan, last month approved an amendment to the city charter extending civil service provisions to employees of the Detroit Street Railways and Rapid Transit Commission, certain employees of the Welfare Department not now under civil service, and common laborers.

Rapid progress in the installation of a merit system for the state of Minnesota is reported by the new State Department of Civil Service. The classification of the approximately ten thousand positions in the state service with the help of the Public Administration Service will be completed by March 1, 1940. Public hearings have been scheduled by the State Civil Service Board on rules for the operation of the department.

Other cities adopting merit administration this year were Atlanta, Georgia; Greenville, South Carolina; Bowling Green and Owensboro, Kentucky; Lincoln Park, Michigan; Chicago Heights, Mt. Vernon, Monmouth, and Sterling, Illinois; West Allis, Wisconsin; and Fairfield, Homewood, and Tarrant, Alabama.

Among cities which broadened civil service provisions were Norfolk, Virginia; Newport, Kentucky; and Fort Smith, Arkansas, all three of which extended coverage from police and firemen only to all city employees. Fayetteville, North Carolina, and Gary, Indiana, introduced civil service for police department employees, while Elgin, Illinois, added several groups of employees to a system already established.

Council-Manager Plan News

The council-manager plan is being discussed at public hearings in **Washington, D. C.**, dealing with proposals for reorganization of the local government of the District of Columbia, including local suffrage. The manager plan is strongly advocated by Wilbur S. Finch, chairman of the reorganization committee of the Federation of Citizens' Associations, who has proposed a council of approximately twenty-one to represent the geographical divisions of the district and various points of view of the citizens, such council to appoint a city manager.

A bill embodying a new council-manager charter sponsored by the Charter League, Inc., of **Central Falls, Rhode Island,** is to be introduced in the legislature of that state. This charter would do away with the present two-chamber municipal legislature, comprised of five aldermen and eleven councilmen elected by wards, and would substitute a single council of five members, nominated by petitions of fifty to one hundred signers per candidate. The ten winners in the primary would be candidates in the final election, the five with the highest numbers of votes being elected, and the one receiving the maximum votes being declared mayor. The city manager, who is to be chosen by the council, as well as the members of the council itself, would be subject to recall. An election for such purpose may be called when 1,000 signatures have been obtained to a petition stating the reasons for recall.

The charter commission of **Dunkirk, New York,** has sponsored open forums for discussion of charter revision, at the second of which, attended by some fifty persons, nine speakers advocated the manager plan.

A new campaign for enactment of enabling legislation for **Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania,** has been initiated by the Allegheny County League of Women Voters.

A modified form of county-manager government has been informally agreed upon by the commissioners of **Fulton County, Georgia,** containing the city of Atlanta. The clerk of the county commission is expected to assume managerial duties under the title of executive secretary.

Mayor Maury Maverick of **San Antonio, Texas,** hopes to submit to the public a city manager plan, to be drafted by a small committee, at the same time as a recodification of the city's ordinances, in about six months.

Manager government for the towns of **Boothbay, Boothbay Harbor,** and **Southport, Maine,** was the leading topic of discussion at the annual meeting of the Boothbay Harbor Region Chamber of Commerce on December 5.

Mayor Joseph R. Sober of **Redding, California,** has told the Shasta County grand jury that he believes the appointment of a city manager would improve greatly the efficiency of municipal operation, including the functioning of the police department.

In **Springfield, Massachusetts,** a local committee is making an active campaign for adoption of the statutory Plan E form of city government (manager and P.R.). This plan was discussed on December 15 at the High School of Commerce by Walter J. Millard, field secretary of the National Municipal League, at an open meeting sponsored by the Springfield Taxpayers' Association.

In announcing the talk Frederick D. Griggs, executive director of the association, pointed to the recent court action against several city employees as added proof that a revision of the city government is needed.

A council-manager charter for **Gladewater, Texas,** is expected to be submitted to the voters shortly.

Councilman James H. O'Boyle of **Monrovia, California,** is advocating manager government for that city. Councilman F. E. Yost charges lack of coöperation between the present council and various operating departments of the city.

The city council of **Roseville, California,** has turned down a proposal for a referendum on the council-manager plan.

The City Club of **Portland, Oregon,** is renewing interest in the manager plan, which it endorsed six years ago. A panel discussion was held at the December meeting.

Governor Charles A. Sprague of **Oregon** has advocated the manager plan for **Salem,** the state capital and his home city.

The **Windsor, Ontario,** city council declined to order a referendum on council-manager government.

Sidney, Ohio, and **Mankato, Minnesota,** are among cities reported as interested in the manager plan.

On December 27 Mayor Bryce B. Smith of **Kansas City, Missouri,** resigned in protest against the appointment of William Drennon, a retired insurance director, as city manager, by a city council coalition of adherents of Thomas J. Pendergast, imprisoned political boss, and Congressman Joseph Shannon, formerly rivals within the local Democratic party. Smith had advocated the selection of a trained manager from some other city. It is reported that efforts for a city recall election on February 13 have been intensified.

Texas Personnel Conference Made Permanent

The success of the first Texas Personnel Conference, held recently by the University of Texas, was such that the two hundred industrial and commercial personnel leaders of the state who attended voted to make it a permanent organization, and selected as head W. R. Woolrich, engineering dean, who served as chairman. Officials from seven fields of business—banking, department stores, insurance, manufacturing, newspaper publication, petroleum, and utilities—as well as various governmental agencies attended the conference and took part in the discussions following the addresses and panels.

Cities Meet Increased Requirement on WPA Projects

The requirement that cities must contribute a minimum of 25 per cent to the WPA projects in every state as a whole, which goes into effect after January 1 under the Work Projects Administration act, is not expected to work any hardship on most communities, according to the American Municipal Association. The average local contribution is already approximately at this point in most states and in some above it. To some extent, the increase in work relief costs borne by the sponsoring city or state is reported to be due to the limitation imposed by the new law on the amount of federal funds going to meet non-labor costs. Such federal contributions are limited to six dollars per month per man.

At least thirteen states are turning to local work programs of various kinds, the association said. WPA officials urge cities to refrain from setting up programs which would employ people at relief wages for maintenance work that should be a regular function of local government.

Handbill Ordinances Must Not Abridge Civil Liberties

Various cities may find it advisable to rewrite or reinterpret their ordinances on the distribution of handbills in light of the recent decision on the subject by the United States Supreme Court.

Invalidating anti-handbill ordinances in Los Angeles, Milwaukee, Worcester (Massachusetts), and Irvington (New Jersey), the court's opinion stated that although cities "have every right to enact regulations in the interest of public safety, health, welfare, or convenience," they cannot, in enforcing these ordinances, abridge the constitutional right of free speech and freedom of the press. The American Municipal Association has issued a memorandum discussing the decision and making suggestions.

Dual Office-Holding in Montreal

The Montreal Citizens' Committee has recently criticized the fact that the mayor and two of the city's aldermen are also members of the new legislature of the province of Quebec and propose to retain both offices. The committee contends that this makes for divided allegiance and undue mixture of politics and administration.

State Regulation of Interstate Liquor Shipments

On Novemeber 20 the Supreme Court of the United States upheld in the case of *Ziffrin* v. *Reeves* a Kentucky law requiring carriers of alcoholic beverages from Kentucky distilleries to destinations in other states to be regularly licensed in Kentucky, and restricting licenses to common carriers.

The case settles one of the two remaining "interstate commerce" barriers to effective state regulation, the other being the question whether a state can channelize, as by licensing trans-shippers, interstate shipments across the state to a destination beyond its borders. Kentucky experience shows that regulation of transport across state lines—especially on highway and waterway—is essential to regulation of the alcoholic beverage market traffic if the job is to be done at reasonable cost.

James W. Martin
Bureau of Business Research
University of Kentucky

Fellowships at University of Denver

Graduate fellowships in the field of local government are again being offered by the University of Denver under a grant from the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation. The maximum fellowship stipend per twelve-month period is $1,200 for single persons and $1,800 for married men. Applications will be received by the Committee on Selection, Department of Government Management, University of Denver, not later than March 1, 1940, for the class beginning in September 1940.

Fulton County and Atlanta Survey Bears Fruit

Counties Demand Payments from TVA "in Lieu of Taxes"

Edited by
ELWYN MAUCK

THE survey of Atlanta and Fulton County, Georgia, made by the Consultant Service of the National Municipal League, under the direction of Dr. Thomas H. Reed, approximately two years ago, has begun to bear fruit. The Atlanta Chamber of Commerce which sponsored the survey is largely responsible for the translation of the various recommendations into practice.

Chief among recommendations of the Reed report were: (1) a strong executive government for both Atlanta and Fulton County; (2) abolition of the ward system; (3) establishment of civil service systems in the city and in the county; (4) assumption by the county of the relief burden; (5) consolidation of all local public hospitals under a joint board of trustees, with the cost of maintaining them equitably distributed; (6) consolidation of city and county health departments; (7) establishment of a metropolitan planning district; (8) fire and police protection and parks and playgrounds to be provided the county by the city on a contractual basis; (9) a constitutional amendment granting limited home rule to Fulton County; (10) establishment of a recreational division in the city parks department; (11) a budget system and cash basis for Fulton County.

In the brief time since the report was made many of the recommendations have been put into effect. Some of the recommendations required action by the Georgia legislature and at its regular session in 1939, the necessary legislation was enacted to carry out several provisions. Perhaps the most significant of these acts was the one calling for abolition of the ward system. This was accomplished in the form of an amendment to the municipal primary act —an amendment which did not reveal its true content. It was enacted before the ward politicians realized what it meant. The amendment added the italicized language in the following section:

> The persons authorized by the rules of the party organization or association to hold such primary election shall provide an official ballot, *the names of the candidates shall be submitted to the electorate of the municipality in the same manner as in the general election,* whereon shall be printed all the names of the candidates for the various offices, candidates for which are being voted for.

The effect of the amendment may be to eliminate many of those on the city council who have been opposed to the report.

Another law that was passed by the 1939 legislature called for a merit system for the city of Atlanta. The act followed the lines of the Reed recommendations, though it fell short of them in many respects. It provided for a civil service board composed of three members appointed by the mayor for six-year staggered terms. It provided also for an administrative head of the classified service to be called the personnel director. He is to be selected by the board and receive a salary of $3,600.

Excepted from the classified service are the following: (1) officers elected by the people; (2) officers and employees specifically exempted by law; (3) all assistants and employees in the department of law; (4) election officials; (5) officers and employees in the departments of police, fire, and education having their own civil service or tenure rules; (6) officers and employees of the Carnegie Library and its branches; (7) employees of the city of Atlanta making a salary of $70 per month or less; and (8) a few other miscellaneous classifications. All other employees are placed in the classified service. At present they number approximately 1,250. The police and fire departments operate under a so-called civil service system previously adopted.

When a position covered by the act is vacant, the director certifies the names of three eligible people standing highest on the register to the appointing authority. Rules of promotion are to be worked out. The Civil Service Board is endeavoring to curb the political activity of those in the classified service.

The general assembly of 1939 proposed a constitutional amendment also which would allow it to provide for a civil service system for Fulton County. This amendment was ratified by the people at a special election in June. Probably such an act will be passed at the next session of the general assembly.

Another important recommendation of the Reed report was cleared so far as legal difficulties were concerned by the recent session of the legislature. This relates to the right of Fulton County to contract with Atlanta for the performance of certain functions. Henceforth Fulton County can contract with the city of Atlanta for police, fire, sewer, and other services.

Recently the Battle Hill Sanitorium and Grady Hospital were consolidated under a single board of trustees, a step also in line with the survey recommendations. Furthermore the Fulton County Commission has adopted a budget system putting the county on a cash basis. The recommendation to the effect that a division of recreation be established in the Department of Parks has been carried out. And finally the entire relief burden has been assumed by the county as recommended.

In January 1939 a Citizens' One-Government League was formed. After an unsuccessful effort to secure immediate fundamental reorganization from the legislature, it adopted the following five-year plan:

> (1) Establish one new, modern, efficient government to replace the present obsolete governments of Atlanta and Fulton County, thus doing away with the present duplication of effort and divided responsibility and eliminating the accompanying waste of tax money and "buck-passing" between our two present governments; (2) by this means, or in the meantime by working for city-county coöperation by contract, establish one system of tax assessment and collection, and of health, hospital, police, fire, sanitary, park, planning, and other services; (3) work out with the citizens of DeKalb County a plan designed to protect fully the citizens of that county as to its taxable revenues and to provide such services as they may elect to receive; (4) to attain the objectives above, work to assure the passage at the next regular session of the legislature, subject to popular vote, of a constitutional amendment and a concurrent statute establishing a new government, and of such other legislation as may be necessary.

The Reed report, although it indicated that a merger of the two governments would be highly desirable and the ultimate solution if it could be achieved, did not recommend such a merger. Thus the One-Government League goes beyond the recommendations in the report.

Cullen B. Gosnell
Emory University

County Plans Advancing in New York City Area

At the annual meeting held early in December by the committee to consider the development of the *Plan for New York City and its Environs,* great satisfaction was expressed concerning the progress made toward planning development. One hundred seventy local planning boards have been established, of which nine are county boards. Nassau has authorized the creation of a board, and will constitute the tenth county. The major problem now is that of securing adequate appropriations. In most units the appropriations are meager, but in some the planning boards have been expected to live wholly without funds. The committee will exert its efforts to alleviate this situation.

Seattle Forum Features County Government

The sixth session, on November 21, of the Local Government Forum sponsored by the Municipal League of Seattle turned the spotlight of public attention to county finance. The topic of discussion was "County Financial Management: The Assessor, the Auditor, and the Treasurer." After the meeting the forum members were conducted through the county assessor's office to study methods of assessing property, levying taxes, and spending funds. Those participating included county officials, newspaper men, and representatives of investment houses.

Local Government in TVA Area Faces Difficult Readjustments

COUNTIES and other units of local government in the area embraced by the TVA are facing increasingly difficult fiscal problems. Blame has been placed on the doorsteps of the state and federal governments because of inaction in replacing tax revenue lost as the result of public acquisition of land and privately-owned public utility property. TVA officials are attempting to find an equitable solution through Congressional action, but many counties are impatient of the delay and opposed to the plans presented.

The arrangement favored by Senator Norris and TVA officials is embraced in a bill introduced in the first session of the 76th Congress (H. R. 7424). In part due to its late introduction (July 31, 1939) the bill did not receive general consideration. The bill pending provides that the TVA increase payments made to the states in lieu of all state, county, and local taxes. The payments are to constitute a charge against the power operations. They begin at 10 per cent of gross proceeds derived from power sales for 1940, but they decrease one-half of one per cent each year (as total gross proceeds increase) until they reach 5 per cent for 1948 and every year thereafter. The payments are to be allocated among the states one-half on the basis of gross proceeds from power sales and one-half on the basis of book value of property devoted to power. The minimum payment to any state is either the average state and local tax revenue previously received from the power property purchased by the TVA and from land devoted to power use or the fixed sum of $10,000, whichever is the larger amount. The bill declares that it is the intention of Congress that each state shall redistribute the payments to the counties and other local taxing districts affected by the TVA program.

The most vigorous opposition to the pending bill is developing in those counties containing huge dams or generating plants, for it is improbable that the states would redistribute the payments solely on the basis of property value. Until purchased by the TVA or coöperating municipalities, public utilities located in some counties provided them with two-thirds the valuation of their tax bases. Such counties quite naturally are requesting the enactment of a federal statute that would permit states and local units to tax the property of federal "proprietary" enterprises. The state of Georgia has attempted to solve the problem by passing several statutes authorizing such levies, but the laws are generally conceded to be unconstitutional.

In spite of dire predictions that millions of dollars of bonds will be in default, that schools will close, and other services will be curtailed, there is a brighter side. The material benefits of the TVA may be less easily measured and impossible of assessment by local officials, but they are no less real. TVA officials state that reduced power rates alone save Tennessee consumers $8,000,000 annually. Improved land use, the establishment of new industries, and similar factors will increase the tax base to such an extent that they may eventually offset the present tax loss resulting from public ownership.

Cleveland Citizens Help Democracy Democ

Ohio Townships Try Cooperation Local Forums in Detroit and Seattle

Edited by
ELWOOD N. THOMPSON

IN THESE days of trouble for democratic governments there is a tendency to blame the citizen for many of our governmental ills. A common assertion is that democracy is failing because the citizen is not interested in his government and its problems.

Citizens of Cleveland and vicinity have demonstrated recently that this charge, in its application to them, may well be questioned. They are interested in the problems of local government as shown by the fact that the total attendance at a series of nine lectures given by Cleveland city officials exceeded three thousand. This is particularly noteworthy because all nine lectures were given within a period of three and a half weeks in competition with the Thanksgiving and pre-Christmas holiday season.

Mayor Harold H. Burton gave the first lecture to a capacity audience of more than five hundred persons. He developed the thesis that the future of democracy will be determined by its performance in our large cities. Each director of the seven departments into which Cleveland's government is divided then participated in the lecture program. Some of the directors outlined the nature of the work performed by the various divisions within their departments; others dealt in greater detail with selected aspects of departmental activity. Mayor Burton concluded the series with a lecture on the major developments which may be expected in Cleveland during the next twenty-five years.

The political science department of Western Reserve University sponsored the lectures which were held on the university campus. University students attended in considerable numbers, but no university credit was given for attendance. Students of political science and prospective teachers of social studies in the local schools displayed a particular interest. Faculty members from the various schools and departments of the university also attended.

University groups, however, constituted a minority of the total audience. High school teachers brought their social studies classes. Public employees of Cleveland and neighboring governmental jurisdictions attended. The general citizenry of the community was well represented.

Why was this series of lectures given? A major factor was the recognition on the part of both city and university of the importance of an informed and intelligent citizen body. Local governments cannot hope to cope successfully with their problems without the understanding and support of the people.

It was felt, also, that if the university became aware of the work of the city, the city of the work of the university, and the public of the work of both, the need for a training program for administrative positions might gain greater recognition. The belief that any citizen is qualified for the public service is all too prevalent. Governments and universities should coöperate in an attempt to make available a properly trained personnel for the public service.

Participation by the Mayor and his department heads in the lecture program represents an additional step forward in promoting coöperation between the city of Cleveland and Western Reserve University. Among earlier developments may be mentioned the arrangement whereby some of the better senior students are assigned to city departments to gain actual experience in the problems of government. Compensation takes the form of university credit and the experience gained.

The lectures followed these themes:

(1) New Frontiers of Democracy in the Modern City, Mayor Harold H. Burton; (2) Guarding the City's Health and Welfare, Fred W. Ramsey, Director of Health and Welfare; (3) The Park Department—Airport, Parks, Recreation, and other Duties, Hugo E. Varga, Director of Parks and Public Property; (4) The City's Legal Problems, Henry S. Brainard, Director of Law; (5) Recent Trends in Police Methods and Administration, Eliot S. Ness, Director of Public Safety; (6) Financing the Program of Community Services, G. A. Gesell, Director of Finance; (7) Supplying the City with Pure Water and Light, Frank O. Wallene, Director of Public Utilities; (8) Activities of the Department of Public Service, Miles E. Evans, Director of Public Service; (9) The City of the Future, Mayor Harold H. Burton.

CHRISTIAN L. LARSEN

Western Reserve University

Detroit Supports Local Government Forum

To provide a forum in which public officials, taxpayers, and other interested citizens may discuss current governmental and social problems of the Detroit metropolitan area, Wayne University and the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research are jointly sponsoring a series of one-day conferences on various phases of governmental activity.

About two hundred persons attended the first conference, held December 1, 1939, at which governmental accounting problems were considered. Lloyd Morey of the University of Illinois discussed "Citizen Interest in Financial Operations." Other topics, including technical accounting and auditing problems, were discussed by city, county, and state financial officers, and members of the staffs of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research and the university's accounting department.

Juvenile delinquency is to be the subject of a conference scheduled for the latter part of January. Other meetings will be held each month throughout the spring.

LAURENCE MICHELMORE

Wayne University, Detroit

Ohio's Experiment in City-Township Cooperation

Northwestern Ohio's unique experiment in rural community coöperation is now attracting national attention in popular magazines and among good government groups. This simple, original, and practical plan has grown out of the common needs of a typical rural community and has been developed by the rural people themselves, as reported earlier in the REVIEW.[1]

Since that report Ohio has for the first time granted townships the privilege of purchasing fire equipment coöperatively with cities—a direct outgrowth of our local experiment which can be adapted to almost any similar community.

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[1] See also NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for October 1938, p. 510.

Not only the rural areas, but the cities as well, benefit from the idea because it extends a city's contacts with its trade areas and develops coöperation between city and township government.

As readers of the REVIEW may recall, the plan began to take form five years ago with the organization of the Flat Rock Public Committee which wanted to get adequate fire protection for the village of Flat Rock. Twelve committee members were elected for one year. The fire protection project went through and the committee started other public projects which the village had needed for years.

Public library service was one objective but the village could not handle it alone so it seemed logical to form a public service organization for the entire township to get a library and other necessary public services. The Township Council, composed of the heads of the leading civic, economic, and governmental groups, put across the public library, launched a general program of community development, and then went after fire protection for the entire township.

The committee discovered, however, that modern fire apparatus, especially designed for rural fires, would cost more than one township could afford. The idea then was advanced that if the three surrounding townships could get together with the city of Bellevue an $8,000 engine could be purchased and operated coöperatively, giving really adequate protection.

The trustees of the four surrounding townships were induced to meet with the city council to make a coöperative contract. But they soon discovered that under the laws of Ohio it was illegal for cities and townships to purchase fire equipment coöperatively. A Township Council in each of the four townships was organized to meet this situation. An executive committee from each was fused into a Four-Township Council to consider public projects of mutual interest.

Naturally the fire protection project was its first job, and one of the members was placed in charge to see it through. After weeks of effort, this man, Mr. Joseph Lawler, succeeded in winning approval of a state law, signed by Governor Bricker on May 5 of this year. The new law authorizes cities and townships to purchase fire equipment coöperatively and thus solves a great need for our own and other communities in the state, especially because of the thousands of city people who are building their homes in the rural districts.

Quite a number of other public projects of similar nature have also been handled successfully in coöperation with city governmental and service groups. If some project arises of interest to the trade area, the city men simply telephone the president of the Trade-Area Council and he has a permanent organization ready to take advantage of the opportunity.

If such an organization succeeds in a trade area of a city would it not be practical on a county basis? The president of each Township Council, forming an executive committee for the county, would give a definite, practical contact for the many opportunities available for rural communities.

C. S. HUNSINGER, *President*
The Four-Township Council

Citizens Active in Washington State

Citizens' movements throughout the state continue active, with the Washington State Taxpayers Association bulletin going to some 40,000 voters. An effective local organization for good government in Spokane County is reported; and the Municipal League of Seattle is strengthening its work in Kings County.

The Seattle League is getting the best support in its twenty-nine-year history. It has concluded one forum series and is planning a second. About 1,000 copies of its weekly news are distributed regularly with 100,000 passed out from door to door just before elections. The people interested in good government recognize some practical danger in combining research and active fact dissemination in one organization but believe their program is sound because the league has a reputation among the citizens for never abusing its privileges.

1939 in Review

New Year Finds Many Cities in Financial Situations Comparable to 1930

Edited by
WADE S. SMITH

IT IS always interesting to speculate about the results of a year just closed, especially when that year is also the end of a decade as critical in the financial affairs of local governments as 1930-39 has been. Municipal finance, however, is no simple thing, and an analysis of municipal finance trends for the past decade presents an almost monumental task, impossible at this writing in mid-December. Hence, what follows is purely speculative —but it is speculation limited to observations which the writer believes have a good chance of being confirmed when accurate analysis becomes possible.

Turning to the year 1939 first, it seems likely that final figures will show: that the improving trend of current tax collections evident since 1934 continued during 1939; that, except for a few isolated instances where special circumstances control, the position of local current accounts was better at the year-end than it was at the beginning; that more cities, counties, school districts, and other special districts, showed a net reduction in their tax-supported funded debt during the year than showed a net increase; that fewer local units authorized long-term borrowing during the year than authorized it during 1938, and that the amount of such borrowing as was authorized was smaller; that local expenditures for social security began to level off in those units where they had been rising most rapidly; and finally, that there was less fiscal legislation of a dubious nature enacted into law than in any other recent year.

Such observations on 1939 are to be chalked up as favorable. Less favorable is the probability that full-year data will show: that a minority of cities, counties, and other local units continued to spend for current purposes more than they received in current income; that little progress was made in easing the position of localities hard pressed because of restrictive over-all tax rate limits; that refunding of bonded indebtedness as an expedient to lower the tax rate continued to be the policy of an unfortunately large number of local units fully able economically to avoid this expensive luxury; that a very few local units continued to borrow heavily for capital purposes despite important indications internally that the time for an easing up on this type of operation had arrived; that an equitable and satisfactory scheme for financing social security and relief costs continued lacking in the majority of situations, and that in a few states the situation even as a short-term proposition was becoming more and more critical; that the "average" city probably still has a long way to go before it will be using even a majority of the mechanical and administrative aids now available for the performance of a sound and workmanlike job of financial control.

For the decade 1930-39, the outlines must necessarily be broader. Certain trends of a major type are already evident, however: that local units are turning increasingly to the state for financial aid for a variety of purposes in addition to highways, education, welfare, and social security; that the states are increasingly dependent upon the federal government;

that state control of local finance, either advisory or absolute, is extending farther and farther afield from the mere prescription of accounting and auditing methods with which it frequently began; that the period has seen the extensive development, not only of revenue bond financing, but also of the special governmental authority (the specially created independent government entity established to meet unusual circumstances or circumvent restrictions), for which the revenue bond often seems especially appropriate; that the legislative trend has been to restrict local revenues, through such devices as over-all tax rate limitation, homestead exemption, and state expropriation of revenues formerly exclusively available locally, while at the same time extending municipal financial responsibility as most conspicuously in the fixing of local shares for relief and social security costs; that, since 1939 has seen the abrogation by the courts of the long-honored principal of the exemption of governmental salaries from personal income taxes, it is not unlikely that the decade has seen the beginning of the end of immunity from income taxation of governmental bonds.

Finally, there is one conclusion presented by the last ten years with which few will probably quarrel: that the past decade has seen the development of an interest in local government and local finance which transcends any evident during the lives of men now living, and perhaps during the history of our country. This interest may be said to have reached its peak in the tax strikes of the early 1930's. Often it was, and still is, captured and directed for questionable purposes by selfish groups seeking to enhance their own special interests. Often, even when most sincerely and honestly directed, it is an interest which has been all too narrow and without even the elementary knowledge of municipal finance which would make it effective. At best, it has been an interest which has placed the finances of many communities on a basis which will endure for many years. And even at worst, it has resulted in the compilation of a great mass of more or less reliable statistics relating to dozens of local fiscal problems, none of which is wholly without meaning to the careful citizen.

New Municipal Financing Under That of 1938

Figures compiled by the *Daily Bond Buyer* on municipal bond sales and bond authorizations through the end of November indicate that new municipal financing for 1939 will be lower than the $1,229,000,000 total of 1938.

Total long-term municipal financing for the first eleven months of 1939 was $991,000,000. For the same period in 1938 the total was $844,000,000. The increase this year, however, occurred during the early months, when bonds authorized during the last four months of 1938 in connection with federal works projects were coming on the market. November 1939 sales were just under $87,000,000, whereas November 1938 sales had been nearly $170,000,000. Sales in December this year will be well under last year's figure.

Bonds authorized during the first eleven months of 1939 aggregated slightly less than $98,000,000 as contrasted with just over $285,000,000 for the first eleven months of 1938. Total 1938 authorizations were $307,000,000. In 1937 authorizations were $159,000,000 and in 1936, $177,000,000. December is usually a month when authorizations are small, although issues totaling nearly $22,000,000 were approved in December 1938, because of the need of municipalities to match federal grants on projects which had to be under way by January 1, 1939, and the 1939 total will probably run below that of any of the preceding three years.

Philadelphia Again Seeks Income Levy

The city of Philadelphia, which a year ago considered an occupation tax as an aid to budget-balancing, adopted early in

December a municipal income tax of 1.5 per cent to secure the $17,000,000 needed to make 1940 revenues meet anticipated expenditures. The 1939 occupation tax was nullified, and it is probable that both political and legal attacks of a strong nature will be made on the proposed income levy.

The city's current account prospects for 1940 are just about as poor as they were for 1939, despite the fact that during 1939 the city pledged municipal gas plant rentals (the city-owned plant is leased to a private company) for a period of eighteen years in return for a $41,000,000 loan to take up past-due obligations and balance 1939 operations. Even with the loan, however, the city faced a prospective deficit of around $4,000,000 for 1939.

New York Mayor Urges Federal Taxation

Speaking before a convention sponsored by the Illinois Tax Commission in Chicago on December 13, New York's Mayor F. H. LaGuardia is reported to have urged a uniform system of local taxation administered by the federal government.

Taking the income tax as an example, the Mayor urged that a single levy at uniform rates be collected by the federal government, with the receipts allocated back to the several states. Systematizing of the tax base and greater economy and efficiency in tax administration were cited as possible benefits from the proposal.

Somewhat similar proposals seeking to inject the federal government into the local tax picture have been made from time to time in the past, and have raised objections—especially from the exponents of municipal home rule, of whom Mayor LaGuardia has in the past been one—that such decentralization of local financial control might completely eliminate local control of local government. Nothing appears to have been said at the Chicago convention along this line, the emphasis being placed by the Mayor on the need for additional revenues to support relief and other recently acquired local functions for which present local revenues are often inadequate.

Kentucky Exchange of Tax Information Upheld

It was reported in the June NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW (p. 447 f.) that the Court of Appeals of Kentucky had sustained the right of the Kentucky Department of Revenue to interchange cigarette tax data with other states, even though the private affairs of an individual taxpayer be disclosed thereby. The United States Supreme Court has recently denied *certiorari* without an opinion, and so of course the federal questions may be regarded as non-existent or not now sufficiently urgent to justify attention from the highest tribunal.

JAMES W. MARTIN
University of Kentucky

Five P. R. Elections[1]

A Good Start in Yonkers
Cincinnati True to Form
Toledo, Hamilton, Boulder Ballot

Edited by
GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.

The industrial city of Yonkers, which lies just to the north of New York City on the Hudson River, elected its city council by P. R. for the first time on November 7. The result was hailed by most observers with enthusiasm and with high hopes that the new representative council and the city manager chosen by it will be able to lift the city out of the financial and political difficulties with which it has long been beset.

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[1] Six American cities elected their city councils by proportional representation on November 7. The New York City election was described in this department last month.

"Yonkers has made splendid choices for council," said the *Yonkers Herald-Statesman* editorially, "reflecting extraordinary intelligence in picking from a tremendously large field."

There were thirty-one candidates, of whom five were elected. The first two were independents endorsed by the City Manager League which had led the successful fight for the new charter—Robert H. Goodwillie, executive of the large local works of the Otis Elevator Company, and Mrs. Edith P. Welty, a leader in the local League of Women Voters and in the educational campaign which led to the adoption of the manager plan and P. R. With them were elected two of the Democratic ticket—James A. Sullivan, minority leader in the outgoing common council, and Dennis A. Cooper, a retired police captain; and one endorsed by the Republicans—John J. Condon, railroad accountant and cousin of State Senator William F. Condon.

Each of the five received the full quota of 10,000, which was fixed in the charter in advance as in New York City instead of being calculated from the vote cast to elect a predetermined number of members. Since there were 57,981 valid ballots in all, this meant that 86 per cent of those who cast valid ballots helped elect someone for whom they voted.

The invalid vote was remarkably low—1,357 or 2.3 per cent of those who marked their ballots at all. Only 241 ballots were blank. The size of the vote was phenomenal for a city whose total population is only in the neighborhood of 150,000 (134,646 in the 1930 census) and which had no contests for other prominent offices.

This record of intelligent participation was doubtless due to the carefully planned and intensive educational work done by the *Herald-Statesman,* the organizations supporting the candidates, and the candidates themselves.

Three Groups Fairly Treated

The City Manager League presented a ticket of eight, which polled a total of 19,813 first choices, just short of two quotas. The Democratic organization, which has controlled the city administration (though not always the common council) for a number of years, concentrated on four candidates, who polled a total of 17,946 first choices, again a little short of two quotas. The Republican organization, which had a majority in the outgoing council, also presented four candidates and polled a total of 10,931 first choices, just over one quota, a great many Republicans supporting the City Manager League ticket instead. Then there were sixteen other candidates, who, with a few "write-ins," polled 9,291 first choices. As expected, a great many of these transferred to the three major tickets as the low candidates were eliminated, since the miscellaneous candidates were not a unified group with similar interests and appeals.

These first-choice totals made it practically sure from the first that the City Manager League would elect two, the Democrats two, and the Republicans one, even though the Democrats had three among the first five on first-choice standing and the Republicans none. The only real question was as to which particular Democrats and Republicans would be elected. There was no change in the Democratic order, though former Assemblyman Arthur J. Doran gained on Mr. Cooper during the transfers. In the Republican contest Mr. Condon, starting in seventh place, gradually overtook Albert L. Fiorillo, president of the outgoing council, and went ahead to win by 310 votes. Mr. Fiorillo was the "runner-up."

Majority Rule through Minority Representation

The 2-2-1 division of the new council is obviously the fairest interpretation of the votes as cast. No one of the three major groups had a majority by itself and no one of them will be in a position to impose its will without consulting the others. Whenever any three members—enough to carry a vote in the council—do agree, however, they will represent a clear majority of the voters. Thus the fundamental democratic principles of majority rule and minority representation are both given effect. Under any other system of election such a result would have been highly improbable.

In view of the fact that opponents of P. R. in nearby White Plains and New Rochelle based much of their successful campaigns to block the adoption of P. R. in their cities this fall on the fear that it would help the Communists, it is interesting to note that the one Communist party candidate in Yonkers polled only 175 first-choice votes. In view of the industrial character of the city it would be natural to expect more Communist votes there than in either White Plains or New Rochelle. No known Communist has ever been elected in the fifty-three P. R. council elections so far held in American municipalities.

The American Labor party did much better, but still fell far short of a quota. Its leading candidate, Rev. Ver Lynn Sprague, went out on the eighteenth count with 2,091 votes. A majority of his votes transferred to the City Manager League ticket and so received representation.

The count was accurately conducted under the general supervision of City Clerk Francis J. Heafy, with Edwin J. Goodhart and Bernard A. Koch as Democratic and Republican directors and the editor of this department as consultant in actual charge. Because the one hundred canvassers, who otherwise did a good job, were being paid by the day instead of a lump sum, the count consumed six seven-hour days, which was at least two days longer than necessary.

The total cost of using P. R., including the printing of ballots, the wages of extra poll clerks and central counters, the rental of the armory for the count, and the cost of ballot boxes and permanent counting equipment, was just under $14,000, or less than ten cents for each resident of the city. If it had not been necessary to continue primaries for other purposes, there would have been an actual saving, since P. R. eliminates primaries for all offices for which it is used.

Political Leaders Opposed to P. R.

After the count was over the canvassers held a dinner dance at which four of the councilmen-elect and others made brief addresses. The local leaders of the two major political organizations took the occasion to declare against proportional representation. This was made the subject of a vigorous editorial in the *Herald-Statesman* for November 30, entitled "P.R. Works Too Well to Suit the Politicians."

"It is no secret," said the editorial, "that machine politics throughout Yonkers, throughout Westchester (County), and throughout New York State stands in mortal fear of P. R. as a system of voting.

"For machine politics and P. R. don't mix.

"This is so, largely, because P. R., when intelligently exercised, defeats the wishes of politicians and carries out instead the certified wishes of the electorate. . . .

"Yonkers voters have been able to exercise their rights at the polls on a nonpartisan basis, to discover the delights of having your vote count for second, third, and other choices if your first choice has been elected or defeated. . . .

"In other words, Yonkers voters can be altogether too smart and too sensible—under P. R.—to suit machine politics. . . .

"A fight is brewing, and the voters must be keenly alive to the issue.

"For P. R. is well worth fighting for, if Yonkers is to keep climbing out of its morass and onto the plateau of good and decent government."

The City Manager League has served notice that it will fight any attempt to abolish P. R.

First City Manager Chosen

The first and most important task of the new council was the choice of the city's first manager. The members went about their choice systematically and after considering the qualifications of over fifty applicants made a unanimous choice. The first city manager of Yonkers, at a salary of $12,000, is Raymond J. Whitney, who has been village manager most of the time since 1931 of the important nearby village of Mamaroneck. He was chosen largely because of his achievements in reducing the bonded debt of Mamaroneck from $4,500,000 to $3,250,000 and reducing the current expenses of the village by 40 per cent.

Mr. Condon was elected mayor, to act as ceremonial head of the city and president of the council without administrative duties. The vote was three to two, the two independent members voting for Mr. Goodwillie.

The Machine Balked Again in Cincinnati

The eighth biennial P. R. election in Cincinnati again showed how essential is this system for the retention there of good government. For the third successive time, the council is four "Charter," four "Republican Organization," and one "Independent." "Charter" means the same group which originated the manager-P. R. form in 1925 and helped maintain it ever since. "Republican Organization" means the same machine which opposed the introduction of this plan and which has been attempting, unsuccessfully, ever since to re-capture the City Hall for patronage and spoils. "Independent" means Rev. Herbert F. Bigelow, a radical, who was elected four years ago and who succeeded two years ago in electing his candidate, Craig, as the independent. Happily, Craig failed of election this time. At the very outset of his term, he had made a deal with the Republican machine to cast the deciding vote for one of them, Stewart, for mayor in exchange for Stewart appointing a labor man desired by Craig as Civil Service Commissioner, and for other political considerations. Thereafter Craig was, during the whole two years, in the camp of the Republican machine. Bigelow did not conspire with the Republican machine when he was formerly in council and is not likely to do so. Hence, the 4-4-1 situation seems to be an improvement over that of two years ago.

All of the present four Charter councilmen and three of the Republican machine councilmen were re-elected. The fourth Republican gained wide acquaintance as president, for a number of years, of the Holy Name Society. The Negro Republican councilman was not renominated. The Organization Negro candidate, Rev. David Turpeau, received 8065 first choice votes and was ninth on the first count but he had only 10,909 votes on the twenty-second count, the last before he was eliminated on the final count.

As usual, the counting extended over seven days. On the twenty-second transfer, the Republicans had 47.5 per cent, the Charter 40 per cent, and Bigelow 8.9 per cent, the quota sufficient to elect a candidate being one vote more than 10 per cent. The last 7.5 per cent in the Republican column represented Turpeau's vote, which was eliminated on the next count, since Turpeau was the low man. The quota was 14,632 and Bigelow was declared elected with 14,233 votes, 399 short of the quota.[1]

If the election had not been by P. R., but by ordinary voting, the machine would almost certainly have elected a majority of the council because at the first count the vote stood:

Republican	72,238
Charter	50,153
Others	23,873

In other words, 74,026 did not want the Republican machine to control and 72,238 apparently did want it.

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[1] This was the first time in Cincinnati's eight P. R. elections that any of the elected candidates has failed to reach the full quota. Accordingly, 89.7 per cent of those who cast valid ballots helped elect candidates for whom they voted instead of the usual 90 per cent.—Editor.

The Charter group was under the usual handicaps. It had no representation among the official election officers and, in the counting, only such as was vouchsafed to it by the Democratic organization. The Republican machine had been strengthened by patronage from the state (automobile license registrars, highway division, liquor store salesmen, etc.); by the county machine employees in the offices of auditor, sheriff, prosecutor; and by numerous recipients of illicit favors from officers not under the city government, the support of the afternoon Republican *Times-Star* which strongly endorsed six Republican machine candidates; the groundless but oft repeated assertion in this predominantly Republican community that it was necessary to vote the straight Republican machine locally to beat Roosevelt in 1940; and other hindrances to good government which cannot be detailed in this short account of the election.

The Charter list of candidates was as good as the best. The Charter movement showed vitality with Harry R. Drackett, a successful Republican businessman of high character, as leader, and with good organization, enthusiasm, and unselfish effort of countless citizens, especially in the women's division.

Election day, in Ohio, is a half holiday beginning with noon. Until then, everyone at the City Hall, thanks to the Charter administration, was attending to his job there. The County Court House, on the other hand, to the extent that it is under machine control, was practically deserted, with machine officeholders working half of the time at the polls on the public's time and money, often in violation of civil service prohibitions.

By virtue of P. R. and the good sense and patriotic effort of its citizens, Cincinnati added to its record in the achievement of continuous good government so that the duration thereof will be for at least sixteen years.

Murray Seasongood

A Heavy Vote in Toledo

Toledo's third election under its manager-P. R. charter resulted in the largest turnout of the electorate in the history of local elections. There were 86,900 ballots cast, compared with a total of 61,817 in the 1937 election and 69,205 in the 1935 election.

Counting of the ballots required six days and a total of twenty-six transfers. The result showed four candidates endorsed by the City Manager League elected and five so-called independents. The race was extremely close at the finish, with four League-endorsed candidates being the last eliminated. The final transfer eliminated a League candidate and elected an independent.

It is believed that the Bigelow pension amendments to the state constitution, which were opposed by a variety of interests and were overwhelmingly defeated, and an intensive campaign for a local school levy, which also was badly beaten, were largely responsible for the heavy vote. These factors undoubtedly played a large part, but the fact that there were forty-one candidates for council, at least half of whom made fairly strong races, undoubtedly contributed materially to the large total vote.

While the size of the vote was encouraging from the standpoint of increased citizen interest in local elections, the fact that the percentage of invalid ballots was higher than in the first proportional election, and the further fact that only four League-endorsed candidates were successful despite an intensive campaign, whereas the City Manager League had elected a majority of the nine-man council in each of the preceding contests, have led to the conclusion that increased educational activity on the part of the League between elections is absolutely essential.

A total of 5,080 ballots out of 86,900 were invalid—5.84 per cent of the total vote and more than 2 per cent higher than that for the city's first P. R. election. In the 1935 election, the first in Toledo under P. R., 2,622 ballots, or 3.78 per cent, were invalid out of a total of 69,205. In 1937, there were 3,657 invalid ballots out of a total vote of 61,817.

It should be pointed out, however, that the 1935 councilmanic election followed more than a year of intensive educational activity which saw the adoption of the new charter and the defeat, at a special election, of an attempt to abolish P. R. before it had ever been used. Thus the citizenry, by November 1935, had been actively educated to the proper use of a P. R. ballot.

For the first time in Toledo P. R. elections, the number of exhausted ballots was so great that two candidates were elected without receiving the necessary quota, 8,183 votes. At the end of the twenty-sixth and last transfer of ballots, 9,456 ballots in all had become exhausted. Although many voters had marked their ballots for ten or more candidates—some even going as high as the entire forty-one—it is believed the unusually high number of exhausted ballots can be attributed mainly to the failure of most voters to mark their ballots for at least nine candidates.[1]

Two candidates were elected on first-choice votes, as compared with four in 1937 and one in 1935. Councilman Addison Q. Thacher led the race with 10,400 first-choice votes, while Vice Mayor John Q. Carey was second with 9,200 first choices.

Councilman Thacher, a former mayor and former county commissioner, was endorsed by the City Manager League in 1937, but not in 1939, and campaigned actively as an opponent of the League's program and policies. Vice Mayor Carey had the League's endorsement for the third time, as did Councilman Consaul. Mr. Roulet and Mr. Kelly were the other two successful League candidates. Councilmen Czelusta and Hoover received League endorsement in 1937, but not in 1939.

No candidate of organized labor was successful. The C. I. O. had endorsed a slate of five of its own members who were candidates, but the last man to be eliminated received a cumulative total of only 3,447 votes. On the other hand, Arthur M. Jurrus, an A. F. of L. leader endorsed by the City Manager League, stayed in the race until the twenty-third transfer and received a cumulative total of 4,402. It is apparent that harmony of action between the two labor groups, which are of almost equal strength in Toledo, would have elected at least one labor candidate. Most of the new council members are friendly to labor, but there is none who was elected as a labor candidate.

Another interesting phase of the election

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[1] The failure to fill up the last two quotas on the last transfer was not a cause for criticism or surprise, since the candidate whose ballots were being transferred was a City Manager League candidate and all the remaining League candidates did complete their quotas before the count was over. On the previous three transfers, all from City Manager League candidates, however, 2,618 ballots became exhausted while other League candidates were still in the running. If only 300 of these had been marked for Mr. Huntsman, the last League candidate defeated, he would have been elected and the League would once again have elected a majority of the council.

It would not be fair, however, to assume that these voters whose ballots became exhausted actually wished to support the City Manager League ticket as a whole merely because they had voted for particular League candidates; or to assume without further evidence that the League ticket won less than its proper share of the council because of the failure of many of its supporters to mark enough choices. The first choices for all nine of the League candidates totaled 33,326, which was only 594 more than four quotas.

The exhausted ballots did not reduce by much the proportion of ballots that helped to elect candidates for whom the voters had voted. At each previous P. R. election 90 per cent of the valid ballots had been effective in the election of a candidate. At this election the percentage was 88. Of course that is a much higher percentage than is ever effective under other methods of election, and, since even with the increase in invalidity the total valid vote was heavier than usual, Toledo has once more secured satisfactory representation for many more of its voters than would have been secured under any plan other than P. R.

—Editor

result is that four of the nine successful candidates live in one ward, within a few blocks of each other. It must be pointed out, however, that one of the four was elected almost entirely by votes from two other wards than his own, and none of the four was elected because of his particular sectional strength. One has a large business and fraternal following throughout the city; another is a former county commissioner and has been well known in local politics for some years; still another is a real estate operator who campaigned largely on an economy platform. The mere fact that the four do live in one ward, however, plus two other circumstances, have aroused considerable dissatisfaction and may lead to some move for a change in the system of voting.

The other two factors are that the large and sectionally-conscious district of East Toledo will have only one councilman in 1940-1941, after having had two in 1938-1939, and South Toledo, which had no councilman in 1938-1939, and from which there were eight candidates in this election, will continue without district representation.

R. P. Overmyer
Toledo City Manager League

A Spirited Contest in Hamilton

The seventh biennial P. R. contest in Hamilton, Ohio, brought out the largest city council vote ever recorded. The total valid vote was 15,989, nearly a third of the total population; invalid, 581, or 3.5 per cent of the total marked; blank, 158. Eighty-six per cent of those who cast valid ballots helped elect candidates for whom they voted and 62 per cent helped elect their very first choices.

The issues were very mixed at this election and the cross-currents were reflected in the transfers, which were less predictable than usual.

For the first five P. R. elections the big issue had been the simple one of nonpartisan efficiency and service in government, and on that issue the Charter Commission group which presented and carried the P. R.-manager charter in 1926 had elected a majority of the council in every election, mounting finally to six out of seven. But in 1937 the Charter group decided to make an issue of eliminating the slot machine racket, which it feared threatened the integrity of an otherwise excellent city administration. On this issue some of the Charter councilmen were dropped from the ticket, but ran and were elected anyway. The rank and file of the voters refused to get excited over slot machines and the Charter group lost its control of the council for the first time, though five of the seven chosen had been elected originally with its endorsement.

This year it was decided to broaden the scope of the Charter group. A Charter League was organized with new leadership, though retaining the help of the old. The slot machine question was not mentioned in its program and original Charter councilmen who had been dropped from the ticket on that issue the time before were re-included on the slate of seven presented. Two of the new Charter League candidates, however, Frank Vaughn, chairman of the original charter commission, and William Beckett, treasurer of the Beckett Paper Company, raised the slot machine issue in their personal campaigns and it became the most discussed issue again.

Those who were in favor of continued non-enforcement of the state ban on slot-machines joined with others in a Present Council Club, which recommended re-election of the entire council on the basis of the city's general record of good government. Three of the candidates were on both tickets. There were also five unattached independents, including two former councilmen, making sixteen candidates in all.

The Charter League polled 44 per cent of the first-choice votes and elected 43 per cent of the members, three out of seven. It gained nearly enough from the independents on transfers, however, to elect four out of seven and would have done so if Vaughn, the last Charter candidate defeated, had received as many votes on the transfer of the last defeated Charter candidate's ballots as did Councilman Edward F. Warndorf, who was not a Charter candidate this time though originally elected as such. Warndorf won out by 34 votes in what was perhaps the most exciting finish in the history of Hamilton P. R. elections.

Though they lost Vaughn, the minority who are impressed with the dangers of protected slot machines did elect Beckett, and it is expected that their views will be ably championed in council during the next two years. Without P. R. it is doubtful whether anyone with this viewpoint would have been elected.

The only change in the council was the election of Beckett instead of Councilman Benninghofen, one executive of a large manufacturing concern on the Charter ticket in place of another. Since the first P. R. election in 1927 there has always been at least one change each time but never more than three, bearing out the contention that P. R. can be counted on to furnish sufficient continuity of personnel without the device of overlapping terms. Three of the re-elected councilmen have served continuously since P. R. was first used.

The count was efficiently conducted in one long day of sixteen and one quarter working hours under the direction of Harold E. Moser, a local accountant who had assisted in all of the six previous counts. The space reserved for spectators in the Elks' Auditorium was crowded to capacity, especially at the neck-and-neck finish for control of the council about four o'clock in the morning.

Boulder's Twelfth P. R. Election

In a quiet election with a light vote the little city of Boulder, seat of the University of Colorado, elected councilmen by P. R. for the twelfth time on November 7. Three members are elected every second year for a six-year-term.

The total vote this year was 1,725, of which only 40, or 2.3 per cent, were invalid.

The successful candidates were J. Perry Bartlett, retail clothier and president of the Junior Chamber of Commerce, a new member of council; A. Dean Coleman, filling station operator and representative in the state legislature, re-elected to the council; and William T. Hollen, a businessman with active support from the business community, a new member.

Frederick D. Bramhall, professor of political science at the University of Colorado, was nosed out by eight votes after running in third place on the count of first choices. He had been elected six years ago by the minority favoring public ownership of utilities, which was not active this year, while employees and friends of the Public Service Company worked hard for other candidates. Mayor H. H. Heuston, the other member of the council whose term expired, did not run again. There were only six candidates in all.

Although the small number elected each time cuts down the scope of representation, 73 per cent of those who cast valid ballots were able to help elect councilmen for whom they voted.

LEAGUE'S BUSINESS

(Continued from Page 2)

ciated Press, preparing interpretative features on the operation of the federal government.

Arrangements are in process of being made with the Payne Fund for **S. Howard Evans** to spend a large part of his time during 1940 working on an experimental field program for the National Municipal League. Mr. Evans was in charge of the extensive program carried on by the League's Special Committee on the New York State Constitution during 1938.

In May 1939 your secretary was appointed a member of the New York State Civil Service Commission by Governor Lehman. At that time he recommended to the executive committee that his salary be cut in half in view of the assumption of new duties, and that an additional staff member be employed to take over part of his work. This was done and the arrangement approved by a mail ballot of the council. At the same time, your secretary also resigned his professorship at Columbia University.

New Publications

In addition to promotional material, fifteen new books and pamphlets have been brought out during the year or are scheduled for publication shortly thereafter.

Fiscal Program for Municipalities. A distinguished committee has been at work on this program for the past two years. As a result, there is scheduled for publication early this year three important units in the League's program: a Model Bond Law, a Model Accrual Budget Law, and a Model Cash Basis Budget Law. Those laws contain much material based on experience gained during the depression in the design of new controls over local expenditure.

Model City Charter. The Model City Charter, now on the press and scheduled for publication early in the year, has been completely revised and rewritten. Not only has advantage been taken of depression experience to include many new ideas, but presentation has been substantially altered. The new edition has been designed to present the minimum essential principles that should be included in a city charter. Amplification of provisions for the convenience of cities wishing more detailed suggestions are included in the appendix.

Of the eleven new books and pamphlets published by the League during 1939, three were revisions of publications of other years; the rest were new. They covered a wide topical field.

Democracy Must Think (65 pp., cloth bound, $1.00) was published for the League by the Columbia University Press. It is a transcript of the proceedings of one of the most fruitful sessions of the 1938 Conference on Government—the round table on public opinion. Wide newspaper notice was given the book, although the session had already been well publicized at the time of the annual conference.

The Direct Tax Burden on Low Income Groups (31 pp., paper bound, 35 cents), by J. M. Leonard of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, was so popular that it went very soon after publication into a second printing. The startling fact that the average four-member family of $2500 income pays as much as one month's income in direct taxes to state and local governments alone provoked much discussion in the press.

Even before it was published, the *Model State Civil Service Law* (36 pp., paper bound, 50 cents) had been used as a pattern by three states which adopted new merit system legislation. The law was the work of a joint committee composed of representatives of the National Civil Service Reform League and the National Municipal League, with the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada coöperating.

Forms of Municipal Government (20 pp., paper bound, 25 cents) answered a long felt need, reflected by a steady flow of letters of inquiry to the League office, for a simple, intelligent, brief discussion of forms of municipal government and experience with their workings. This publication has had a steady sale ever since its appearance, and numerous enthusiastic letters from League members have attested to its usefulness.

Rent Control in War and Peace (124 pp., paper bound, 50 cents), by Edith B. Drellich and Andrée Emery, is a research study on housing shortage and rent control legislation in the World War and post-war periods, both here and abroad, and an analysis of the present-day prospect of housing shortage with recommendations to guide future rent control legislation. The League agreed to publish the report prepared for the Laws and Administration Committee of the Citizens Housing Council of New York, not only because it constituted the first complete work on an important subject, but also because the subject of rent control may become a live governmental issue in the near future.

State Supervision of Local Budgeting (134 pp., paper bound, price $1), by Wylie Kilpatrick of the University of North Carolina, deals with an important problem closely related to the subject matter before the League's committee on fiscal program. The monograph constitutes the essence of years of research by Dr. Kilpatrick and represents a pioneer contribution to a field whose importance has become overwhelming since bitter depression experiences in municipal finance.

Answers to Your Questions on P.R. (8 pp., leaflet, 5 cents) was prepared as a companion to the League's *Answers to Your Questions on the Manager Plan.* In capsule form, it gives the vital information which the average citizen is likely to seek.

Citizens' Councils (19 pp.) and *A Program to Improve the Quality of Government by Improving the Quality of Citizenship* (7 pp.) were developed for use in the League's program for the establishment of citizens' councils. The former is a revision of a pamphlet issued several years ago when the Citizens' Council program was first introduced. The latter is a new work which emphasizes the history and functions of the League in connection with the citizens' council idea.

A Model Registration System (73 pp., paper bound, 50 cents). The 1927 report of the Committee on Election Administration was revised this year for the third time. Dr. Joseph P. Harris, secretary of the original committee, contributed much time to this work, while other members of the committee read and criticised the revised manuscript.

Best Practice under the Manager Plan (8 pp., 15 cents) was revised to give emphasis to the rôle of the citizen in supporting the manager plan after it has been adopted.

Format of Publications

All publications now issued under the League imprint have the same cover format—a two-color arrangement which is both attractive and attention-getting. Different combinations of colors are used for each publication, but appearance in other respects is standard. A special effort is being made to make each publication as appealing as possible.

During the year 50,000 copies of two of the pamphlet series on *Making Democracy Work* were distributed. Lists used were more selective than previous ones, a large proportion of the older names being removed. It is planned to issue No. 7 of the series soon as part of the plan to publicize the 500th council-manager city.

Results of League's Work

As for the effectiveness of the League's work as gauged by actual governmental improvement during the year, the following pages [see full report] must tell that story. If the manager plan be taken as an indicator, there were thirty-three campaigns for adoption of the plan during the year. Of these, fifteen succeeded and eighteen failed. The number of cities operating under the manager plan at the close of 1939 was 493.

Perhaps a better measure is the sale of League publications, since the actual purchase of materials by citizens indicates the extent of interest in the subjects with which we are dealing. The total sales for the year came to approximately 23,000, total distribution was 25,000.

Staff Activities

Many of the most important activities of the League staff are of a nature which are never publicized and which do not especially lend themselves to discussion in a formal report.

Besides voluminous correspondence with members, civic leaders, officials, and others, there are hundreds of visits and small meetings, in and out of the League office; there are big and little speeches; there are lunches, dinners, and telephone and letter contacts with magazine writers and editors—all time-consuming, most of them highly productive from the standpoint of basic objectives.

For example, one of the country's leading magazines received a report, from a source its editors believed to be responsible, to the effect that the League is devoted to reforming municipal government solely to find jobs for its members as experts. An afternoon and an evening were spent with an investigator for this magazine to provide full acquaintance with the League's program and methods. The "exposé" was never published, of course.

A United States Congressman, defeated for re-election, came to the office looking for a sound "good local government" platform on which to rescue his city from the clutches of a powerful political machine. He was given every assistance and, at our suggestion, attended the 1938 conference at Baltimore. He went home, ran for mayor on a forward-looking, constructive platform, was elected, and immediately started carrying out his platform by reorganizing the city's government with the aid of a nationally-known administration consultant service.

Several luncheon meetings with the assistant editor of the magazine *Factory Management and Maintenance,* who wanted to show the relation between good local government and good labor relations, led to his making a study-tour of industrial cities. He wrote two excellent articles, packed with facts. His approximate conclusion is indicated by this quotation from one of his articles:

"I found that good government, usually taking the city manager form, is a fixed characteristic of 'good' towns. When a city's government is costly, debt-ridden, and corrupt, it lays a heavy burden on taxpaying industries, consumes the funds that should be available for constructive public purposes, and weakens the effectiveness of social and civic agencies. . . . Good public relations is founded on good labor relations in the plant and good citizenship in the community."

The outstanding series on municipal and county accomplishments in civic and governmental improvement, which is being published by the *Readers Digest,* began after a series of discussions between an editor of that magazine and members of the League's staff. At subsequent intervals, editors and writers of the *Digest* have continued to consult the League when in search of new leads or of specific cases with which to illustrate various types of civic accomplishment.

Another example, which may be taken as illustrative of situations which occupy the staff's attention for long periods of time before there is any evidence of accomplishment or any publicity, is the statewide effort being made in New Hampshire for local government improvement. This effort is led by the New Hampshire Federation of Taxpayers' Associations, which plans to draft alternative charters for submission to the legislature as permissive legislation for communities of various sizes. The League's staff has been working closely with officers of the Federation, both by correspondence and personal visits.

There are, of course, scores of other situations in which we have been privileged to work with leaders or potential leaders of local improvement efforts but in which everything so far has been of a purely preliminary nature.

Public Addresses—Correspondence

Many addresses were made in various parts of the country by the staff and members of the League on subjects related to the League program; and many suggestions as to qualified speakers were made by the staff to places too distant to permit of travel. The increased field staff will permit more speaking activity in the future, as well as many more contacts of an advisory nature with local civic organizations.

A vast amount of correspondence, considering the size of our staff and other limitations, is carried on by the League office. It is estimated that well over 20,000 letters, not including form letters for specific promotions, are written to members, officers of civic organizations, public officials, etc., most of them being either answers to inquiries or in quest of information needed at headquarters.

Much of this correspondence involves the supplying of information applicable to specific local situations, which necessitates more than routine attention. Some is in connection with special projects such as our survey during the past year of the so-called unofficial manager cities which have never been recognized by the International City Managers' Association.

New Headquarters

In August 1939 headquarters of the League were moved to the fourteenth floor of 299 Broadway because the building in which we had been housed was torn down as a result of construction of a new vehicular tunnel under the East River. The new space is the most satisfactory the National Municipal League has ever had from the standpoint of efficiency of office layout and adaptability for our requirements. It is hoped that officers and members of the League who have not already visited us in our new quarters will find an opportunity to do so in the near future.

Looking Forward

The coming year should be one of great activity and accomplishment. Arrangements have already been made for regional conferences early in the year in Atlanta, Dallas, and Minneapolis. Discussions have also been carried on with California members of the National Municipal League regarding plans for a regional conference there. With the additional man power now available, the reach of the National Municipal League should be widened considerably during coming months.

Respectfully submitted,
HOWARD P. JONES, *Secretary*

Books in Review

EDITED BY ELSIE S. PARKER

American Government and Politics. Eighth edition. By Charles A. Beard, with the assistance of William Beard. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1939. 814 pp. $3.75.

The eighth edition of this standard college textbook on American government and politics has been completely revised to bring it in line with current ideas and practices in this country. It has also been changed typographically from previous editions, principally by the addition of bold-faced sideheads in order to make the text more appealing to the indolent student and the overworked instructor. This change has the effect, for the general reader, of submerging the literary style and quality of the text beneath the mechanics of a skeleton outline. But then, perhaps, the general reader should not be considered when it comes to dispensing with what appears to be a requisite of all college textbooks at the moment.

The reviewer remembers when the first edition of this text appeared in 1910, which he very shortly thereafter got acquainted with in connection with a college course in history and political science. Even in those days the book carried the realistic touches concerning the workings of government which have so distinguished subsequent editions. Its chief value from the standpoint of the inquiring student, then as now, was that it never attempted to catalogue all the facts and minutiæ of government but rather sought to interpret trends and developments. This approach Dr. Beard has steadfastly preserved, although at times he has had to battle for it.

The new edition presents a well balanced treatment of American government. Its eight hundred-odd pages are about equally divided between the federal government and the state and local governments. In other words, it does not stress the growing requirements of the federal government to the detriment of the state and local governments. The fact is that in searching for the essence of our democracy the functions of the lower layers of our government assume major importance. While Dr. Beard has gone into all the important policies and organizations growing out of the New Deal, he has at the same time kept his feet planted upon the earth where the cities, counties, and towns still carry on most of the primary functions of our government.

A. E. Buck

Institute of Public Administration

Land Utilization in New Jersey — A Land Development Scheme in the New Jersey Pine Area. By Alvin T. M. Lee. New Brunswick, New Jersey Agricultural Experiment Station, 1939. 50 pp. (Issued free to residents of New Jersey on request; 15 cents to non-residents.)

This fifty-page bulletin represents the first fruit of a three-part study of the problems of land use in the New Jersey Pine Area. The Pine Area, containing about one-third of New Jersey's 4,800,000 acres, includes but little tillable land. Its limited deposits of bog iron ore and its native stands of swamp cedar and other merchantable woods were exhausted decades ago. The proximity of the area to New York City and Philadelphia, on the other hand, has given the land a specious use "as merely something to sell." The industry of promoters and the gullibility of buyers have combined to produce within it four hundred land development schemes involving "no less than 200,000 acres," and "at least 1,000,000 individuals."

Against this background, which is sketched in broad strokes in the introduction, the author proceeds to describe in detail the fantastic history of one of these four hundred promotions—that of Paisley, The Magic City. In 1888 it consisted of 1,400 acres, acquired by the promoter at a cost of $3.67 per acre. It was converted, largely on paper, into 76 farm plots containing an aggregate of 274 acres, and 12,796 lots, 25 x 100 each. Of this total, 216 acres in farm plots and 10,001 lots were sold to 3,122 known owners. Other sales, not properly recorded, were also made. On the basis of the sales for which price data were available, the author estimates that the promoter unloaded his lands for about $375 an acre. Some of his tracts, incidentally, he seemed to have been careless enough to sell several times over, and he even sold off some of his "parks."

But that is only a part of the story which the author recites. He digests the contents of more than one hundred newspaper advertisements used in the sales campaigns. He summarizes and gives excerpts from the replies he received from seventy-two lot owners—most of them now octogenarians, some of whom still pay taxes in the hope of realizing on their "investments," few of whom ever saw the lands they own. He traces the history of each of the thirteen buildings erected on the tract, giving not only the source of financing, but the successive uses and ownerships through which they passed. Two buildings remain—one wholly unused, the other used as a club during the hunting season.

From the standpoint of readers interested primarily in problems of local government, the bulletin provides a disconcerting picture. Subdivision in the Pine Area "is continuing at a rate which would be unbelievable to anyone not acquainted with the problem"; and the fifty-eight municipalities primarily concerned are powerless to prevent it. To make matters worse, detailed tables prove conclusively that Woodland Township, in which the entire subdivision lay prior to the creation in 1901 of a new township which now includes part of the subdivision, had expended prior to that time substantially more money for the routine clerical procedures of assessment and collections with respect to the 1,400 acres involved than both townships have collected for their own purposes from the date of the subdivision down to date. As long as the lots remain on the rolls, the townships must pay state and county taxes on them whether they succeed in making collections or not. The townships have two courses open to them if they would avoid these payments to the superior governments. They can foreclose their tax liens at a cost far in excess of the resale value of the lands in question; or they can little by little drop more and more of the parcels in the subdivision off the rolls. Confronted by this dilemma—that of choosing between a legal but absurdly costly method, and an illegal but inexpensive one—the local officials are getting rid of their troubles by the easiest way.

The bulletin points out the existence of a few unused powers available to local governments for the partial control and amelioration of the existing situation, and indicates in general terms some needed improvements in legislation. The chief purpose, however, is to bring the problem itself into clear relief. "A complete understanding of these problems" it says, "is necessary before a sound long time land policy can be adopted by the people of the state of New Jersey."

The United States Department of Agriculture and the New Jersey Agricultural Experiment Station, which coöperated in the sponsorship of this bulletin, are to be commended for their venture into this field. It is to be hoped that this and the succeeding bulletins will stimulate similar studies in other states.

Philip H. Cornick
Institute of Public Administration

City Management: Theory and Practice of Municipal Administration. By Henry G. Hodges. New York, F. S. Crofts and Co., 1939. 759 pp. $4.50.

This most recent addition to the bookshelf of texts on city government is a very exhaustive work of twenty-eight closely printed chapters. The author is both teacher and practical administrator, as his book reveals throughout. The writer of this review has looked forward for a long time to the day when there would be provided a text book satisfactory for college students and he experimented with this text last summer. He has also discussed the work with practical administrators and has come to the conclusion that it is useful, particularly for graduate students and as a supplementary reference volume for undergraduates.

As the title indicates, city management does not provide much material relating to the citizen's part in government; nor are the sections which deal with municipal law and other matters normally considered "municipal government" adequate. In other words, if this text were to be used in a full-year course it would have to be supplemented with another text of equal size or its use would have to be confined to advanced students.

I am inclined to accept the judgment of administrators that it is not a satisfactory reference work. However, I cannot see why men who are specialists in one field could not learn a great deal from it on fields outside their own narrow interests. I believe, too, that members of citizen groups who are more concerned about the way their government operates than is the ordinary layman will find this book useful.

I wish that about 250 pages had been torn out—a little here and a little there—and that the gentle exhortatory tone of the writing had been seasoned with a little cynicism; because it comes close to being an ideal volume for the general public—something that does not now exist.

R. V. P.

The Pressure Boys. By Kenneth G. Crawford. New York City, Julian Messner, Inc., 1939. xi, 308 pp. $3.00.

Surely lobbying exposés have reached the point of diminishing returns. In these days when exposés have become so common, before opening the covers of the book the reader knows he is going to hear about bribe money passing from the hands of one group of the "eminently respectable" into the hands of another ditto. The sole reason for reading is to find out which groups are being exposed this time.

Mr. Crawford's big wind blows lots of skirts and tears away plenty of trouser legs on the national scene. He names names in connection with utilities, foods and drugs, munitions, railroads, labor, sugar, and numbers of other issues recently or currently occupying Congress, giving each subject an indignant chapter to itself. His book is a good book of its kind, well written, intelligent, informed. As a Washington correspondent, he presumably knows what he is talking about and he seems to be reasonably free of biases except one against property interests. But the point is—so what? Mr. Crawford specifies that he is not trying to answer the question. However, perhaps it is time someone did.

M. R.

The Impasse of Democracy. A Study of the Modern Government in Action. By Ernest S. Griffith. New York, Harrison-Hilton Books Inc., 1939. 380 pp. $3.00.

This book is a discursive review of current political problems—it is repetitious, frequently superficial, occasionally profound, generously suggestive. In the main, the central theme is the relation of democracy or popular control to bureaucracy or effective administrative action. This involves a discussion of society as an organism, the "imperatives of human nature," "technological imperatives," philosophies of state action, public opinion, leadership, legislative procedure, the place of the amateur, national economic planning, whether or not dictatorship is inevitable, the cause and cure of war, the "shape of things to come," and so on. The writing is a mixture of realistic appraisal, keen insights, platitudinous proposals, and a sort of Christian-Socialist idealism. There are certain illustrative charts and diagrams, a bibliography, and an index. In general, it may be looked upon as a popular treatment of current political problems for those who already have some knowledge of government and politics; a none too logical, inadequately organized, none too well thought out, collection of commentaries in the right spirit and looking in the right direction but least developed and least realistic on political as distinct from governmental problems.

Harvey Pinney
New York University

Government Publicity, Its Practice in Federal Administration. By James L. McCamy. Chicago, Illinois, University of Chicago Press, 1939. xv, 273 pp. $2.50.

". . . The material will not be used for an attack upon the publicity function in government. With most contemporary students of public administration I share the realization that work in public relations is just as essential as any other governmental function. Our job as students is to describe and analyze the publicity function just as we study objectively any other service."

This excerpt from the questionnaire letter distributed by the author of *Government Publicity* while he was gathering material is an effective description of the tone and purposes of his book. Although the work is confined to publicity of the federal government, where the art of late appears to have been highly and hastily developed, naturally much is applicable to state and local governments. Mr. McCamy has thoroughly studied the actual operation of the publicity function in the federal government and discusses it in terms of program, media, content, distribution, measurement, coördination, and personnel. His book constitutes a warm defense of government publicity as well as a guide to public and publicists alike.

M. R.

Additional Books and Reports Received[1]

American Taxes Shared and Allocated—1938. By Sidney Merlin. Chicago, American Municipal Association and the Federation of Tax Administrators, 1939. 67 pp. $1.00.

Civic Pittsburgh. A current review of the finances of the city of Pittsburgh, Board of Public Education, and County of Allegheny. By J. C. Slippy. Pittsburgh, 1939. (Apply to author.) 36 pp. Fifty cents.

Consumer Expenditures in the United States. By National Resources Committee. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1939. 195 pp. Fifty cents.

Educational Preparation for Public Administration. A list of colleges and universities offering courses or programs of training. By Charles S. Ascher. (Reprinted from *The Municipal Year Book, 1940.*) New York City, Committee on Public Administration, Social Science Research Council, 1940. 14 pp.

Leisure — A National Issue. Planning for the leisure of a democratic people. By Eduard C. Lindeman. New York City, Association Press, 1939. 61 pp. Fifty cents.

Municipal Insurance Cost and Practices. A summary of available data.

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[1] See also "Research Bureau Reports Received," p. 54.

By Hilliard B. Wilson. Chicago, The American Municipal Association (Report No. 132), 1939. 51 pp. $1.00.

Philosophy, Science and Art of Public Administration. By Charles Austin Beard. (Address delivered before the annual conference of the Governmental Research Association, Princeton, New Jersey, 1939.) Detroit, Governmental Research Association, 1939. 7 pp.

The Electional Process and the Separation of Powers. A study in the nature and distribution of political control. By Dennis DeWitt Brane. Westerville, Ohio, Otterbein College, 1939. 49 pp.

Threat of Pension Pressure Groups. New York City, Tax Policy League, 1939. 11 pp. mimeo. Twenty-five cents.

Town Building. (Part I — Social; Part II — Economic; Part III — Governmental. By Bernard Smith. Dallas, Texas, Holland's Southern Institute, 1939. x, 150 pp. Fifty cents.

Twenty-first Annual Report of the Department of Revenue, Commonwealth of Kentucky, 1939. By H. Clyde Reeves. Frankfort, Kentucky, 1939. 41 pp.

Twenty-fourth National Recreation Congress 1939 Proceedings. Recreation and the American Way of Life. New York City, National Recreation Association, 1939. 189 pp. One dollar.

United States Conference of Mayors, Its Work and Activities. Washington, D. C., United States Conference of Mayors, 1939. 16 pp.

A MUNICIPALITY THAT IS DIFFERENT

(Continued from Page 45)

in Asbury Park—which is a larger neighboring community. Another business man said significantly that the reason no petitions were sent to the association was because they would be ignored anyway. One man, who was active in the borough fight of 1920, was asked what advantages he thought obtained in a borough government. He replied that under a borough government you know what is going on and how your money is spent. One woman answered the question, after closing the door and lowering her voice to a whisper, by saying that it was rumored that the money they gave for licenses and concessions was sent out of the community to help Methodist churches in Philadelphia. The secrecy with which the association conducts its affairs was repeatedly criticized.

On the other hand, many of the citizens answered that they would be unhappy living elsewhere and more than a few of them (including some business people) expressed contempt for people who come to Ocean Grove and then grumble. In general, they believed that they were well governed, and although some lamented the fact that the trustees were not all residents of Ocean Grove, they doubted if as capable men could be elected by popular vote.

For the student of government, Ocean Grove offers an interesting illustration of an undemocratic local government in the midst of a great democracy. It is unlike any modern form of city government with which we are familiar in America. It is an anachronism in modern politics.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

A Smile Is the Best Argument

J. T. Salter

Citizens of Tomorrow

O. Garfield Jones

Alabama's Municipal "Tug of War"

Roscoe C. Martin

Irishmen Like P. R.

Arthur W. Bromage

Census Bureau Trains Its Staff

Clarence A. Kellner

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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The League's Business

Regional Conferences

As announced in the January Review, a five-state regional conference of the National Municipal League will be held at Minneapolis on February 19, 20, and 21. Taxation, civil service, forms of municipal government, citizenship, state and city planning, employer-employee relations are on the program for discussion. The Minnesota Tax Conference has joined forces with the conference group and will take charge of the session on the morning of the 19th.

A Southwest Regional Conference of the League will be held at Dallas, Texas, March 20, 21, and 22. A stimulating program has been outlined covering a number of topics on citizenship—citizenship and good government, training for competent citizenship, making democracy work, the Manitowoc Plan, etc. Other subjects include forms of city government, personnel, tax problems, and expenditure control.

As this issue goes to press, the League's first Joint Conference on Improvement of Local Government in the South, under the auspices of the Institute of Citizenship and the National Municipal League, is being held at the Piedmont Hotel in Atlanta. Next month's Review will carry a report on its sessions.

Committee on Municipal Accounting

The National Committee on Municipal Accounting, on whose central committee the National Municipal League is represented by A. E. Buck of the Institute of Public Administration, has recently issued its Bulletin 10, entitled *A Report of Progress*. The pamphlet describes the origin, past program, and results of the committee's work and suggests ways in which its principles and standards may be put into operation.

The League is represented on the committee also by an advisory group consisting of Carter W. Atkins, director of the Hartford, Connecticut, Governmental Research Institute; R. E. Miles, director of the Ohio Institute; C. E. Rightor, chief statistician, Division of State and Local Government, United States Bureau of the Census; and Lent D. Upson, director of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research.

Howard P. Jones, *Secretary*

Frank Johnson Goodnow

Frank Johnson Goodnow, for many years professor of administrative law at Columbia University, and later president of the Johns Hopkins University, who died on November 15, 1939, was an active member of the National Municipal League from its early years. At its third annual meeting in 1897 he contributed a paper on "The Powers of Municipal Corporations"; at the fourth annual meeting in 1898 one on "The Place of the Council and Mayor in the Organization of Municipal Government"; and at the fifth meeting, in 1899, another on "Political Parties and the Proposed Municipal Program." He was a member of the committee which prepared proposed constitutional provisions and a municipal corporations act for the first municipal program of the League. He was a member of the commission appointed by Governor Theodore Roosevelt in 1899 which prepared a revised charter for New York City. He later

(Continued on Page 122)

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

What Would Ben Franklin Say!

IT would seem logical to assume that a periodical like the *Saturday Evening Post,* with more than ordinary facilities for fact-finding, would be under great obligation to its three million subscribers to adhere to the truth. So it is especially discouraging to people who believe accuracy and objectivity are important to read an editorial which appeared in that publication's January 27 issue.[1]

In order to avoid the necessity of saying there is scarcely one entirely accurate statement in it, the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW prefers to refrain from answering the editorial directly. We therefore step aside in favor of another *Post,* which happens to be in about the best position of any publication in the country to know the truth about the subject. The following editorial appeared in the January 25 issue of *The Cincinnati Post:*[1]

It Leaves Us Gasping

The Saturday Evening Post this week gives its editorial views on a subject about which Cincinnatians have heard a great deal, about which Cincinnatians know a great deal.

It's P. R.

The editorial is headed "P. R.—Meaning Power Racket" and the result is a most amazing fantasy, something out of the "Wizard of Oz" grafted on to the better moments of "Alice in Wonderland." It's just that far from reality.

But listen to the *Satevepost's* story, listen and marvel:

"Earnest and aggressive civic leaders" of Cincinnati "were troubled over the obvious fact that minorities were not being represented on the city council, even though the city manager form of government was working well. They looked about for a remedy. Professional enthusiasts came along and sold them on the idea (of using) a new system of voting."

The simple truth is that the civic leaders of Cincinnati were troubled over the fact that under the old system of voting 70,000 voters elected six councilmen-at-large (in 1921) while 63,000 voters elected nobody.

Another simple truth which the *Satevepost* could have readily discovered had it been moved by any sense of curiosity is that Cincinnati had no city manager system before P. R. but that P. R., the small council, and the city manager were parts of the same charter adopted by the people in 1925.

Again says this journal:

The 1939 municipal election "gave Ham-and-Egger Bigelow the balance of power in Council, and he's been using it to keep Cincinnati in bewildered turmoil ever since."

That will be news to all of us, particularly, we think, to Mayor Jim

---

[1] *The Cincinnati Post's* reply appears to pre-date the original editorial because, of course, *The Saturday Evening Post* is distributed some days in advance of its date.

Stewart and certainly to Mr. Bigelow.

Finally:

"If there had been eight other demagogues with personal followings as large as Bigelow's in Cincinnati, then there would be nine Bigelows running the city of Cincinnati today, and the citizenry at large wouldn't be represented at all."

After that, we know of nothing to clear away the dizziness except for all to join hands and sing "The Wicked Witch Is Dead!"

* * *

HELLO PHILADELPHIA, home city of the *Saturday Evening Post!*

Cincinnati, the Queen City, reporting. Cincinnati's credit rating best in nation (*Business Week*, September 2, 1939). Cincinnati municipal bonds yield 1.65 per cent interest; Philadelphia bonds yield 3.15 per cent for 1939.

Cincinnati's adjusted tax rate for 1939, $15.98 per thousand valuation; Philadelphia's adjusted tax rate $27.25 per thousand (figures from Detroit Bureau of Municipal Research).

No city income tax in Cincinnati; no mortgage on a municipal utility. Philadelphia has both.

Cincinnati does it with city councils elected by P. R., city councils with competent men in the majority who insist on non-partisan, efficient management of the city's business.

Try P. R., Philadelphia; maybe you'll like it!

Profit and Loss in Virginia

TWO of three judges recently decided in favor of the city of Richmond in its suit to annex a considerable part of surrounding Henrico County, Virginia, which in recent years has been making history in efficient management and sound government.

Expert witnesses had testified that Richmond's governmental structure and management record were both definitely bad and that Henrico County's was good. One of the two judges who voted in favor of Richmond's annexation move made it a point to emphasize this in such a way that he as much as advised the city to profit by the county's excellent example.

While the city's mayor still calls his venerable two-chamber council arrangement which has resisted virtually all progressive changes for years "a splendid form of government", newspapers and civic leaders are clamoring for a modern form of government with a small unicameral council and a city manager. So, if the city persists in its apparent determination to do away with the good example (which must be a constant source of embarrassment), perhaps its people will profit in the long run.

A Smile Is the Best Argument

"In the pattern of politics—that is, in the elements or constants that occur and re-occur in every campaign—the factor of personal attention is enormously important."

By J. T. SALTER
University of Wisconsin

THE pattern of politics is as closely related to the life and values in a given place as crops are related to soil and climate. A clue to one of the most significant elements in this pattern was disclosed last spring when the monarchs of England visited our shores. When the American sovereign voter was presented to the British King and Queen, homo Americanus bent, curtsied, or scraped with gusto, if not with grace. In his democratic heart he knew that the occasion demanded some special show of deference—some marked personal attention on his part. He would have had much the same feeling, but with less outer manifestation of it, had his own President, or Governor, or favorite political leader stood before him. All through history the approach to a King has been fashioned out of ceremonial and ritual.

But in the democratic United States it is the single voter that is sovereign, and he, like other sovereigns from time immemorial, expects his public servants to pay him the same sort of personal attention that George and Elizabeth so painstakingly bestowed on their American public. No ward or rural politician, stained by a life-long quest for votes, could have more effectively bestowed individual attention on constituents than did the British Monarchs in their few days here. They must have taken great pains, but they seemed merely graceful as they courted the people. Thousands of hands were shaken; a hundred thousand smiles were given. Kings know what common people learn, that a smile is the same to all classes and to all parties; a smile is the best argument.

Who is the best vote-getter in the United States? Who is our smartest politician? What man in public office has most assiduously wooed the people; wooed them by speaking to them personally, by calling untold millions "my friends"? Our President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, is the man. He has won the hearts of a controlling number of voters by making them believe that he was thinking of them personally when he gave his magical "fireside" talks. The President carried his own message to the people; he paid personal attention to them, and they in turn voted for him on election day.

That is the standard formula for success at the polls, whether the office sought be in a neighborhood or in a nation, the office of town supervisor or president. In the pattern of politics—that is, in the elements or constants that occur and re-occur in every campaign—the factor of *personal attention* is enormously important. The American may be a lonely soul in the Great Society, but nevertheless he is one that likes to be recognized. He has a wish to feel important. He likes the idea of having a man in office that he knows—a friend of his. The good neighbor policy is a reflection of this attitude and it goes back to the time when strangers were spoken to on the street. The service club idea is a modern expression of the same thing. "I now introduce Mr. William Blake—Hello, Bill!" It is an expression of our equalitarianism, and of friendship. The official that gets close enough to the people is responsive to their needs. And probably the instinct of the voter is sound. Every politician knows it's real. Why is the Honorable Philip La Follette glad to be called Phil? He knows that Phil can get votes that the Honorable Philip La Follette cannot get.

REFORMERS TAKE NOTE

This "personal motif" of our politics is best understood by the plain people themselves, and by those who have had dealings with candidates for public office. It seems to have escaped the attention of the majority of reformers and certain textbook writers. The discussion which follows merely represents my own opinion and belief in regard to one of the elements in our pattern of politics; however, the opinion and belief are based on both an intimate and rather long observation of politicians and voters. All of the illustrations are taken from life. They might have been found in a politician's note book—if he were ever to keep a note book on those daily activities of his that go far in determining his strength at election time.

One time I lived at the home of a great singer. Her cousin, Miss Sherwood, a lady of ninety-one, lived there too. After several months I was unexpectedly stopped one evening in the dimly lighted corridor by Miss Sherwood. She asked, "Is it Mr. Salter?" And then, "Mr. Salter, I am glad that you live here." I said that I was, too, and then asked why she was glad. "Because," she replied, "you make me feel important."

And so it is with people generally. We like to feel important. And one of the most common and effective ways in which to make a person feel important is to single him out for personal attention. Moreover, if the personal attention is bestowed by a man in public office, its effectiveness is measurably enhanced.

A recent remark of a fraternity student nicely illustrates this idea. "Ex-Governor Schmedeman paid me one of the greatest compliments that ever could be bestowed by just mentioning a single sentence and shaking my hand. I was at the Capitol with some fraternity brothers, idling about the corridors, when the 'Governor' passed by and called out, 'Hey, Jim, I saw you jump "Gray Dawn" (a jumping mare) last week. Will you teach me to ride as well?'

"I was thunderstruck that the Governor should remember me—merely a contestant in a horse show, but, in front of my brothers, it was the most flattering thing that he could have said, and I grieve that I was not able to help him into office in 1934."

But non-fraternity students feel just the same about this sort of thing. "The alderman of the ninth ward in Racine (Frank P. Marino) always calls me 'Carmino' whenever he sees me, and this makes me feel very important, especially when I am called that with my friends nearby. I should add that I voted for him in Madison by absentee ballot last April."

A young minister is impressed at the sight of the mayor and his wife in his first congregation. "Chunky (the mayor) complimented me highly on the sermon. Mrs. Martin (the mayor's wife) came up after the sermon with tears streaming down her face." A treasurer in a small northern town told me that the farmers like to have their farms praised. Whenever he visited one, he made notes on its condition and then when he returned he could praise the improvements made. He added that the farmers were like brides who wished to have favorable remarks made about their cooking.

A friend told me about a banquet, and added, "This was the first time in my life that I sat next to a congressman." On the occasion of a parade I heard an unknown say to an acquaintance, "I just shook hands with the Mayor." I was reminded of the lady who had shaken the President's hand, and then declared that she would never wash that hand again.

Years ago, our colored maid in Pennsylvania told me that she always voted for Mr. Blodgett because around election time he always said, "Good morning, Mary Jolly," and then she had added, "that makes me feel good." Different people in Wisconsin, and at least one with a Ph.D. degree, have happily told me, "I got a Christmas greeting from Phil La Follette."

I know a farmer who invariably receives a Christmas card from Phil or Bob, and I know that he expects them. One year he failed to get the "Merry Christmas and prosperous New Year" card and he was keenly disappointed. In spite of the perennial stream of greetings that went out from the Governor, I never received one. When I first tried to obtain a copy for my file, I was told, "I would give it to you, but I had planned to keep it."

The story that Maurois tells about Disraeli is utterly foreign to our politics here;[1] the examples I give are characteristic of the American pattern. A friend in Oklahoma told me about a congressman there who sent a letter of congratulations to her uncle when his sow produced a large litter of pigs. A young man in Mississippi married and at the conclusion of his honeymoon received a letter from his assemblyman saying, "I trust that you and Mrs. B. had a most successful honeymoon."

DETAILS IMPORTANT

Birthdays, Christmas, deaths, and weddings are standard occasions when politicians pay personal attention to the voter. But there are innumerable other times and situations, not marked on any calendar, when the resourceful candidate is able to make some voter feel important, to identify himself with some voter, or group, or to do a personal favor for a voter. An assemblyman who has been elected many times said, "It's not the big issues that cause the trouble in politics, it's the details—the little details." More than one congressman has painfully learned that his recommendation for postmaster at Broken Bow has more bearing on his next campaign than does his vote on national policies.

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[1] Disraeli was walking up and down a station platform waiting for his train. The baggage master finally approached him, held out his hand, and proudly said, "Mr. Disraeli, I have voted for you for twenty years." Mr. Disraeli paused in his stride, looked at the hand, at the man, coldly shook his head, "I am sorry, I do not know you," and resumed his pacing.

The trivial things are interesting: often the questions that interest the voter are not important. Senator Greenquist said, "If there is a vote four miles away, go after it. Do not neglect a single vote. My barber was too busy to leave his shop on election day. I swept the place while he voted." And then he added, "I never get a haircut in Madison; I always go back to my district." A councilman in X told a professor that he spoke to everyone. The professor interrupted and said, "You even spoke to me." He answered, "Of course I did. If I didn't speak to every — — — — I meet, I would lose my job. Your sins may be many in politics, but if you speak to every one, they will be forgiven."

Six times Sol Levitan has been elected treasurer of Wisconsin. The following comment was written by a university student. It seems to indicate that a smile is a smile regardless of education or religion.

"Then came good old Sol Levitan. For years I had heard my Dad talk about him. Once many years ago when my Dad and I were in the Capitol, we paid Sol a visit. He let me sit at his desk and even let me hold a bundle of money just so I could see how it felt to hold such a sum of money. At the time I was too young to have any interest or knowledge about politics. Now I am for Sol and, although my Dad is a good Republican, nevertheless, from that day on he always voted for Sol Levitan whether he ran on the Republican ticket or the Progressive ticket."

In normal times some people will not vote unless they are personally invited to by the politician of their neighborhood, and other people require transportation to the polls before they cast their ballot.[2]

One way to point out the great significance of the personal attention aspect of our politics is to ask this question: What is the most commonly used method of getting votes in any or all of the 120,000 or more precincts in the United States? Isn't it button-holing voters? Isn't it meeting the voter face to face and saying (but not so brazenly), "I am a candidate, will you vote for me?" I think that it is, and the candidates, or their representatives who see their constituents at different times throughout the year, are stronger than those who call only at election time. And if in addition to *seeing* the voter, the candidate or his *alter ego,* the party worker, does something for him, isn't the candidate—other things being at all equal—in the strongest possible position?

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[2] I know politicians in Philadelphia who chartered buses in the 1920's in order to bring voters in from the shore to register. However, since the Great Depression has been upon us, the voter's interest in his government (his ballot) has quickened. One politician in a metropolitan area complained to me in a letter that he knew that the 1936 election was bad for him and his friends because his voters came to the polls in droves. He went on to say that when one must drag voters out, the party in power feels safe, but when great numbers of people come to the polls under their own power, it means defeat.

POWER OF THE ORGANIZATION

Finally isn't this sort of approach to the sovereign (but often dependent) citizen a controlling part of the explanation for the victory of Tammany, Hague, Pendergast, Crump, and their powerful organizations at the polls? And when these organizations are defeated, isn't that the result of their failure to satisfy needs? It probably is, plus the additional fact of a dramatic and dynamic Roosevelt or La Guardia on the other side who has not only the "goods" but the great histrionic ability needed to show the people that they are in a position to give the voter more for his money (ballot) than will any rival firm.

James Farley signs many of his letters merely "Jim"—and in green ink. He is possibly unique in using green ink, but he follows the standard pattern by signing the informal "Jim."

To many people the most interesting writing that they ever read is their own name in print, and the Honorable W. H. Goldthorpe so strongly believes this that he has prepared a special green postcard; one side is for the address and the other is divided by a vertical line. The left side of the card is blank and on the right side in black and red type is printed:

Clipping Bureau
W. H. GOLDTHORPE
Your Assemblyman

Dear Constituent:
The appended clipping from one of our exchanges may be of interest to you, as it is to me. With that idea in mind, I am sending it along to you with my compliments.
With Best Wishes,
"Goldy"
Your Assemblyman

This assemblyman explained that he takes all of the newspapers from his assembly district, looks through them, and when he finds a news item that Mrs. Norski entertained the Ladies Aid at her home on Tuesday evening, he clips and pastes it on the card, and mails the card to Mrs. Norski. The assemblyman smiled and said, "The people like it."

"Goldy" has an eight-piece band composed of members of his own family. He explained to me that during campaign time he will go to a meeting in his district and ask the voters if they want to hear hot air or hot music. "You see that is all most political speeches are anyway." Usually the people say "Hot music." "We play 'She'll Be Comin' 'round the Mountain When She Comes,' the 'Beer Barrel Polka,' and other popular pieces."

His most effective piece of campaign literature is an orange colored blotter. Although it does not indicate the party to which Mr. Goldthorpe belongs, nor does it take a position on any controversial question, it does unqualifiedly take a stand on the golden rule. Every effort is used to get the personal and favorable attention of the voter. I quote the document in its entirety.

Re-Elect Your Old Friend
W. H. GOLDTHORPE
(Just Plain "Goldy")
ASSEMBLYMAN
One Good Term Deserves Another

Keep Saying:
"Goldy"—My Assemblyman
He's Tooted For Us—Now Let's Toot
For Him

Over on the left third is an eight-page leaflet, about two by two inches in size, entitled "Thumbnail Sketch of Goldy—Your Assemblyman." The first two pages are captioned "General Information." I quote:

> Born September 25, 1880. Graduate of Platteville State Teachers College. Studied Law and Advertising. Newspaper Publisher for 35 years. Married Ina Grindell, a Platteville Girl. Father of 10 children. Assemblyman for a Term and a Half. His Platteville Band Serenaded Pres. McKinley; Recommended by the late Teddy Roosevelt. Taught School and was President of the School Board.

The third page is headed "Platform." It contains three words:

> THE GOLDEN RULE

The fourth page, "Philosophy":

> Teach a Boy to Blow a Horn and He Won't Blow a Safe.

The fifth page is blank. It is entitled "Jail Record." The last page is headed "Finger Prints." Below are three finger prints.

Goldy's band helped him get elected to the assembly. In Texas W. Lee O'Daniel was chosen governor in 1938, and although his campaign technique cannot be described by any one word, yet neither can it be described without mentioning the fact that he campaigned with a "Hill Billy" band. The significant fact here, as in many other similar cases, is not merely that the successful candidate may be one who devotes his best energies to capturing the attention of the voter, entertaining the voter, making him feel good; the question is—does the candidate discuss the issues too? The candidate may make a statement on a controversial political issue, or he may not. Candidate O'Daniel made political speeches, and he invited the people to ask questions, but when a searching question was asked, Mr. O'Daniel would often say, "We will now hear from our Hill Billy band."

Every politician has something of Goldy and his band in him, but that is not the question. The real point is: what else does he have? Here is a United States Senator who returned to his home town and found some of the townspeople laughing at a young man who was working night and day on a home-made airplane. The first time it was tested it did not leave the ground. But the Senator paid the boy a personal call, congratulated him on his ambition, and got some pertinent literature from the aeronautical research department of the federal government. This helped the boy to get his plane to fly; it helped the Senator in the minds and hearts of many people, even those who had laughed, and it especially helped him with the boy and his relatives. Finally, in addition to much personal service work of this sort, this man is an outstanding Senator in his own right.

Politics is one of the most strenuous trades men follow. This is partly because there are so many people to see personally. A man drove up to a farmhouse and asked to see Mr. Hendricks, the farmer. His wife, thinking that the caller was a salesman, said that Mr. Hendricks was out in the fields and could not be bothered. The man was not to be stopped, for he started to walk across plowed fields and cobblestones to see Mr. Hendricks. When Mr. Hendricks returned home, he told his wife that the caller was the district attorney of Waukesha, who was thinking of running for Congress. He added that it was merely a friendly call, for they talked only about the crops.

A FAVOR FOR THE VOTER

Personal attention is sometimes merely a smile, a handclasp, and word of greeting: usually, however, it is part and parcel of personal service, a favor done for a voter. This can best be illustrated by describing several experiences in the recent political campaigning of Laurie Carlson, a Progressive of Bayfield County in Wisconsin. Laurie is about thirty years of age. He is serving his second term in the assembly, although he looks younger than many college seniors. His handsome boyish appearance nearly cost him some votes. An old Swedish woman with many relatives told him that he was too young for the assembly job, but the old matriarch became a strong supporter when he answered her in Swedish.

In 1936 Laurie found that several important farmers were opposed to him, and he needed their support in order to win. One of these farmers was Ernest Tetzmer whom Laurie visited one day in the country. He found Mr. Tetzmer out in the hayfield cocking hay, and Mr. Tetzmer said that he was already committed to another candidate and that he could not support Mr. Carlson. Laurie talked to him just the same, and while he was talking he noticed that the ground was very dry at the foot of a hill. He asked if there were not some seepage or springs in that hill. The farmer thought there were. Laurie then suggested that they take a look at the springs as a possible source for irrigation. They did and Laurie made some pertinent suggestions about taking out the muck, damming the springs, and piping the water down to the farm for irrigation purposes. The next day Laurie got some helpful advice from the University and relayed it on to the farmer. A dam was constructed and land that had been useless is now profitable. Naturally the farmer feels that if you can make a blade of grass grow where none grew before you deserve his vote.

The next case concerns Sam Kransovitz, who is an influential man among the Slovak people of his community. Laurie met Sam at a Slovak church picnic and found that Sam was not for him. The two drank a couple of beers, and then Sam invited Laurie over to his home for supper that evening. Laurie quickly accepted the invitation, and at the end of the supper Sam and his wife went out to the barn to milk the cows and told Laurie they had no time to talk politics. It was in August and very hot. Laurie was dressed in a sport coat, white flannel trousers, and white shoes. However, he followed the farmer and his wife to the barn, took his place among the cows, and milked five. One of the cows had a very wet tail, and because the flies disturbed the cow, the wet tail switched across Laurie's face many times during the milking. It cost Laurie $1.50 to get his clothes cleaned after the session in the barn, but from that time on Sam has been a supporter of his. Again no politics were talked, but political support was won just the same.

MEET THE SENATOR

Two successful politicians worked most effectively together in bestowing the coveted personal attention on their constituents when the Honorable Robert M. La Follette gave a speech in the fall of 1938 in the assembly district of Paul Alfonsi. The district is in the northern part of Wisconsin and is composed of Italians, Poles, Finns, and some Norwegians. Several hundred people attended the La Follette-Alfonsi rally, and after the speaking was over they waited to meet the Senator. About three hundred voters formed a line, with the Assemblyman and the Senator at its head. One by one, as they filed by, Alfonsi called each voter by name and introduced him to La Follette. No matter how good the speech, there were many constituents in the line that thought the handshake at the end the best part of it.

This personal attention and personal service factor in our politics is universal. It is present in the neighborhood and in the nation alike. How big a part it played in the life of Mark Hanna when he was leader of the Republican party in the Senate is vividly portrayed by Thomas Beer.

> He had woven himself into the life of the Congress. And how? Well, he was a business man in politics. Let some Congressman run to him with the case of a shipmaster bullied down at Buenos Aires by the venal authorities of the port, and Mr. Hanna's telephone clicked. The Senator was speaking to the State Department, to Mr. Hay himself. Let some Democrat approach him in the Marble Room wailing that Hay and the President were dragging the United States into world politics too far by demanding an open door for the trade of all nations in China, and people drew close to hear Hanna retort, for American trade. Nothing was too small to interest the Senator from Cleveland. He adjusted anything that was business. An engine driver had been crippled while helping to unload supplies at Tampa for the army? All right, he would look after that, for Mr. Oscar Underwood, and he lectured the tall gentleman from Alabama on the dignity of engine drivers. "I've talked to hundreds of 'em. Never met one fool, either. . . ." A cargo of mahogany, the sorrows of an insurance company shut out of Germany, the complaint of a lady whose son had been reprimanded at Annapolis for trying to invent a new torpedo, the inefficiency of a laundry machine in a government hospital—bring him anything that touched his instinct of a trader or that had to do with a machine, and Mr. Hanna's voice would be loud for the persons in trouble. A thousand such obligations bound senators and congressmen to Uncle Mark. He rose, in this simplicity, by his usefulness, and superstition clustered on him. He was luck, he was force—and there was something else. Dazedly and unwillingly, people came to see that the old jinni loved his country, and he queerly loved his city and his state. It was unaccountable, almost indecent, when he had been dramatized as a mere plunderer. But there it was. "I won't have an American abused," he growled, in the State Department, "and I don't give a damn if he has a jail record and ain't got a cent. You get those Swiss to let him loose."[3]

There is one comment that should be made in conclusion.[4] Politics is a slice of life—a very large slice nowadays. And if logic cannot explain politics, it is not strange, for life is not logical either. The politician is the voter writ large. If eight out of ten (Munro says nine out of ten) Americans are politicians by nature, it is not strange that the men they elect should fail to give all their thought and energy to exact questions of justice and impersonal issues.

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[3] *Hanna,* pp. 234-235.

[4] Edmund Burke has also expressed his views on this aspect of politics. "Neither do I wholly condemn the little arts and devices of popularity. They facilitate the carrying of many points of moment; they keep the people together; they refresh the mind in its exertions; and they diffuse occasional gaiety over the severe brow of moral freedom. Every politician ought to sacrifice to the graces; and to join compliance with reason. . . . But when the leaders choose to make themselves bidders at an auction of popularity, their talents, in the construction of the state, will be of no service. They will become flatterers instead of legislators; the instruments, not the guides of the people. If any of them

DO WE NEED THE POLITICIAN?

Furthermore, it is suggested that the politician is an indispensable institution in our democracy. Some of the needs that he satisfies are recognized in formal political theory; others, equally or more vital, are not. In this latter connection, it is as though an individual called his attorney for legal aid. The smiling lawyer came and gave legal aid, or he didn't, but he did bring his harmonica along and played a lively tune beside his client's chair. Or he might merely present the prospective litigant with a fine five-cent cigar. Then again, assume that the attorney came to the distressed person's home, gave or did not give, legal aid, but did repair the cook stove.

Although I believe that such analogies have merit, they are not exact. First, the person seeking legal aid knows pretty well the sort of thing he wants. Politics is more ambiguous. The issues and methods to be employed are rarely clear. Furthermore, the lawyer has a certificate of his training and general competence that is issued by the state; but there is no equivalent diploma of so exact a nature for the politician.

My second idea revolves around the voter. It is his nature and his wishes that determine how the politician performs on our political stage. It seems that many voters are politicians by nature. But, the voter must be educated to think in terms of law and merit instead of self and favor. He must vote for a candidate because of interest in the common good, and the belief that the vote he casts will best serve the state. He must realize that the candidate of his choice does not owe him anything for his vote that he does not owe all people in his constituency. If he is intelligent, he understands that his vote is given to the state not to an individual. It is true that he places his "X" after a candidate's name, but he is thinking of the state. He is actually trying to pick a state's man or a city's man, not a voter's man or a private interest's man. Therefore the voter must be made to realize that he deserves neither a five-dollar bill nor a job nor a Christmas greeting for his vote, nor can he rightfully give his vote away. All he can intelligently do is to cast it according to the dictates of his own conscience.

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should happen to propose a scheme of liberty, soberly limited, and defined with proper qualifications, he will immediately be outbid by his competitors, who will produce something more splendidly popular." *The Works of Burke,* Vol. IV, pp. 272-73.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The article above represents part of Chapter III, *The Pattern of Politics,* a forthcoming book by the author. Another section of this chapter appears in the *American Political Science Review* for February 1940.

Citizens of Tomorrow

University of Toledo's "effective citizenship" course enables students to experiment with practical politics; lays foundation for future participation in civic affairs.

By **O. GARFIELD JONES**
University of Toledo

CITIZENSHIP training in the past has been upon the basis of a fallacy—that the citizen needs to know all about government and all about the problems with which government has to deal. And the many excellent textbooks on American government testify as to the earnest and able efforts of political scientists to meet this need.

But the fallacy in this concept is first that even the average college student is incapable of understanding our American system of government in appreciable detail because of the tremendous complexity of constitutional and administrative law involved in our federal system plus municipal home rule, and in the separation of powers between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches—national, state, county, township, and city. Secondly, a brilliant student who might approximate an understanding of this most complex system cannot hope to retain it unless he is using the eight or nine hundred pages of fact in the standard American government text almost every day.

The saddest commentary on the value students place on American government courses today is the frequency with which one hears alumni boast of having forgot everything they were taught in that class. The very tone in which the alumni make this boast is a testimony to their feeling of futility in this attempt to understand principles which the highest courts find so difficult to elucidate, and in the attempt to remember hundreds of pages of concentrated fact.

So long as democracy attempts to operate on the basis of the all-wise and all-competent citizen, it is bound to fail. The only solution to this angle of the problem is the return to representative government and the short ballot system. The writer's enthusiasm for direct legislation has been waning rapidly these last ten years.

Then what is the problem of training for active citizen participation in a workable system of government? Let us inquire as to the barriers to active citizen participation.

First, there is lack of insight into the basic political processes, that is, policy determination and policy administration. The average owner of an automobile has insight into the general principles of automotive transportation although he probably makes no pretense that he could pass a detailed examination on carburetion, ignition, lubrication, transmission, or the cooling system.

A second set of barriers to active citizen participation is the emotional inhibitions with which he is endowed, either by pre-natal or by post-natal inheritance. Three of these emotional inhibitions having political importance are the disinclination to get up and say something he wants to say at the right moment in a meeting; the disinclination to go to administrative officers with whom he is not acquainted to get specific information about administrative affairs; and the disinclination to go to political workers for help or information.

A third set of barriers to active citizen participation might be called ideological inhibitions. They frequently reinforce the emotional inhibitions. Three of these ideological inhibitions are refusal to cooperate with or even approach politicians because of the belief that politicians are always sordid and corrupt; refusal to oppose politicians because of the belief that they are invincibly clever and efficient; and refusal to go to government officials for help or information because of the belief that they are corrupt, lazy, or incompetent.

No Training in Schools

Another barrier to active citizen participation is the young citizens' lack of experience in sharing responsibility. Too many of our junior and senior high schools, where most of our citizens get their last bit of formal education, are despotisms, benevolent or otherwise, not representative democracies. Certainly they have the irreducible minimum of "self-government." When the pupil's only participation in school affairs consists of his yelling for his team under the rhythmic commands of a cheer leader, that pupil is well trained to sit by his radio and take orders from demagogic leaders as to how to vote or when to write to his congressman. That pupil hasn't even been encouraged to think for himself as a citizen of the school with an individual responsibility for some phase of the school's welfare and reputation.

At the University of Toledo we have attacked all of these barriers to active citizen participation in government. Furthermore, we are conscious of the fact that there are other barriers to citizen participation which we may not touch in our "Effective Citizenship" course.

In the first place the course is required of all sophomore students in all the colleges on the theory that they must all be citizens. And it might be predicted that college students and college faculties will not object to a required course in political science as a final course in citizenship if the students can be convinced that such a course gives them worth-while training for citizenship duties.

Insight into basic political processes is given by limiting the two-semester study to just three processes. The first two are subdivisions of policy determination, that is, policy determination at the ballot box and policy determination in a deliberative assembly. The third process is the administration of policy. These processes are taught by means of a rather extensive study of municipal government in a city with a simplified charter. By this device we simplify the problem of achieving insight by giving the student a political organism to study that is relatively as simple as the structure and functioning of the earth worm so frequently given to beginners in biology to dissect and analyze.

Laboratory Assignments

By using the government of Toledo as the basis of our study to supplement a standard text on municipal government we are able to give each student a separate and distinct laboratory assignment in precinct politics and in municipal administration. In this way the student with limited ability to achieve insight by abstract analysis, achieves that insight by means of concrete experience which uses all of his senses.

It is true that we do not have a municipal election every year. But it is true that the political behavior of the citizens of a given precinct is much the same in a state and national election as it is in a municipal election. For instance, a new campaign technique such as the radio talk is used in both local and national elections. In fact, the students get a clearer picture of precinct behavior in a national campaign than in a municipal P. R. election because the national campaign is better organized, is carried on more intensively and for a longer time, and citizens give more obvious indication of their political intentions.

For policy determination in a deliberative assembly we never send the students to council meetings. The class itself serves as the laboratory for this process. First we teach the students the techniques of chairmanship and floor leadership by means of parliamentary contests which compel each one to preside over meetings and to arise, address the chair, and debate, or make parliamentary motions pertinent to the immediate situation in the meeting. It is this phase of the course which makes it imperative that we have not more than thirty students to a section. This year we have seventeen sections.

Mock Charter Convention

After eight months of studying politics and administration both in the texts and in the laboratory, and after some twelve hours of training in chairmanship and floor leadership, each section elects its own speaker, clerk, and rules committee and resolves itself into a charter convention to consider and adopt proposals for amending the Toledo city charter. The students not elected to office are assigned by the instructor to departmental committees that must draft the proposed amendments. Thus during the month of May the instructor does nothing but sit in the back of the room, to check the class attendance and make a record of every act of participation by each student in the work of that charter convention.

One important purpose of this charter convention is to give the student a chance to integrate his knowledge of politics and administration and the several techniques he has learned into a complex but most valuable technique for active citizen participation in civic affairs.

The emotional inhibitions to active citizen participation are broken down by being repeatedly over-ridden by will power. The timid girl does interview the politician, does interview the city official, does preside as chairman, and does serve as floor leader on occasion, not because she likes to, but because all the other students do it, and she is determined not to be the only "quitter" in the entire student body.

Likewise the ideological inhibitions are broken down by first-hand experience. On personal acquaintance the politician proves to be no more sordid and corrupt than other folk. The bugaboo of politician invincibility is usually annihilated by the fact that the precinct leader is not a political genius and frequently knows less about the precinct politically than does the student who has finished his precinct report. When the precinct leader underestimates the vote for his own candidate, as happened so many times in 1938, and the student, taking the precinct leader's word for it, is penalized one whole letter on his precinct report grade, the prestige of the precinct leader is gone so far as that student is concerned.

Interviewing City Officials

The student who has studied fire prevention, or scout crews, or water filtration and then interviews the official in charge of that activity, usually finds that at least that one official is neither corrupt, lazy, nor incompetent. If, perchance, the student finds that the official he interviews is corrupt, lazy, or incompetent, I am sorry. But at any rate the student has achieved insight into what is. The ideological barrier has not been dispelled in this case, because the ideology happens to coincide with the facts so far as official incompetence or laziness is concerned.

This course includes just two lectures and no text work on public finance. After the Toledo budget for the current year has been published and is a major subject of discussion in the daily press, one lecture is given on the theory of budget-making and one on the current Toledo budget with a copy of the budget in the hands of each student.

The only other lectures in the course are the three on Toledo's political history since 1896. These lectures come immediately after election in November so as to give historical background to the analytical study of the election which the students have just completed in their precinct reports.

These three historical lectures, however, have far more value than this. They tell the students in rather dramatic form how

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Alabama's Municipal "Tug of War"

Mayor and council battle for administrative supremacy, with odds in favor of the council, in some sixty cities still governed by the almost extinct "council committee."

By **ROSCOE C. MARTIN**
University of Alabama

ALABAMA has 116 incorporated places of more than one thousand population. In a recent survey which covered about eighty-five of these, seventy were found to have the mayor-council form of government.[1] Of the seventy mayor-council cities and towns, fifty-eight administer their affairs through a system of standing council committees. Let it be noted thus early that these committees are not the legislative committees ordinarily found, but administrative committees charged each with full responsibility for the direction of some major municipal activity. The committees in question, in other words, are those which prevailed generally during the last century when the council ran the city, but which have almost disappeared in the last fifty years.

The movement for a municipal executive reached Alabama in 1907, when a comprehensive municipal code was adopted. That code recognized for the first time the need for a more powerful executive in the larger cities, and attempted to set up such an executive. It provided for an independently elected mayor and designated him as the "chief executive officer" of the city. By way of implementing this designation, it bestowed on him what were by comparison significant powers, including those of appointing certain officers and employees, removing all officials not selected by the council or chosen by popular vote, and requiring reports at his discretion from municipal officers. In short, it seems clear that it was the intention of the code of 1907 to lay the foundation for a true municipal executive and in the same measure to limit the council's power in the domain of administration.

The code did not, however, satisfactorily reconcile the strong mayor which it purported to create with the strong council which by tradition controlled administration. Hence a tug-of-war almost of necessity ensued between the council and the mayor, and in this contest the mayor was not the winner.[2] His position undoubtedly is stronger since 1907 than it was before, though it is not the place that might have developed from the foundation provided by the code.

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[1] See a forthcoming study by Weldon Cooper entitled *Municipal Government and Administration in Alabama.*

[2] That this struggle is not yet finally resolved is indicated by the account of a council meeting which appeared recently in one of the state's leading newspapers. The account, in part, read: "A stormy session was held between members of the council and Mayor X, the councilmen charging X had hired two additional firemen without consulting the public safety committee. X said it was his 'right as mayor to hire men when I saw fit.'" The council declined to employ the two new firemen and asked that the public

In sum, the council has withstood all attacks on its position, and it has been able to do this principally because the code left in its hands control over both finance and personnel. Through this control it continues, as it has for a hundred years, to administer municipal affairs.

ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEES

The council directs municipal activities largely through the once familiar but now almost forgotten device of administrative committees. The committee system has no statutory basis, aside from the law which grants municipal councils the power to determine their own rules of procedure. The system nevertheless has not been seriously challenged in the courts and is generally accepted without question.

As noted above, fifty-eight of the seventy mayor-council cities and towns of more than one thousand population covered in the survey operate under the committee system. These fifty-eight cities and towns, of which five are between 10,000 and 25,000 in population and seven between 5,000 and 10,000, have some three hundred administrative committees. The committees most frequently found have charge of streets, utilities, finance, sanitation, and police and fire. The larger cities (two of them run to a population of some 20,000 each) have as many as twelve committees; in smaller places the average number is five. Generally, the number of committees equals or approximates the number of councilmen, which may undoubtedly be explained in terms of the desire of each councilman to serve as chairman of a committee.

In addition to serving as chairman of one committee, a councilman normally serves on at least one and sometimes on several more. The committee ordinarily has three members, who usually are appointed in the larger cities by the council president and in the smaller by the mayor. Of necessity, the life of committees is limited to the terms of councilmen.

CHAIRMAN THE ADMINISTRATOR

The important member of the committee is the chairman. Indeed, the typical committee does not hold regular meetings, but leaves most of its duties to its chairman. That official typically appoints and removes departmental personnel, approves purchases made for his department, and directs the executive head of the department in all matters relating to departmental policies and operations. He is, in short, the effective working link between the department and council. As such, it would be difficult to over-emphasize the importance of his position.

Certain qualifications to the foregoing should be noted. First, the chairman acts not on his own responsibility but in the name of his committee, whose support, however, is usually commanded as a matter of course. Second, action by the committee takes the form of re-

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safety committee confer with the mayor and submit a report at the next meeting.

Irishmen Like P. R.

New constitution for Eire continues proportional representation which has been used for all elections, both national and local, since 1919.

By **ARTHUR W. BROMAGE***
University of Michigan

PRIOR to the establishment of the Irish Free State certain English statesmen, cognizant of the divisions of public opinion in Ireland, had declared for the use of P. R. They were impressed by the importance of utilizing a system of election which would accord representation to minorities. The long-awaited but ill-fated Home Rule Act of 1914 (Government of Ireland Act) provided for an Irish House of Commons in which there were to be 164 members. In any constituency returning three or more members the election was to be held "on the principle of proportional representation" and each elector was to have "one transferable vote."[1] This Government of Ireland Act of 1914 was suspended by another act of the same year.[2] Irishmen who might have lived to see home rule for Ireland died in defense of the British Empire in France.

Meantime, Nationalist Ireland flamed into revolt in the abortive Easter-week rebellion of 1916. The sacrifice of the leaders of this unsuccessful resort to force of arms added new fuel to the fires of Irish nationalism. In the general election of 1918, Sinn Fein emerged triumphant except in the northeast counties of Ulster. The successful candidates, resolved not to take their seats in London, met in Dublin, and in January 1919 constituted themselves as the first Dail Eireann.

The United Kingdom was still seeking to govern Ireland and passed a basic Local Government (Ireland) Act in June 1919. To offset the electoral sweep achieved by Sinn Fein in 1918, provision was made in this local government act for the use of P. R. in elections for county, borough, urban, and rural district councillors, "according to the principle of proportional representation, each elector having one transferable vote as defined in this act." A transferable vote was then defined as one: "(a) capable of being given so as to indicate the voter's preference for the candidates in order; and (b) capable of being transferred to the next choice when the vote is not required to give a prior choice the necessary quota of votes, or when, owing to the deficiency in the number of the votes given for a prior choice, that choice is eliminated from the list of candidates."[3]

The first general trial of proportional representation for Irish local units was held in January 1920. According to contemporary accounts

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*Acknowledgment is made to the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies of the University of Michigan for a grant which made this and other studies in Ireland possible.

[1] 4 & 5 Geo., chap. 90, sec. 9.-(1).

[2] 4 & 5 Geo. 5, chap. 88, sec. 1.-(1).

[3] 9 & 10 Geo. 5, chap. 19, sec. 12.

in the press, the new system was received most favorably. Sinn Fein won the greatest number of local government victories. "Yet its triumph was not so great as had been expected, and the new form of election brought to light in an interesting and useful way the intermixture of political faiths in all portions of the island. Minorities obtained representation, including Unionists in the south, Sinn Feiners in Ulster, and also Nationalist, Labour and Municipal Reform candidates."[4] Accounts also stress the general ability of the electorate to understand the system and the favorable public reaction.

P. R. has not abolished party lines or kept national issues out of local elections in southern Ireland, but it has proved to be a workable system, simple enough once the people were accustomed to it. Irish officials consider it a fair system because it reflects proportionally, in representative councils, the respective voting strength of the party and independent candidates.

ADOPTION FOR DAIL ELECTIONS

Prior to the adoption of P. R. by the Irish Free State for use in national elections, the English government had again indicated its belief in the applicability of P. R. to Ireland. The United Kingdom passed a Government of Ireland Act late in 1920. This was never accepted by the south of Ireland, which had, meanwhile, rejected the theory of home rule status within the United Kingdom. Like the local government act of the preceding year, the new legislation called for the use of P. R. There was to be a House of Commons of Southern Ireland. In any contested election of the full membership, the principle of proportional representation, each elector having one transferable vote, was to be applied.[5] In 1921, a general election was ordered for the members of the Parliaments of Northern and Southern Ireland. Dail Eireann declared that this election in southern Ireland should be treated as an election of deputies to itself rather than the new House of Commons. The deputies so elected to Dail Eireann later ratified the Anglo-Irish Treaty providing for the Irish Free State.

The adoption of P. R. for the election of members of Dail Eireann under the 1922 constitution of the Irish Free State may be traced to several factors. In 1921 the chairman of the Irish peace delegation had promised the spokesman of the Unionist minority in Southern Ireland that the Unionists would have a fair method of representation. A system of majority elections would have had the effect of excluding the Unionist minority from participation in the government of the Free State. P. R. was the logical fulfillment of this pledge. So the constitution of the Irish Free State of 1922 provided that the members of Dail Eireann should be elected upon "principles of proportional representation."[6]

The electoral act of 1923 fulfilled the constitutional mandate that Dail elections should be in accordance with the principles of proportional representation. It provided for a Dail of 153 members. The electoral constituencies as designated in a schedule to the act were to return from three to nine members.[7] The scheme of counting follows the principles of the Hare system.

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[4] F. A. Ogg, ed., "Proportional Representation in Ireland," *American Political Science Review,* XIV (1920), 324.

[5] 10 & 11 Geo. 5. *Government of Ireland Act,* 1920, sec. 14.-(3).

[6] Article XXVI.

The process of nomination was made a simple one. A candidate must have a proposer and seconder and the signatures of eight other registered electors in the constituency. Frivolous candidacies were discouraged, however, by the requirement of a deposit by the candidate (or someone on his behalf) of the sum of £100 with the returning officer. This deposit was to be forfeited if the candidate obtained less than one-third of the necessary electoral quota in the constituency.

The constitution of the Free State (article XXVII) provided for three representatives each for the National University and Dublin University, and the Electoral Law of 1923 established P. R. as the method to be employed in these university constituencies as well.

MINORITIES REPRESENTED

That P. R. has produced substantial minority representation and has reflected the proportionate strength of major parties can be seen from a brief statistical summary of certain general elections. In that of September 1927, Cumann na nGaedheal had 453,064 first preference votes and obtained 61 seats. Fianna Fail votes and seats were 411,833 and 57 respectively; Labour, 105,271 and 13; Independents, 104,059 and 9; Farmers, 74,723 and 6; National League, 19,000 and 2; and Independent Labour 12,473 and 1. In the general election of 1932, Fianna Fail polled 566,475 first preference votes and won 72 seats; Cumann na nGaedheal, 449,810 and 56; Labour, 98,285 and 7; Farmers, 41,302 and 5; and Independents, 117,333 and 9.

In the general election of 1937 the statistics were as follows: Fianna Fail, 599,638 and 69; Fine Gael, 461,176 and 48; Labour, 132,686 and 13; Independents, 131,494 and 8.

First preference votes do not furnish an absolutely accurate analysis of the strength of the individual parties, as other preferences count in the transfer of votes. On the other hand, the first-choice votes do demonstrate the close correlation between party strength and seats obtained. Substantial minority party representation has resulted; independents have not been excluded. There could be no sweep of Dail seats in a constituency by a party having only a plurality or a majority of the popular votes. Single-member constituencies which center around village-pump politics have been avoided.

The size of the Dail has now been reduced. The Irish Free State was divided by the electoral law of 1935 into 34 constituencies which elect 138 deputies to the Dail. With little exception, these constituencies each elect only three, four, or five members. The county borough of Dublin, with a population of 467,000 out of the national total of 2,965,854, was alloted, on the basis of population, 18 members of the Dail to be elected by four constituencies. There is no under-representation of urban areas in the Dail parallel to the rotten-borough system in American state legislatures.

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[7] Saorstat Eireann, Public Statutes of the Oireachtas, 1923, No. 12.

POLITICAL PARTIES AND P. R.

In southern Ireland two major parties have dominated the political scene. The fundamental issue between them has been the question of the Treaty of 1921. At the time of the Treaty, Sinn Fein split into pro- and anti-treaty factions. These groups became, respectively, Cumann na nGaedheal (later Fine Gael) with Cosgrave as its leader, and Fianna Fail with Eamon de Valera as its head. The only third party which has survived as an important force from the time of the Treaty is the Labour group. Based as it is upon unions of skilled labour, this party has attracted and will probably continue to have a considerable following. With the growth of industrial enterprises, its role will be aggrandized. The Farmers party declined in importance gradually from 1923 to 1932. In the 1933 election, a Center party organized with the support of large farmers won 11 seats but later merged with Cumann na nGaedheal to form the Fine Gael party. Another short-lived group was the National League which won a few seats in 1927. This was a throwback to Redmond's Irish Nationalist party.

Aside from the issue of external policies, the differences between Fine Gael (Cosgrave) and Fianna Fail (de Valera) have been mainly economic. This rift was in some measure between the "haves" and the "have-nots." Cosgrave attracted the support of the large farmers, of business men, and of the white collar workers. The backbone of de Valera's party has been the small farmers of the west who were outside the pale of British influence, nationalistic in outlook, and activated by economic distress.

The Cosgrave government was in power from 1922 to 1932; Fianna Fail since that date. However, in 1932-33, Labour held a balance of power. Again, after the election of 1937, de Valera with 69 votes in a Dail of 138 members found the support of the Labour party (13 deputies) essential to an assured tenure of power. Although Labour has been in an advantageous position, two major parties have dominated the political process since 1922.

Irish party organization is by no means parallel to the American system. In our state governments, the direct primary has made the single-member constituency predominant in selecting party candidates. The absence of centralized control over party candidatures has earmarked American party organization.

Irish local political clubs send delegates to national conventions. The latter, however, see-saw through the resolutions fostered by local clubs. When all the talking is over and all opinions have been aired, the actual results may be the adoption of a few general resolutions. National party executives carry the big stick in their standing committees. While the constituency meetings select local party candidates, these may be vetoed by the national party executive. It is no secret in Ireland that control over candidatures filters down from the top, always, of course, with regard to the best interests of the party in the local constituency. These national executives who carry so much weight are made up of individuals chosen by parliamentary representatives, by local organizations, by conventions, and by coöptation.

Discipline over candidates has been fostered by the intensity of party strife in the Free State. Party candidates must, before their selection, sign a written document in which they agree to follow the party whip. This practice has resulted in the charge that the T. D.'s in the lower house are gramophone voters. A party having only a slim majority in the Dail counter-balances this weakness in numbers by the rigidity of party discipline. Without P. R. the ruling party from time to time might have had a more preponderant but artificial majority and party discipline might have been relaxed in consequence. It is not to be assumed, however, that this alternative is a desirable one. With local jealousies in control of party machinery, the interest of Ireland as a whole might be sacrificed if it were not for strong party discipline.

P. R. IN THE SENATE

As to its Senate, the Irish Free State faced some peculiar difficulties. There was no hereditary aristocracy to serve as the basis for an upper house with powers to retard the passage of legislation by the lower branch. There was no federal system which demanded a scheme of representation for component units within the Free State. On the other hand, Unionist sentiment was overwhelmingly for a Senate which would serve as a barrier against too much democracy and too much nationalism. The chairman of the peace delegation promised a Senate to Unionists. The first Senate was composed of sixty members, of whom thirty were elected and thirty nominated by the President of the Executive Council under a constitutional mandate to provide representation for groups or parties not adequately represented in Dail Eireann. The former group was elected by Dail Eireann voting on principles of proportional representation.

The trend toward some scheme of functional representation in Dail Eireann was indicated by an early resolution of the Dail holding it expedient for the President of the Executive Council, prior to the making of appointments, to consult representative bodies, including the Chamber of Commerce, the Royal College of Physicians, the Royal College of Surgeons, the Benchers of the Honourable Society of King's Inn, Dublin, the Incorporated Law Society of Ireland, and the county borough councils. This transitional plan was succeeded by an unusual experiment in the use of P. R.

Under the "permanent" plan, one-fourth of the sixty senators were to retire every three years. An election was then to be held to fill these fifteen vacancies and others resulting from death or resignation. A panel of three times as many candidates as vacancies was to be prepared—Dail Eireann and the Seanad, voting under P. R., nominating two-thirds and one-third respectively of the panel members. To the group so selected were to be added the names of the Senators seeking re-election.

This panel was submitted to an electorate composed of all citizens of the Free State complying with the electoral laws and having attained the age of thirty. Again P. R. was to be used, the entire Free State serving as a single constituency. As the trial and error method proved, this was a severe test, used only in 1925 under peculiar difficulties. Fianna Fail, the second largest party, did not participate. The Executive Council failed to take a strong lead. Interest touched a low ebb for the Free State and less than one out of every four voters participated. The low level of electoral participation resulted in election by small quotas. Candidates who represented small blocs of voters were carried on to victory. A candidate from Monaghan did unusually well in the poll, because Monaghan turned out an 80 per cent participation in the election.[8] In spite of the fact that the voter had to mark a ballot containing some 76 candidates and had the opportunity of enumerating as many preferences, the number of spoiled ballots was small. There were 305,701 valid and only 9,466 invalid ballots.[9]

To secure the best results, the Hare system of P. R. should be applied to a constituency selecting from five to nine officeholders. A greater number of offices produces a ballot of impractical dimensions. If a decided lead is taken by one or more groups, P. R. functions to better advantage. In Dail elections this lead is taken by the respective parties in promoting the candidacies of their best prospects in the constituencies. In various city council elections in the United States, initiative has been taken by informal or formal citizen organizations and political parties. In the Irish Senate election of 1925, the absence of powerful leadership left an apathetic electorate.

SENATE PLAN CHANGED

The Senate was later submitted to more political surgery. A plan of indirect election was established by a group of amendments passed in 1928. The Senators were to have nine-year terms of office, one-third of them retiring every three years. A panel was to be created with twice as many candidates as vacancies. The Dail had the privilege of nominating one-half of the candidates; the Seanad, the other half. Then the selections were to be made by a joint ballot of Dail and Seanad voting under principles of proportional representation. By this time, however, Fianna Fail had entered the Dail as the most important party in opposition. The process of nomination to the panels for the Seanad became thoroughly tinged with partisanship. Beneath the surface, the party executives showed their hands in making nominations and only such number of nominations as would conform to voting strength and ensure the best electoral results for the party. Party membership after the election of 1931 stood as follows: Cumann na nGaedheal, 23; Fianna Fail, 12;

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[8] See Warner Moss, *Political Parties in the Irish Free State,* New York, Columbia University Press, 1933, p. 50.

[9] Andrew E. Malone, "Party Government in the Irish Free State," *Political Science Quarterly,* Sept. 1929, p. 368.

Labour, 6; Farmers, 2; and Independents, 16.[10]

Beyond question, the old Senate of the Free State performed a useful function in improving and delaying legislation, but it had become the plaything of party politics. When de Valera came into power in 1932, he resented the process by which legislation approved by a Fianna Fail majority in the Dail was delayed by a Seanad in which Cosgrave's influence persisted. Criticism of the Seanad culminated in the abolition of that body by constitutional amendment in 1936. Then, when the Dail became a one-house legislature and constituent assembly (bills and constitutional amendments alike being made into law by the signature of the chairman of the Dail), it was indeed fortunate that the minority groups in the Free State had a substantial representation in the Dail through the workings of P. R.

BUNREACHT NA hEIREANN, 1937

The use of P. R. in the Irish Free State from 1922 to 1937 left no room for argument as to the acceptance of that system in the new constitution of 1937. This Bunreacht na hEireann was ratified by the voters on July 1, 1937. It declares Eire (Ireland) to be a sovereign, independent, democratic state, succeeding the Irish Free State. The new state is associated by statute with the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Although there were many debates in the Dail as to the framework of the new government of Ireland and the liberties of the people of Ireland, it was a tribute to P. R. that this principle was accepted by all groups for all national elections. Under Bunreacht na hEireann, the members of the Dail Eireann (lower house) must be elected by proportional representation with the single transferable vote. A new Senate based on vocational representation and P. R. was also established. The President of Ireland, according to the new constitution, is elected by direct vote of the people under the single transferable vote.

The constitution makes no reference to local government elections but these continue, under the provisions of statutes which remain in force, to be in accordance with P. R. Thus, after fifteen years of experience, the people of Southern Ireland again put their seal of approval upon this method by adopting it for all national elections and continuing it in force for local elections in the new state of Ireland.

The constitutional provisions of Bunreacht na hEireann with respect to the Senate are of peculiar interest and complexity. The new Senate has sixty members. Eleven are to be nominated by the Prime Minister. Three are elected by the National University and three by the University of Dublin under P. R. Forty-three are elected in a manner provided by law from panels of candidates representing certain group interests. The nature of the electorate which is to select the 43 members is not determined by the constitution. It is required, however, that the election must be held according to the principles of proportional representation and by use of a secret postal ballot. Before each general election of senators, nominations must be made as determined by law from panels representing: (1) national language, literature, art, and education; (2) agriculture, allied interests, and fisheries; (3) labour, whether organized or unorganized; (4) industry and commerce (including banking, finance, accountancy, engineering, and architecture; (5) public administration and social services.

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[10] Nicholas Mansergh, *The Government of the Irish Free State,* London, George Allen and Unwin, 1934, p. 100.

By legislation of 1937, provision was made for the selection of forty-three senators by an electoral college. This college is made up of members of the Dail and other electors selected by the county councils and county borough councils. Each of these 31 councils selects seven electors by P. R. This makes a college of 355 members: 138 members of the Dail and 217 electors chosen by local governing bodies. Nominations are made partly by members of the Dail and partly by registered nominating bodies of a vocational character. By special provision of the legislation 21 of the 43 senators must be elected from candidates who have been nominated by registered nominating bodies.

Since the adoption of Bunreacht na hEireann two elections have been held for membership in the Senate. Fianna Fail obtained a majority of the seats in each election. The Senators have performed a useful function in debating the general principles of national policy and in suggesting technical amendments to bills. However, they have not exercised their power to delay legislation.

Further, the vocational system of nomination did not result in a truly vocational legislative body. In fact, the upper house does not operate to any important degree along vocational lines. Debate in the Senate centers principally around the opposition of Fine Gael and independent members to de Valera policies. The most important result of the use of P. R. for election of the new Senate has been to provide representation to minority groups, thus assuring them a second chance to express their opposition to the government. The Dail and Dail elections continue to be the center of political life in Ireland.

THE GENERAL ELECTION OF 1938

Late in May 1938, de Valera's Fianna Fail was defeated in the Dail on a technical question. Two Cosgrave members moved that the Dail create a board of arbitration to deal with grievances in the civil service. This motion carried by one vote. At the time de Valera and Sean T. O'Kelly, An Tanaiste, were both absent from Dublin. For some time de Valera had chafed under the necessity of depending on the votes of Labour deputies to support his government. He made this defeat the occasion to go to the country and ask for a working majority. He unquestionably had in mind the golden opportunity of reaping the popularity of his favorable Anglo-Irish Agreements, signed earlier in the year.

During the 1938 campaign P. R. proved its staying power in an unexpected way. The repercussions were so decided when de Valera indicated at one stage that P. R. might

(Continued on Page 144)

Census Bureau Trains Its Staff

Five courses with total enrollment of over two hundred employees taught by trained staff members who give their services on a volunteer basis.

By **CLARENCE A. KELLNER**
Division of State and Local Government
Bureau of the Census

THE development of in-service training on both the federal and municipal levels of government remains in the embryo stage, despite the fact that more and more students of personnel problems have urged the training of employees *after* they have been inducted into the public service. Before in-service training is generally accepted as a function of personnel administration, a liberal exchange of ideas must take place between those active in the personnel field both in municipalities and in the federal government.

Municipalities up to the present time have been largely concerned only with post-entry training of policemen and firemen.[1] A wider application of in-service training ideas is to be found in the federal government where programs vary from the broad plan of the Department of Agriculture, which offers several thousand public employees regular graduate work in various academic fields, to the intensive training program of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which concentrates on technical training of picked recruits, and calls in at intervals regular employees for attendance at "refresher" courses.[2]

One federal agency which has carried on an interesting program of in-service training in the nation's capital is the Bureau of the Census. The development of this program during the past five years should be of interest to municipalities and federal agencies alike, because it has introduced some interesting innovations in the training field.[3] Designed for a large number of persons at the clerical and lower professional levels, the Census Bureau's program is easy to organize, and requires only incidental expense to keep it going. Furthermore, it can be described as a type of training that is popular with the public employee, that is, it is offered in conjunction with his work but is not compulsory, and to take advantage of it the employee need pay no prohibitory fees.

Actually, the Bureau of the Census has two training programs. One has resulted from the exigencies of the moment, and is concerned with training the thousands who will, in a few months, be actively engaged in the taking of the decennial censuses relating to population and distribution, and the quinquennial and biennial censuses relating to agriculture and manufactures. The area managers, the district supervisors, the enumerators—all of these must be trained for a job that must be rapidly and accurately completed.

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[1] *Toward Competent Government,* a report prepared by the American Municipal Association in coöperation with the International City Managers' Association and the Civil Service Assembly (mimeo. 54 pp.), Chicago 1936, p. 17.

[2] For a broad discussion of in-service training in the federal government see Earl Brooks, *In-Service Training of Federal Employees,* published by the Civil Service Assembly in 1938; and John Edward Devine, *Post-Entry Training in the Federal Service,* a mimeographed report circulated by the University of Chicago in August 1935.

[3] For a discussion of a similar in-service training program, already in operation in Detroit, Michigan, see Laurence Michelmore, "University In-Service Training for Public Employees," *Public Management,* October 1939, pp. 229-301.

The other program is in reality the permanent in-service training program of the Bureau of the Census, and will be emphasized here. It is an instructional program offered to the regular force of the Bureau of the Census designed to give the personnel in Washington, who tabulate and analyze statistical data, training in statistics and related subject-matter.

In-service training began in the Bureau of the Census in 1935 under the leadership of Oliver C. Short, then in charge of personnel for the bureau.[4] An observant personnel officer, he believed that persons in a statistical bureau might perform their respective tasks more effectively if they received a broader background in the subject at college level. The Census Bureau, recognizing this need and deciding to do something about it, quietly announced two statistical courses of six weeks' duration. Some optimistic prophet had estimated that over one hundred persons in the Bureau would want to take the work. When the applications were counted, it was found that over five hundred employees wanted instruction. Unfortunately facilities were limited and only two hundred and fifty-four applicants could be accepted.

Today, in its fifth year, the program is directed by Dr. Alfred N. Watson, assistant chief statistician of the Division of Statistical Research. He is assisted by Presley W. Melton, expert in in-service training,[5] and by a staff of research assistants. An Educational Advisory Committee, comprised of technicians of the bureau, was appointed for the first time this year by the director of the census, Hon. William Lane Austin.

This year the Census Bureau is offering five courses on the semester basis. Included are elementary accounting, municipal accounting, state and local government, statistical methods, and a survey of census statistics. Courses such as these, in which the employee voluntarily enrolls, cut across specific job duties and give the employee opportunity to master the tools which are essential in statistical and analytical work.

ENROLLMENT INCREASES

Since the first year, employee enthusiasm for the training program has continued. Today there is a total class enrollment of over two hundred employees. Courses are organized on the lecture-discussion basis.[6] Examinations are held, the completion of problems or exercises is sometimes required, and a grade is given at the close of the semester. Academic credit for the courses can be had by special arrangement with a local university in Washington. For this credit employees must pay a fee and usually write a term paper. Additional training, however, not academic credit, seems to be the objective of those who enroll in the Census Bureau's training program, because few employees have attempted to obtain college credit for the courses.

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[4] At the present time Mr. Short is director of personnel for the Department of Commerce.

[5] Mr. Melton was recently appointed by the Bureau of the Census from the Department of Agriculture where he was director of training.

[6] The Civil Service Commission of Cincinnati has successfully used the lecture-discussion method in training foremen and supervisors. Two conference series have been held in the Division of Highway Maintenance and one in the Division of Waste Collection. These divisions have a large number of employees doing manual labor, and the problems in personnel and management that face the supervisor are many. Recently the commission found the

There are two features of this training program that are especially interesting. One is that the classes meet from 3:30 to 4:30 in the afternoon. With this arrangement, in-service training is taken half on the employer's time and half on the employee's time, since the work day in the bureau continues until 4 o'clock. This half-hour "gift" is recognition by the bureau that trained employees contribute to the efficiency and promotion of the work. The gesture has had a salutary effect on the training program because employees enroll with added enthusiasm and determination.

EMPLOYEES BECOME INSTRUCTORS

A second interesting feature of the training program is that employees of the bureau with the necessary background in education and experience are utilized as instructors. Their services are voluntary, and they are not remunerated for their time and effort. That this program of in-service training has been expanding over five years is proof that capable men have been generous with their talents. As a group, these instructors are busy men. They are sacrificing not only time during the late afternoon, but also several hours in the evening preparing lectures and correcting papers. It should be remembered that their generosity has kept down the cost of training, and at the same time has insured a strong teaching corps for the benefit of all employees.

Although the development of this training program has been commendable, it is not intended to create the impression that all of it has been smooth sailing. Last fall, when a questionnaire was circulated throughout the several divisions of the bureau, over nine hundred requests for various courses were made. Five courses which were requested could not be given,[7] because capable instructors either could not be found in the bureau or could not be persuaded to undertake the teaching burden. This is a decennial census year, and the work of the bureau increases many times over. Having this in mind, some employees were unwilling to assume the additional burden of teaching a class, and in other cases superior officers were reluctant to allow qualified employees to undertake the added responsibility.

The real test of this in-service training program is yet to come. In 1940 the additional work of taking a decennial census will increase the

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conference series could be used advantageously for discussing with the police officer his problems of supervision.

[7] These courses were: public administration, statistical cartography, government correspondence, economic geography, and research methods in statistics. There were also scattered requests for other courses.

bureau's usual staff of about seven hundred employees in Washington to nearly seven thousand. Area and district managers and enumerators, totaling more than 130,000 persons, will be employed in the field. The problem of training will necessarily be focused on these employees. Area managers have already been trained in Washington, and plans made months ago for the training of the enumerators are being tested.

Will the strain of all the rush work accompanying a decennial census lessen interest in the regular training program? There is, of course, a possible danger here, but the program has been organized with the necessary flexibility so that it can continue under great pressure. The leaders believe that the value of the training, as demonstrated not only by improved morale of employees, but also by the higher type of work produced, is sufficient cause for giving impetus to the program.

EXPANSION TO CONTINUE

The in-service training program of the Bureau of the Census has been in a developmental stage for five years. Those who have been responsible for the program do not claim that all techniques are established, that all procedure has been determined. Expansion of the program will continue, and organization will change. Even now the Educational Advisory Committee is attempting to determine the feasibility of giving some types of training entirely on the employer's time, and other types entirely on the employee's time. New courses are being contemplated and other problems are being considered.[8]

It is certain that the Bureau of the Census, although its training program is not finally established, has been laying the foundation for a program of in-service training that may some day be extended to the entire Department of Commerce. Although Executive Order No. 7916, of June 24, 1938, placed new responsibilities on the personnel heads of the various departments and agencies of the government for the development of in-service training programs, no appropriations for this personnel function were made by Congress. When funds are appropriated, and departments and agencies generally expand their training programs, the Department of Commerce will undoubtedly gain much from the experience of the Bureau of the Census.

The failure of Congress to appropriate funds so that the executive order relating to training might be carried out has caused many federal agencies to delay the development of a departmental in-service training program. Municipalities, on the other hand, have been more fortunate. The George-Deen act, passed by Congress in 1936, made funds available to municipalities for the promotion of in-service training programs.[9]

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[8] A large number of employees requested a course dealing with government correspondence last fall. Recently each division chief designated three members of his division to enter a five weeks' course in government letter-writing, with classes meeting for two hourly sessions each week. From this group will come suggestions for a course of this type to be offered to all employees of the bureau.

[9] See Arnold Miles, "In-service Training for Municipal Employees," *Public Management*, April 1938, pp. 107-109.

Federal funds must be matched by the municipality, and limited budgets have no doubt restricted extensive use of the terms of the act. Nevertheless, the possibility in the municipal field of developing new techniques in the training of public employees is great.

The merit system of personnel administration has been stressed for over half a century, but only now are administrators beginning to face the important problem of training. The day is not far distant when there will be a wider appreciation of the fact that "the growth of the employee cannot be left entirely to chance and the ingenuity of the employee."[10] When that time comes, pioneering work in in-service training, such as that done by the Bureau of the Census, will point out new paths of progress to those who seek to train employees after they have entered the public service.

ALABAMA'S MUNICIPAL "TUG OF WAR"

(Continued from Page 102)

commendations to the council, whose approval again may be assumed except in the most unusual cases. Third, in law the mayor has certain administrative duties—he may, for example, require reports from department heads, a power invoked so infrequently as to be of little or no real value—though one who observes him in action would not accord him a very important position in the typical city. The qualifications, therefore, are more imposing in form than in practice, and they in no wise vitiate the general conclusion that the real administrative heads of the city are the council committees, or more accurately the chairmen of those committees.

It should be noted that, while cities and towns employing standing council administrative committees are neither numerous nor large (the number fifty-eight, the size 1,000 to 25,000), they constitute an important group among Alabama municipalities in terms of both total numbers and gross population in incorporated places. In these cities is found a system of administrative supervision which has come down from another century, though a very similar one is still employed in the English borough. The practice of municipal administration by council committees has meant that no strong municipal executive has developed, for the council has stood its ground to such effect that the mayor in most instances is little more than its presiding officer. Alabama mayor-council cities, in short, have weighed management by a strong executive against council administration through committees and have preferred the latter. In this they have set themselves against a current which has flowed in the opposite direction for almost a century and which has been especially strong in the last fifty years.

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[10] *Better Government Personnel,* Report of the Commission of Inquiry on Public Service Personnel, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1935, p. 46.

Public Administration Group Organizes

American Society for Public Administration holds initial meeting at Washington, D. C.

By **WILLIAM E. MOSHER**

Syracuse University

FOR a number of years persons actively interested in the field of public administration have felt the need of a common meeting ground for the growing number of public officials, researchers, and teachers of public administration. Specialized literature has appeared in profusion, and numerous groups of those engaged in work of a technical nature have developed their own organizations, but nowhere has there been an organization representing the broad administrative field.

The need for a move in this direction was recognized officially last year by both the American Political Science Association and the Governmental Research Association. At its fall meeting in 1939, the latter organization authorized the appointment of a special committee to draw up plans for the launching of a society of the general character described above. The American Political Science Association, meantime, appointed a committee to establish closer relationship with public officials. On learning that the organization of a new society was being discussed, the Political Science Association agreed to support the work of the Organizing Committee and coöperate in holding several joint sessions with the proposed society at its annual Christmas meeting.

In December, 1939, invitations to attend an organization meeting in Washington were sent by the committee appointed on the initiative of the Governmental Research Association to several hundred key persons throughout the country whose names had been suggested as interested in the launching of such an organization. It was planned that the meeting extend over two days—one day before the meeting of the American Political Science Association and the second to consist of joint sessions.

Many Interested

The response to the invitations was more than gratifying. Almost five hundred persons registered indicating their interest, and many others who could not attend requested that additional information be sent them. One hundred and twenty-five persons applied for membership immediately.

The two-day meeting opened with a luncheon on Wednesday. It was attended by some four or five hundred persons, many of them holding key positions in federal, state, and local government agencies. With Louis Brownlow presiding, Leonard D. White explained the operation of the British Institute for Public Administration since its founding many years ago. The writer then outlined plans and prospects for a similar organization in this country. Following a dinner address by Dr. Harlow on "Research and Planning as a Function of Administration and Management," the business and organization meeting was held.

It was decided by those present to name the new organization the American Society for Public Administration, and a constitution was presented and adopted. The constitution outlines the purpose of the society to be "to facilitate the exchange of knowledge and results of experience among persons interested in or engaged in the field of public administration; to stimulate more extensive discussion, research, and experimentation in administrative policies and practices involved in the management of public services; to encourage the collection, compilation, and dissemination of information on matters relating to public administration; to foster a continuous consideration of the problems of administration with reference to their general economic, social, and political implication; and to advance generally the science, processes, and art of public administration."

Officers elected at the meeting were as follows: president, William E. Mosher; vice president, Rowland Egger; and members of the council, Frederick Bartlett, Louis Brownlow, John M. Carmody, Leslie M. Gravlin, Luther Gulick, Julia Henderson, Samuel May, Emery Olson, and William Sponsler III. The constitution provides that the three most recent past presidents shall also have seats on the council, but since there are at present no past presidents, the president, as authorized, appointed William Anderson, William A. Jump, and Lent D. Upson to fill the vacancies.

Distinguished Speakers

On the second day of the meeting, Charles A. Beard addressed a luncheon held jointly with the American Political Science Association on the subject, "Administration: A Key to Good Government." The dinner meeting was also a joint affair, with Henry A. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture, speaking on "Emerging Problems in Public Administration."

During the two-day meeting panel discussions were held on the following subjects: "Decentralization and the Problem of Control," "Boundaries on Administrative Discretion," "University Training for Careers in Governmental Research," "Public Administration," and "Advances in Personnel Administration" (the last three being joint sessions with the American Political Science Association).

Since it is intended to keep membership democratic and representative of as broad a group as possible, dues have been made low and reduced rates provided for younger members. Members are assessed five dollars a year, and junior members (persons twenty-eight years of age or under) three dollars. Persons wishing to be listed as sustaining members may pay ten dollars or more a year. The constitution states that "any person interested in the objectives and purposes of the society shall be eligible for membership." With no distinction or discrimination being made among prospective members, it is anticipated that a considerable membership will be enrolled within a short time.

Objectives of the Society

The immediate program of the society embraces four principal projects. A meeting of the entire membership is planned each year, and it is hoped that close cooperation with the American Political Science Association may be maintained. A permanent secretariat will be set up in the near future, in a location readily accessible and near other centers of governmental activity, to act as a central clearing house for all business of the society. Regional and local chapters will be encouraged wherever membership and interest warrant. It is anticipated that the vitality of the society will be supplied by the establishment of a number of active local chapters. And, finally, a quarterly journal devoted to subjects of general interest to public officials, researchers, students, and teachers of public administration will be issued. The scope and character of the journal will be determined largely by the size of the membership. Other projects will be developed as soon as sufficient funds are forthcoming.

Invitations to membership are being sent currently to persons who have been active in the field of public administration or who have already expressed an interest in the society. Present prospects are very promising. It is hoped that the response will be such as to make the society a vital factor in promoting thought and discussion on matters and problems of an

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The Researcher's Digest: February

Those wayward governmental expenditures in Baltimore, Rochester, and all points north; western researchers confer; is governmental research a science?

"NO Drinks on the House" was the headline in a New York City newspaper over a story on the banishment of six water-coolers from the Yonkers city offices by the newly appointed city manager. In the same spirit of careful economy is couched the 1939 issue of the report which the **Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy** annually makes upon city budget revenue and expense.

An eighty-eight-page mimeographed, bound volume—longer and more thorough than previous reports—embodies the commission's exhaustive comments on the state of the city's pocketbook. Twenty-one pages of descriptive analysis, bulwarked, of course, by tables showing trends as well as present conditions, are followed by sixty pages of recommendations. There are fifteen suggestions relating to fiscal administration, thirteen suggestions relating to personnel administration and payroll, twenty-four suggestions relating to operating systems and methods, eleven suggestions relating to administrative structure. All suggestions have economy and efficiency as their primary purpose.

The commission came to three major conclusions regarding the financial situation in which the city of Baltimore now finds itself: (a) "The good financial condition of the city of Baltimore now is endangered by a tendency to rapidly increase public spending and to accelerate debt-making"; (b) "To obtain new sources of substantial revenue is a difficult procedure requiring coöperation by the state legislature and at best is but another indirect way into the same pocketbook; to increase the present tax levy would have doubtful results because the present burden has about reached the taxpayer's capacity to pay willingly"; (c) "To keep the cost of municipal government within the income now available requires searching examination of the city's personnel, its administrative procedures, and operating methods for the purpose of effecting greater efficiency and economy."

Some of the major recommendations of the commission, in pursuance of point (c) are: that a capital planning procedure be instituted; that budget-making be improved; that studies be made of schools and the shift in population; that the eligibility of relief clients be re-checked; that a method be studied of rotating clients to enable the relief funds to give primary aid to a greater number and to discourage persons from remaining public charges; that the city charter be revised, simplified, and clarified. In the latter connection, the commission recommends the adoption of proportional representation.

Except for Relief—

Contrasting with the mood of the Baltimore research organization is that of the **Bureau of Municipal Research of Rochester, New York.** The lead article of the December issue of the bureau's monthly bulletin headlines the question "Has Rochester Reduced the Cost of Government?" Upon analysis of costs since 1920, the bureau answers "yes," albeit it is a carefully qualified yes. By deducting the cost of welfare from other operating expenses (which do not include debt service) the bureau came to the conclusion that "the operating expense of the city government (disregarding welfare) in 1938 was actually some half a million dollars less than the corresponding expense in 1927, a dozen years previous . . . and $2,200,000 below the peak in 1931."

The advent of council-manager government corresponded with the beginning of the end of sharp rises in government costs, the bureau reports. The rate of increase was retarded in 1927 to 1931, the first four years of the manager plan, then costs were sharply cut during the depression, and finally rose slightly in the past few years, as restorations were made in vital services. In the whole situation the bureau finds "a record of achievement for those who have been in control of city finances and a message of hope to the oppressed taxpayer."

Canadian Cities Economize

In Canada, too, local government spending has been decreasing, reports the **Citizens' Research Institute of Canada,** in the December 29 issue of *Canadian Taxation.* A study of net municipal expenditures of sixteen representative cities shows that 1936 marked the first year of decrease. In 1929 the cities were spending $47.23 per capita, including municipal and school costs as well as the cities' share of direct unemployment relief. Per capita expenditures climbed to $55.80 in 1935, and had decreased to $50.98 in 1938.

An analysis of the reasons for the reductions shows that they varied from city to city. In Victoria there were decreased carrying charges on a refunded debt; in Edmonton and Calgary, too, refunding reduced charges but welfare costs were also decreased; elsewhere increased population and increased grants-in-aid from the provincial legislature were responsible. In general, expenditures in the sixteen cities increased for education, highways, health and sanitation, and general administration, decreased for welfare, protection of persons and property, recreation, and local improvement debt charges.

"The Old Old Story"

"More than one hundred years ago, a war was fought over the question of taxation without representation. At that time the argument was one between people who lived on opposite sides of the globe. Since then, the old question is raised periodically in some form or other, but in 1940 it has been narrowed down from worldwide proportions to the boundary lines of single states and to the counties within."

Thus does the **Dayton Research Association** revive "The Old Old Story" (title of its January 4 bulletin) which constitutes another aspect of the question of governmental expenditure. Whence does the ultimate governmental authority issue, from area or from population? In Ohio, the Dayton bureau points out, "representatives are sent to Columbus using the counties as units." An amusing map portrays the familiar result. "The members of the General Assembly are divided into two groups. On the one side are those coming from the cities and urban communities. On the other side are the rural representatives, who, by the nature of the plan of representation, are far in the majority. When a law is to be considered affecting one or the other of the two groups, a contest results resembling a football game."

Two possible solutions to the problem are suggested. One would involve reapportionment. The other would require all cities in the state to adopt charters embodying broader powers of home rule.

That Research May Work

"Putting Governmental Research to Work" was the central problem to which the Western Governmental Research Association addressed itself at its second annual conference at Berkeley, California, in October. According to a forty-six-page report on the proceedings of the meeting, discussion centered around the following issues: presenting the results of research more effectively; utilizing research in the legislative and administrative problems of government; and adapting governmental research to the needs of a nation during war time. A committee on cartography and nomenclature presented its report at one of the important panel meetings.

Kansas City Science

Kansas City's Civic Research Institute has just issued a striking red, white, and blue booklet telling the whys and hows of governmental research in Kansas City. Apparently to emphasize the sometimes mislaid truth that governmental research is, indeed, a *pukka* science, the photograph on the cover portrays a white-coated lab worker peering earnestly into a microscope with two racks of test tubes nearby.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Finance

Canada's Governmental Debt Record During the Period 1913-1919. Citizens' Research Institute of Canada, *Canadian Taxation,* December 14, 1939. 4 pp.

Towards Greater Efficiency and Economy in the Baltimore Municipal Government. Baltimore, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Inc., October 1939. 82 pp.

Cost of Government in Canada. Citizens' Research Institute of Canada, *Canadian Taxation,* December 29, 1939. 4 pp.

Municipal Finances in New Jersey. New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce, Department of Governmental Research, November 15, 1939. 18 pp.

Has Rochester Reduced the Cost of Government? Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc., *Municipal Research,* December 1939. 1 p.

Legislative Representation

The Old Old Story. Dayton Research Association, *Facts,* January 4, 1940. 1 p.

Tax Rates

Two Decades of Tax Rates. Cincinnati Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., *The Public Purse.* December 31, 1939. 4 pp.

Voting

How Rochester Votes. Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc., *Municipal Research,* December 1939. 1 p.

Research

Proceedings, Second Annual Conference, Western Governmental Research Association, at Berkeley, California, October 26, 27 and 28, 1939. 46 pp.

CITIZENS OF TOMORROW

(Continued from Page 100)

two citizens, "Golden Rule" Sam Jones and Brand Whitlock, broke the shackles that had chained the Toledo city government to a national party organization. This narrative shows the students how high-minded citizens with ability and determination may achieve great things for their community by individual effort. This feature of the course, which we call "personified idealism," is quite important in developing that *urge to do something* which is so vital in any course designed to train for active citizen participation in civic affairs.

Editor's Note.—Address delivered before Forty-fifth Annual Conference on Government of National Municipal League, November 17, 1939.

Comments in Brief

Reformers Take Note

EVIDENTLY we agree that publicity through newspapers, meetings, and other channels, naturally constitutes one factor in waging a successful political campaign. But the real secret of victory rests in gaining the support of the key men or women in a majority of the influential groups concerned. This seems to be the strategy of the professional politicians. It should be the procedure also of the forces of good government. CHARLES EVANS HUGHES (quoted in the *Detroit Civic Searchlight*).

A Proud City Record

A CITY which operates as Jackson does on a drastic tax limitation has real occasion for pride when it can function as this community now is functioning. Jackson has lost the run-down-at-the-heels look which marked so many Michigan cities in the early days of depression and tax limitations. Pavements have been expanded and well maintained. A considerable amount has been spent on expensive new equipment such as the new fire department pumper costing $11,000, a $9,000 street sweeper, a new police patrol and new police cars and motorcycles.

What is really remarkable is that these things have been accomplished without incurring a deficit and without borrowing such as was the rule in recent previous years. On top of this, the sinking fund has been kept intact; and the city actually is better off financially than it has been at any time since the depression tornado leveled tax revenues. . .

Jackson goes into the new year and a new city administration a solvent, sound, well managed municipality! *Jackson, Michigan, Citizen-Patriot.*

Where There's a Will

THE city of Toledo, Ohio, wanted to continue as a member of the United States Conference of Mayors. But the resident state examiner made withdrawal imperative—almost. He ruled that the payment of $250, annual dues to the conference, was an illegal use of city funds. He made a finding against the city for dues paid for the previous six months, and prepared to make another finding if dues for the current half were paid.

Martin S. Dodd, Law Director, saw a way out, however. The councilmen were agreed that the work of the conference in research on legislative and administrative data was worth $250 a year. So they named Paul V. Betters, executive secretary of the Conference of Mayors, as resident legislative tax analyst for Toledo in Washington at an annual salary of $250. ALFRED W. CHERRY.

The Taxpayer Pays

IN CHINA taxes are sometimes levied thirty years in advance. In Canada we get the same result by long term bond issues. The taxpayer does the paying in both cases. *Municipal Review of Canada.*

Origin of Special Assessment Levies

THE first instance of a levy of special assessments in this country is believed to be the record of a New York street paving project.

In 1667 Mrs. Oloff Stevenson Van Cortlandt couldn't keep her house clean because of the dust, so she aroused her neighbors and got their support in petitioning the burgomasters and schepens of New York City to have the street paved.

A contract was awarded and a rude pavement of cobblestones was laid. Because of this, the name of the street was changed to Stone Street, the name it still bears. The cost of paving was apportioned among the petitioners. *Editorial Research Reports.*

City Manager Plan in the News

The success of the manager plan is becoming more and more an item of current news. A number of most excellent articles on the subject have appeared recently. The following list is significant.

"The Government of the City of Oakland." *Western City,* Los Angeles, California, September 1939.

"The Industrial Town of Tomorrow." *Factory Management and Maintenance,* New York City, September and October 1939.

"City Manager: An Answer to Political Spoils." *Christian Science Monitor,* Boston, January 19, 1940.

"Know Your Government." A series of fifteen articles in the *Globe,* Amarillo, Texas, November 13 to 29, 1939, on city management in that community.

"The Lowdown on City Manager." A series of thirty-odd articles on the manager plan in as many communities. *Herald-Statesman,* Yonkers, New York, beginning October 9, 1939.

THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS

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served as a member of the League's Committees on Instruction in Municipal Government, and on Uniform Municipal Accounting and Statistics; and also of President Taft's Efficiency and Economy Commission in 1912, and the Maryland commission on efficiency and economy (1915). In addition to his important works on administrative and constitutional law, he was the author of books on *Municipal Home Rule* (1895), *Municipal Problems* (1897), *City Government in the United States* (1904), and *Municipal Government* (1909).

JOHN A. FAIRLIE

University of Illinois

Contributors in Review

ON SABBATICAL leave from the University of Michigan in 1936-37, **Arthur W. Bromage** (*Irishmen Like P.R.*) settled in Dublin, Irish Free State, whence comes his first-hand information on P.R. abroad. Last summer he returned to Dublin. Professor Bromage is known for his work on county and local government as the author of *American County Government* (1933), co-author with Thomas H. Reed of *Organization and Cost of County and Township Government* (1933), and member of Michigan and National Municipal League committees on county government. He also wrote *State Government and Administration in the United States* in 1936.

THE man who made college students an important factor in Toledo local politics is **O. Garfield Jones** (*Citizens of Tomorrow*). Professor Jones punctuated his early studies at various midwestern and western universities with positions in the military, educational, and governmental service in the Philippines. Besides his publications on citizenship, he has written widely on the Philippines (including two stories as well as many articles) and on parliamentary procedure. Since 1919 he has headed the department of political science at the University of the City of Toledo. Professor Jones's students formed the youth bloc which helped give Toledo the council-manager plan a few years ago.

CLARENCE A. KELLNER (*Census Bureau Trains Its Staff*) was responsible for the recent reports of the Division of State and Local Government of the Bureau of the Census dealing with state and city-wide proposals voted upon in the elections of 1939. Since his graduation from Doane College, Nebraska, in 1938, Mr. Kellner has worked for two levels of government—as an interne in Cincinnati and in his present capacity with the federal government. He was born in Scribner, Nebraska, in 1916.

ROSCOE C. MARTIN (*Alabama's Municipal "Tug of War"*) came upon the governmental oddity of which he writes in the course of a just completed survey of municipal government made jointly by the Department of Regional Planning Studies of the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama. He is director of the latter organization, as well as professor at the university. Professor Martin formerly occupied a similar position at the University of Texas, and was once chief research technician of the Committee on Urbanism of the National Resources Committee.

LIFE, not printed documents, says **J. T. Salter** (*A Smile Is the Best Argument*) is the subject matter of his writings on political science, and his chief interest is training people for citizenship. *Boss Rule—Portraits in City Politics* (1935) was the result of first-hand research into the habitat and habits of Philadelphia politicians of the Vare persuasion, and *The American Politician* (1938), of which Dr. Salter was editor, was a collection of short biographies of political leaders. Professor Salter teaches political science at the University of Wisconsin.

News in Review

City, County, State Progress in Brief

Kentucky's Legislative Council Reorganized

Knoxville Again under Manager

State Manager for California?

Edited by
H. M. OLMSTED

The Legislative Council of Kentucky has been more or less dormant for several months. One of the first official acts of the new Governor, who was inaugurated on December 11, 1939, was to seek a reorganization of this legislative planning agency.

As nine of the sixteen council members had not been re-elected to the legislature, the Governor sought authority to fill these vacancies before the legislature met. The Attorney-General, whose opinion was requested, stated that the Governor in the event of vacancies in this legislative agency possessed statutory authority to fill such vacancies. Accordingly on the first day of his administration the Governor appointed nine new legislative members to the council and summoned it to meet two days later to plan a legislative program for the 1940 general assembly. From that time until the Christmas holidays of 1939 the council was in almost continuous session. It appointed a research director and designated him as a fact finder, not as a legislative adviser. In addition, the Governor outlined at the first meeting of the council an eight-point program, as follows:

> (1) An appropriation bill holding state operating expenses within present income; (2) A new chain store tax law to replace one previously adjudged invalid; (3) An amendment to the old-age assistance act to make possible payments of the maximum of $30 per month and to remove the state lien on pensioners' property; (4) The reenactment of the teacher retirement law, with provision for funds; (5) Study of further rehabilitation of penal and eleemosynary institutions; (6) Removal of the state tax on gasoline used by farm machinery; (7) Creation of a farm tenancy commission; (8) Creation of a farm marketing division in the State Department of Agriculture.

Much of the council's time since its reorganization until the convening of the legislature, January 3, 1940, was concerned with the state budget. Kentucky operates under an executive budget but the new Governor wanted the council to examine every budget item before proposals were made to the legislature. Department heads were asked to appear before the council and defend their budget requests.

It is significant that the council was called upon by the Governor to examine his budget prior to the introduction of the budget bill in the legislature. Thus the existence of the council has meant a modification of the executive budget and probably guarantees less friction and delay in legislative approval of the budget.

Other items on the Governor's program were considered by the council and the research division was authorized to proceed with a study of these items and was requested to make a report to the council early in January.

Inasmuch as the membership of a legislative council is likely to be unstable due to the failure of certain of its members to be re-elected to the legislature, greater continuity of policy could possibly be guaranteed by the establishment of a larger council. Kentucky's council consists of eight members of the lower house, eight members of the upper house, and five administrative officers. With the rather large turnover in legislative membership it is natural that many of the legislative members will not be returned to the council. A larger membership would mean the possibility of fewer vacancies on the council at the beginning of each regular legislative term.

With a more stable membership on the council the development of a legislative program might be carried through the entire year, and many of the problems of the state which demand long-term study could be presented to the legislature with certain suggestions for their solution. Otherwise the legislative program is of necessity a short-range program. In spite of this shortcoming, however, the Legislative Council is proving to be an effective agency in the legislative processes of the state.

J. W. Manning

Bureau of Government Research
University of Kentucky

Knoxville Returns to City Manager Government

On January 1, 1940, after two years under a strong mayor form of government, the city of Knoxville, Tennessee, returned to city manager government. Knoxville had operated under a manager charter from 1923 until 1937, when the legislature by special act abolished it and entrusted the powers, duties, and functions formerly exercised by the city manager to a popularly elected mayor.[1] This act was introduced without the previous knowledge of the citizens of Knoxville and was passed upon the recommendation of the local representatives in the legislature, despite local protest in the form of a petition signed by over four thousand residents, without referring it to the local electorate.

The recent mayor was a former city manager of Knoxville, and was elected upon a pledge to seek restoration of city manager government at the next regular session of the state legislature.[2] A majority of the local representatives in the state legislature were elected on a similar pledge. As a result, one of the first special acts passed by the 1939 General Assembly was one re-establishing manager government in Knoxville.[3]

This act provides that the city manager "shall be chosen solely on the basis of his executive and administrative qualifications, and need not when appointed be a resident of the city or the state." The ex-mayor and former manager has been designated as the new city manager.

H. M. Satterfield

Tennessee Valley Authority

A State Manager in California?

A study looking to a thorough reorganization of the state government in California is contemplated by the State Planning Board according to State Finance Director John R. Richards, in an interview reported in the *Sacramento Union.* He suggested the possibility that recommendations for a state manager might result in view of the success of the manager plan in many cities. He did not go into the relationship which the legislature might have to the manager, but indicated that a new constitution would be in order.

Council-Manager Plan News

In **Port Huron, Michigan,** (population 31,161) the Junior Chamber of Commerce has conducted a "project referendum" among representatives of all types of business and industry. One of the most needed projects was voted to be the promotion of the city manager plan for that city. Port Huron voters recently chose a committee to study possible charter changes.

Petitions have been circulated in **Traverse City, Michigan,** calling upon the city commission to present the question of charter revision to the electorate again. A city manager charter for that city had been drafted as the result of a large majority vote in 1937 approving the creation of a charter commission, but the new charter was defeated in June 1939. A revival of interest has recently occurred.

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[1] *Private Acts of Tennessee*, 1937, chap. 623.

[2] See National Municipal Review, January 1938, p. 46.

[3] *Private Acts of Tennessee*, 1939, chap. 80.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Niles, Michigan,** is showing interest in the manager plan for that city.

Encouraged by the success of the council-manager movement in the neighboring city of Yonkers, support for the manager plan has become evident in **White Plains,** county seat of Westchester County, New York. A. V. Brisson, former Democratic city chairman, who directed the campaign for proportional representation in White Plains in 1939, which was unsuccessful, is pointing out the advantages of a city manager and has urged the appointment of a committee to study the manager plan with P. R., by the Battle Hill Taxpayers Association in that city. This has been done.

In **Quincy, Massachusetts,** the Plan E form of government, which was defeated last fall, will be made an issue again by the Taxpayers Association which sponsored last year's movement for this form of manager government and P. R.

The manager form of government was recommended for **Hammonton, New Jersey,** by Mayor George Eckhardt in his farewell address to the town council on December 28.

The **Indiana** City Manager Study Commission, appointed last year by Governor Townsend, has been unofficially advised by the Attorney-General's office that it would probably be better to seek a constitutional amendment authorizing the manager plan than to attempt it by statute alone. The 1921 city manager law was declared unconstitutional on the ground that it did not have uniform application throughout the state, and the opinion was expressed that other constitutional objections might be found.

Study of the manager plan will be continued by the Taxpayers' Defense League of **San Antonio, Texas.**

The city council of **Silverton, Oregon,** has authorized Mayor Zetta Schador to appoint a citizens' committee to investigate the feasibility of city manager government, and she has announced the names of nine men for the committee. The Silverton Community Planning Council is advocating a special election on the manager plan.

In **Coronado, California,** a board of freeholders is to be elected in April. City Manager M. W. Reed states that there is no intention to abandon the manager plan, but merely to make it up to date.

The **Richmond, Virginia,** *Times Dispatch* of January 13, in denouncing the failure of the mayor and the Board of Aldermen to permit a public referendum on the question of a single-chamber council to replace the present two chambers, makes a strong plea for a city manager as well as a unicameral council. After pointing out the spread of the manager plan, especially in Virginia, it states, "Richmond has afforded classic examples in recent years of the sort of sloppy budgeting, cockeyed personnel procedure, inefficiency, and extravagance which seldom occur in municipalities with a city manager and a one-chamber council."

The Chamber of Commerce of **McCook, Nebraska,** has formed a committee to lead a campaign for the manager plan in that city.

The **Chicago** City Manager Committee and its young people's groups are planning a large dance, the proceeds of which will be devoted to furthering the manager cause.

The Citizens Good Government Association of **Waterbury, Connecticut,** plans to continuue its campaign for manager government and will probably present a manager charter to next year's legislature.

Saugus and **Worcester, Massachusetts,** are both showing interest in Plan

E—the manager plan with proportional representation.

The Greenwood, Mississippi, *Commonwealth* has recently announced "adoption of city manager plan of city government and passage of legislation permitting such form of government" as part of its platform for **Greenwood.**

Officers of the Peoples League for Efficient Government of **Atlantic City, New Jersey,** have filed petitions asking for a vote on the manager plan. The petitions bore 7,358 names, nearly double the number required by law. A special election on the question has been set for February 20.

Newark, New Jersey, will vote on adoption of the Manager Plan on February 20.

Lincoln, Maine, voters adopted a town-manager charter on January 25.

Among other municipalities interested in the plan are **Tacoma, Washington; Newport Beach and Balboa, California; Arlington, Ohio; Emaus, Pennsylvania; Montpelier, Vermont; Topeka, Kansas;** and **Oneida County, New York.**

California Cities Cooperate for Sewage Disposal

Seven cities on the east side of the San Francisco Bay—Oakland, Berkeley, Alameda, Richmond, Albany, Emeryville, and Piedmont—with a combined population of approximately half a million, have authorized a regional sewage disposal survey, and have budgeted a combined total of approximately $57,000 for that purpose, according to *Western City.* The official representatives of the seven cities have drafted the framework for the survey, established the city of Berkeley as a depository for the joint funds, and received recommendations from the city engineers of the cities involved for the appointment of the engineering consulting board.

The executive committee for the seven cities, consisting of the managers of the four manager cities—Oakland, Berkeley, Alameda, and Richmond—and a mayor or other single representative of the three other municipalities, will make arrangements with the consulting engineers and organize a staff to carry on the work.

Police and Fire Appointments by Manager Restricted in Lexington, Kentucky

Under the terms of an ordinance passed December 7, 1939, by the Board of Commissioners of Lexington, Kentucky, the power of appointing assistant chiefs and other executive officers of the fire and police departments, with the exception of the chiefs, is taken from the city manager.

Under the new law a vacancy in the position of first assistant police chief will be filled automatically by the promotion of the second assistant chief. The second assistant chief's position will be filled by competitive civil service examination. Those eligible for this examination will be the captains and lieutenants on the force. A vacancy in the position of captain will be filled by competitive examination open only to lieutenants and the superintendent of identification. Only sergeants will be eligible to take the examination to fill the position of lieutenant or superintendent of identification. Grade A patrolmen with five years' experience will be eligible to step into a sergeant's place through civil service tests.

The ordinance also provides the same automatic method for filling vacancies in the fire department.

Although the law takes from the manager considerable appointive power, it should not be regarded as an effort to curtail the activities of the manager. On the other hand, it is looked upon as a means to relieve him of the responsibility and pressure by individuals and groups when an executive position becomes vacant in either of these departments and to put promotions in the departments on a merit and seniority basis.

J. W. Manning

Bureau of Government Research
University of Kentucky

Regional Meetings of Municipal Officials Successful in New York State

The series of twelve regional meetings held during the latter part of 1939 by the New York State Conference of Mayors and Other Municipal Officials demonstrated the popularity and value of these training schools for elective and other officials. The total number of officials attending increased 9 per cent over that of 1938 and the number of municipalities represented increased 8 per cent. At each of the meetings there was reported to be positive evidence of a keener interest by all officials in municipal government and a greater desire to solve intricate problems. A more helpful spirit was evidenced in every section of the state.

A training school for assessors of cities and villages will be held in the State Office Building at Albany on February 14, 15, and 16.

New York Housing Projects Financed by State and City

The first public housing projects in the United States financed wholly by local and state governments, according to the National Association of Housing Officials, will be in New York City.

Construction of Vladeck City Houses, a 240-family development, is under way, financed entirely by local bond issues allowed under 1939 legislation.

The state-financed project, a twenty-two- to twenty-four-million-dollar development, is to be built by the City Housing Authority with state aid, and will involve the first use of state funds for local public housing in the country. This project, according to present plans, will house nearly four thousand families in the city's navy yard area, and will be ready for occupancy by the spring of 1941.

Legislative Sessions Consider Social Welfare

Seven state legislatures convened in regular session in January: Kentucky, Mississippi, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, South Carolina, and Virginia, according to a report of the Council of State Governments. The legislature of Louisiana, the only other state with a regular session in 1940, will meet in May.

Changes in unemployment compensation and other social welfare laws and provisions for labor and education are important measures to receive attention.

The year may also see a number of special sessions in view of the changes made by Congress granting expansion of social security aid to the states. These amendments, expanding federal aid to dependent children, for old-age assistance and the needy blind, were approved after many of the forty-four regular sessions of 1939 had adjourned.

A proposal to establish a State Labor Department is reported from Mississippi, while in South Carolina consolidation of the Labor Department with the Industrial Commission and the Unemployment Compensation Commission is under consideration. Additional aid for local education is sought in Virginia, New York, and Mississippi. Election laws may be substantially revised in Rhode Island, Virginia, and New Jersey. Civil service systems for state employees are possibilities in South Carolina and Virginia. Bills of several kinds designed to facilitate interstate relations are planned in New Jersey. Virginia will give consideration to many aspects of its penal system, including the administration of probation and parole, the abolition of the office of constable, and the fee system of compensating sheriffs and city sergeants.

Research Developments in City and Regional Planning

Reports to the American Society of Planning Officials indicate that the development of research was one of the major accomplishments in planning during 1939.

The variety and scope of special investigations by state planning agencies of the problems of their areas are illustrated by the following:

New Hampshire's State Planning Board and Development Commission studied industrial opportunities in the state. Massachusetts surveyed land use in three hundred towns and rural districts, and made an extensive study of water resources and recreation possibilities. The Virginia, Nebraska, and Washington planning agencies made special education surveys. California and Mississippi State Planning Boards investigated housing conditions. Fourteen states studied the economic aspects of industry and agriculture, and fifteen studied governmental finance and taxes.

Although research studies for local planning showed a wide range during the year, land-use and real property surveys were most frequent, according to the reports. Among cities making land-use studies were Chicago, Illinois; Concord, New Hampshire; and Des Moines, Iowa.

With the aid of the Work Projects Administration, more than 1200 research jobs—surveys, compilations, maps, and analyses—were done by planning agencies for cities, counties, and state and federal departments. A number of city plan commissions undertook traffic and transportation surveys. State and regional planning agencies found helpful the highway planning surveys completed for more than forty states in 1939 under joint auspices of the Federal Public Roads Administration and the various state highway departments.

The Society noted as important to local and state planning the statutory establishment, in the executive office of the President, of the federal planning agency—the National Resources Planning Board—in 1939, with the functions of collecting for the President information on the use and development of national resources, advising him on measures for improving economic conditions, preparing plans for federal public works, and acting as a clearing house for planning on the various levels of government.

Three Federal Coordinating Agencies Denied Funds

Appropriations for the National Resources Planning Board, the Council of Personnel Administration, and the Office of Government Reports were eliminated by the House of Representatives from the independent offices supply bill, passed January 18. President Roosevelt has pointed out that the immediate saving involved, $2,000,000, is small compared to the nation-wide benefits of the work of these agencies, and the future savings that will result.

Publication of Political Science Material Encouraged

The American Council on Public Affairs (1721 Eye Street, Washington, D. C.) in pursuance of its policy "to promote the spread of authoritative facts and significant opinions concerning contemporary social and economic problems," is now concentrating its efforts upon the sponsorship, publication, promotion, and distribution of scholarly books, studies, and papers, particularly in the fields of political and social science. In its choice of publications, the council is concerned with authoritativeness, significance, responsibility of the author, and timeliness. Publicity for its publications will be sought through organizational coöperation, the issuance of press releases to newspapers and journals, the wide distribution of annotated lists and attractive circulars, and the arrangement of pertinent broadcasts and lectures.

North Dakota County to Vote on Disorganization

Henrico County Loses Territory to Richmond

Edited by
ELWYN A. MAUCK

Under the provisions of the law (chapter 122) passed by the 1939 legislature,[1] the voters of Billings County, North Dakota, have filed a petition calling for a vote on the question of disorganization of the government. If the proposal is approved at the primary election next June, the disorganized territory will become part of one of the neighboring counties.

Billings County was organized in 1883, six years before North Dakota became a state. It now comprises 1,156 square miles in the heart of the Badlands. Only 45 per cent or less of this area is producing tax revenue at the present time, the remainder being publicly owned or subject to foreclosure because of tax delinquency. Thirty-eight per cent of the land is owned by the federal government and 23 per cent of the total has been acquired by the federal government in its submarginal land program.

The population of the county has been decreasing, and it is now estimated at 2,500 persons, 72 per cent of whom are receiving some kind of public assistance.

The petition filed with the Board of Commissioners carried 325 signatures of county voters, which was more than the 20 per cent required by law. Also as provided by law, state examiners were sent immediately into the county to make a complete audit. If disorganization is approved, the Board of Commissioners of a neighboring county may proceed to annex the territory of the disorganized county, provided action to the same end is taken by the Board of Commissioners of Billings County. In case of inaction on the part of the counties involved, the annexation would be proclaimed by the Governor to become effective January 1, 1941.

Richmond Wins Annexation Suit Against Henrico County

A two-to-one decision, handed down by a Virginia annexation court on January 21, gives Richmond the right to annex eight or nine square miles of Henrico County territory together with some 15,000 of its citizens. Under the city-county separation plan, unique to the state of Virginia, this means a complete loss by the county of such territory and its inhabitants.

Although concurring in the decision favorable to Richmond, Judge A. D. Barksdale characterized the city's present government as an "outmoded, fossilized, bicameral form of city government." According to an editorial in the Richmond *Times-Dispatch,* "The 15,000 new citizens who will be added to Richmond . . . are among the most zealous advocates of good government to be found anywhere in the state, for they were largely responsible for the adoption and retention of the county manager form in Henrico. As Richmond citizens they can be expected to work for a more up-to-date form of municipal administration."

The Board of Supervisors of Henrico County may appeal the decision to the Virginia State Court of Appeals.

Civil Service and Pension Laws for Wisconsin Counties Endangered

A recent ruling of the Attorney-General in Wisconsin apparently has seriously impaired the effectiveness of two measures enacted by the 1939 Wisconsin legislature with respect to county government. This opinion was rendered in construing the effect of chapter 263 of the 1939 laws of Wisconsin which authorizes any county government to proceed by initiative and referendum to adopt a system of civil service applicable to all county personnel. This would also have empowered any county by initiative and referendum to establish a system of pensions for county employees.

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[1] See "County-Disorganization for North Dakota," by Kenneth Wernimont, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, November 1939.

The Attorney-General ruled that the Wisconsin Supreme Court, in the case of *Meade* v. *Dane County,* 115 Wisconsin 632, had definitely held that the state constitution did not make any provision for a delegation of legislative power to the electors of a county, and since there had been no change in the state constitution in this respect since this decision had been rendered, the attempt to enable the voters of a county to adopt civil service or a system of pensions was an unconstitutional delegation of power.

The decision may also have the effect of destroying the effectiveness of the proposed constitutional amendment relating to the uniformity of county government which was passed in the 1939 session of the Wisconsin legislature and which must be passed again in identical form by the 1941 legislature and then submitted to a statewide referendum before becoming effective. The purpose of this amendment is to eliminate from the state constitution the provision requiring that there be but one form of county government. That provision resulted several years ago in the invalidation by the State Supreme Court of the optional commission form of county government in force in several counties. Beside eliminating this provision there would be added to the constitution the words: "The legislature shall classify counties and provide suitable systems of county government for each class. Counties may select a suitable system of county government from the systems so provided by the legislature."

The result of the Attorney-General's ruling discussed above is that if this amendment eventually does become a part of the state constitution it can be used only by action of the respective county boards; apparently it will not be possible under the amendment to give the voters of a county the right of adopting one of the forms of county government which might be made optional by action of the legislature.

Frederick N. MacMillan
League of Wisconsin Municipalities

Planning in Pennsylvania Counties Moves Slowly

At the present time three counties have taken advantage of the county planning and zoning act passed by the Pennsylvania legislature in 1937. Of the three counties of Allegheny, Monroe, and Bradford, the last named is probably most active in matters of planning and zoning. Its planning commission has conducted a number of surveys and studies of land use, recreation, reforestation of submarginal land, and roadside signs and billboards.

New York City Minority Party Continues Struggle for County Reform

The minority leader in the New York City Council has renewed the fight for county government reform by reintroducing, with slight modifications, the set of bills on which the council failed to act when introduced last year. The proposed reforms are along the lines advocated by Mayor La Guardia, calling for the abolition of the offices of five county sheriffs and four county registers. The functions of these offices would be transferred to the Department of Correction which would contain the new offices of city sheriff and city register, both to be filled by the mayor under civil service rules. The offices of commissioner of records in New York and Kings Counties would be abolished and their functions assigned to the clerks of the respective counties. The measures would take effect only if approved by the people at the next general election.

According to the sponsor of the bills, they will (1) implement the county home rule amendment to the constitution adopted in 1935 which called for abolition of county offices; (2) eliminate waste, duplication, and inefficiency at a saving of more than $500,000; (3) substitute employees appointed on the basis of fitness and merit for those now selected on a political basis; (4) preserve the effectiveness of the people's vote by removing from the ballot officers whose functions are purely ministerial; and (5) relieve the the city of the heavy burden of many mandatory positions and salaries vesting control of such salaries in the city's appropriating agency, the Board of Estimate.

Dutchess County, New York, Interested in Manager Plan

Leading citizens of Dutchess County, New York, in analyzing the financial ills of their local government, have suggested that the solution might be found in the adoption of the county manager plan. They are encouraged to seek reforms in county government as a result of successful reforms in the contiguous county of Westchester. The movement has the support of numerous private individuals and taxpayers' associations in the county.

Kentucky May Consolidate County Offices

A bill has been introduced once more in the Kentucky general assembly to consolidate the offices of sheriff and jailer. The vicissitudes of politics have given this proposal a particularly hectic life. The law was passed originally in the 1934 regular session, but in the enrolled bill the enacting clause had been omitted. The law was repassed in the 1934 special session to become effective January 1, 1938. It was repealed, however, at the fourth special session of the 1936 legislature.

The Open Door at City Hall

Active Group in New York City

Edited by
ELWOOD N. THOMPSON

City governments the country over are bidding for customers in "know your government" campaigns.

There's nothing formal about the movement. It springs from the evident need in most cities to inform voters on the processes at city hall.

In Berkeley, California, Mayor Frank Gaines is inviting representative citizens to sit in on City Council meetings as "stockholders" in the municipal corporation. A list of 240 names representing all sections and varied interests in the city has been prepared. Ten names will be chosen to attend each meeting of the council for twenty-four weeks.

The Mayor's invitation reads:

"As a fellow-stockholder in the business of Berkeley, I invite you to be the guest of your Board of Directors. The purpose is to afford opportunity to obtain first-hand knowledge of the way your government operates."

In Montebello, California, reports the International City Managers' Association, a recent municipal open house drew 3,000 of the 7,500 population. Citizens saw, among other exhibits, the new two-way police radio and the fire engine in action. They received a twelve-page pamphlet which told them where the money came from to operate the city and how it was spent in 1939.

The legislative committee of the Parent-Teacher Association Council, New Rochelle, New York, is sponsoring a series of informal "town hall" meetings. In the first meeting on school and city budgets there were no set speeches, most of the time being given to questioning city officials. Inaugurating the series of meetings the chairman pointed out that so much emphasis had been placed in recent years on national and international affairs that there is a great lack of knowledge concerning state and local functions and officials.

Public libraries in several communities are doing their part. From Des Moines, Iowa; Gary, Indiana; and Hunterdon County, New Jersey, libraries report sponsorship of forums and special book displays on government.

In Chicago last year, the Board of Education, with the assistance of the Work Projects Administration, conducted an extended series of "know your government" tours which covered thirty-six municipal departments. The tours were free, and were intended to encourage the study of modern American government.

Cleveland, Ohio, heard Mayor Harold H. Burton and seven city department heads in a series of lectures on problems of municipal administration, as reported in the January, 1940, issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW. Lectures were open to the public without charge and reading lists were provided at each meeting for those interested in further study.

Reports from all sections indicate that forum, town hall, and discussion groups throughout the United States will come in for their share of local government discussion as a part of the municipal renaissance that is sweeping the country.

Citizen Action in New York City

The Citizens Union of the City of New York describes itself, on its letterhead and publications, as "a union of citizens, without regard to party, for the purpose of securing the honest and efficient government of the city of New York." Its work, the infinite variety of which often surprises even some of its five thousand loyal contributors, is accomplished by a small staff working on authorizations of a few active volunteer committees.

The Union's Committee on State Legislation, which has just started its thirty-sixth year (the Union itself was established in 1897), is probably the only volunteer committee which has a waiting list for membership. During the legislative session it meets every week for a long evening to pass on all important bills affecting city residents. The secretary goes to Albany each week to represent the committee. Weekly statements on bills are sent to newspapers, to legislative leaders, and to the many legislators who request them.

During the long regular session of 1939 the committee passed on 1,171 bills—more than ever before. The Union took a prominent part in preparing and passing the new public housing law, the complete revision of the city home rule law, and important election reforms. Each year at the close of the session the Union issues a comprehensive report covering its actions on measures, discussing the legislature's accomplishments, and summarizing the individual records of all New York City and suburban legislators.

The organization has a legislative program for 1940 covering sixteen major topics and proposing twenty-seven improvements either in the state constitution or in state statutes. Most important of these is the passage of legislation which will require or at least permit municipalities to put their unsound pension systems in order before July 1, 1940, when, under a constitutional amendment adopted in 1938, membership in a state or municipal pension or retirement system becomes "a contractual relationship, the benefits of which shall not be diminished or impaired."

Another important proposal is a carefully safeguarded constitutional amendment to permit amendments to be made by petition and popular vote in addition to present methods. Other proposals include changes in the judiciary to improve the calibre of judges and changes in the election law.

For some of these proposals the Union is drafting its own bills; for others it will support bills already introduced.

Action on Local Matters

The Citizens Union covers the New York City Council and the Board of Estimate actions on council bills in much the same way that it covers the state legislature. Its assistant secretary attends all meetings of these bodies and edits a *City Council Record* service, supported by subscriptions, which reports all actions on proposed local laws as soon as they are taken.

Shortly before the second council election under proportional representation the Citizens Union published a summary of the council's first two-year term of service. It was widely used during the campaign for the second P. R. election of the council. This pamphlet, as well as the report on state legislation, was sent to all members.

The Citizens Union helped to make county reorganization one of the foremost issues in the council election of 1939 and to elect a strong minority of councilmen pledged to its support; but hundreds of thousands of independent voters mistakenly regarded this as "just an off-year election" and let the opportunity to elect a majority pledged to county reorganization go by default.

This year will see a presidential election, when nearly all such voters will go to the polls. Such a year is the best time to get a full expression of the people's wishes and for that reason the best time to put through a constructive reform. If the new city council refuses to put a constructive county reorganization program on the ballot for next fall, the Citizens Union is prepared to take a leading part in seeing that it gets on by petition.

The Union has taken the lead in attempting to stop the granting of several undeserved or excessive pensions to former city employees. In several cases it was successful and will continue to watch for any similar attempts to waste public funds.

Advice to Voters

Another active volunteer committee which makes possible one of the Union's most important annual accomplishments is the Committee on Local Candidates, which meets only two or three times every fall, but whose members spend a great deal of time interviewing candidates and investigating their records. The Union keeps a complete "Who's Who" file of every person who has run for office in the city in the last twenty years or more. As a result of the committee's work the *Voters Directory*, which in 1939 covered more than two hundred candidates (in 1937, a mayoralty year, there were 450 in the directory, exclusive of delegates to the Constitutional Convention), was distributed to approximately 100,000 persons throughout the city.

Special Issues

In addition to regular committees the Citizens Union has just started a panel of volunteer experts in various fields, to be called on to consider such topics as a Brooklyn-Manhattan tunnel, conditions in various city departments, zoning, new park plans, budgets, etc. Before any committee project is started it must be approved by the Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee, which meets once a week during most of the year, passes on matters of policy. Many of its members are also on other committees or, at least, on the panel for consideration of special issues.

This committee presented charges to Governor Lehman which were instrumental in leading to the Governor's recommendation to the Senate that County Judge George W. Martin of Brooklyn be removed. The Senate refused to do this, although the evidence against Judge Martin appeared sufficient to warrant his removal, but the Senate's refusal and all the facts connected with it have given a needed stimulus to the drive for better methods of removing judges and upholding judicial standards.

A glance at this committee's minutes and at the Union's frequent newspaper releases and publications shows many more accomplishments and plans which it is impossible to cover in so small a space.

Eleanor C. Tanzer, Assistant Secretary
Citizens Union of the City of New York

It Can Happen Anywhere

A study of the voting behavior of the citizens of a state capital, Ann Arbor, Michigan—*Voting Behavior: A Case Study,* by James K. Pollock—brings to light some interesting facts published by *The New York State Municipal Bulletin:*

"Out of a population of 23,000, 35.7 per cent are not qualified to vote. Of the 15,000 qualified voters 11.7 per cent did not register during an eight-year period. Of the qualified voters only 29.3 per cent on an average actually went to polls to vote.

"Of the 23,000 people in Ann Arbor, only about 3,800 voters run the city and make its political decisions.

"Only one out of four female registered voters takes the trouble to vote.

"The voting frequency is lowest in the age group between twenty-one and thirty years. The highest frequency is between the ages of fifty-one and seventy."

Chicago Citizens Volunteer Services

Citizen participation in Chicago's government took a new twist recently when volunteers chosen by the Citizens Schools Committee agreed to mark the examination papers of seven thousand candidates for truant officer jobs.

The Citizens Schools Committee, reports its publication *Chicago Schools,* agreed in advance with the city Civil Service Commission that a grading board of ten was to be picked from a list of volunteers submitted by the committee.

The commission went one step further and invited the representatives of the Schools Committee to help prepare the examination questions. The examination that resulted was designed to ascertain background and attitudes rather than experience as temporary truant officers (although credit was recognized for such experience).

State Aid for Alabama Cities

Citizen Group Suggests Fiscal Changes for Louisville

Edited by
WADE S. SMITH

The recent regular session of the legislature was of particular importance to Alabama cities in that they were successful in obtaining an increased portion of state-collected locally-shared taxes which it is estimated will amount to at least $500,000. The importance of this source of revenue is indicated from a recent study which shows that approximately 8 per cent of municipal revenue comes from state-collected taxes.

In two instances the cities were given increased proportions of state-collected taxes. The income from motor vehicle licenses is now apportioned 70 per cent to the state and 30 per cent to the municipality if the license is purchased by a city resident. Formerly the city's share was 20 per cent. One-third of the amount received by the municipality from this source must be spent for street construction and maintenance.

The Alabama beverage control act formerly provided that 20 per cent of the net profits of each state liquor store be paid to the municipality in which such store is located. Under the act as amended, provision is made for an additional payment to all cities of $200,000—if the total net profits exceed $2,000,000 by that sum—which is to be apportioned on the basis of the ratio of the population of the city to the total municipal (incorporated) population.

Two additional new sources of revenue are the state excise tax on financial institutions and the gasoline tax. The excise tax is levied by the state as a privilege tax, the proceeds being distributed one-half to the city in which the financial institution is located, one-fourth to the county, and one-fourth to the state. Formerly, only the three largest cities secured revenue from this source. From the proceeds of the state gasoline tax, a monthly deduction of $10,420 is to be paid semi-annually to all incorporated cities. The basis of apportionment is the same as that used to distribute the revenues of the state liquor system, and the proceeds may be used only for street maintenance and construction.

Weldon Cooper

University of Alabama

Louisville Fiscal Changes Urged

In 1938 the mayor of Louisville, Kentucky, appointed a special committee of eight prominent local business and professional men to devise ways and means of relieving the city's recurring sinking fund deficit of approximately $618,750.

The city's bonded indebtedness, as of June 30, 1939, was $42,301,800. Total sinking fund requirements for 1939 were $2,386,614. Total sinking fund revenues, derived from a nineteen-cent general property tax, certain licenses, and a dividend paid to the city by the Louisville Water Company, the stock of which is owned by the sinking fund of the municipality, will amount to approximately $1,767,865, leaving an indicated deficit.

The report of the committee recently submitted advised against increasing taxation of real estate and tangible personal property, inasmuch as these sources of revenue are at present producing 91.17 per cent of the city's total income, and recommended that the present nineteen-cent sinking fund levy on property be reduced or eliminated as early as possible. The committee also objected to the city's present license tax ordinances and to the manner in which merchants' inventories have been assessed for taxation.

The committee recommends that sinking fund revenues be derived from:

A. *Licenses:* It is recommended that present licenses dealing with insurance, trucks, taxicabs, gasoline, and the sale of beer and liquor, which are providing $350,000 annually, be retained; all other existing licenses be eliminated and replaced by more equitable licenses for service establishments, professions, retailers, wholesalers, and manufacturers, according to schedules set forth in the report, to produce $475,000 annually; a special license at a higher rate be imposed upon transient merchants and house-to-house canvassers, to produce $10,000 yearly; an automobile license tax of $5.00 be assessed to raise an estimated $300,000 annually. These license measures will result in an estimated net increase for sinking fund purposes of $553,000.

B. *Increased dividend from the Louisville Water Company:* The findings of the committee indicate that the water properties are worth at least $20,000,000 in excess of the $250,000 indebtedness outstanding against them. At present the sinking fund is receiving 2.5 per cent annually on this value. The committee believes the city's return should be at least 5 or 6 per cent, and it is recommended that this sum be anticipated in the budget.

The present low return to the city is attributed to excessive operating expenses and to an unbalanced rate schedule. It is suggested that the excessive operating costs of the water company during 1938 arise from the manner of selecting personnel, and that unnecessary capital expenditures improperly restrict dividends. In comparison with those prevailing in comparable cities rates are too low for over a third and too high for more than half of the consumers. A schedule to adjust these inequities and to result also in an increase in net income of $200,000 is recommended. The committee estimates that improved management can result in an annual reduction of $150,000 in operating expenses, and it recommends a decrease of $150,000 in the annual retirement reserve. The proposal of the committee is that the present management of the company be required to attain this result, or that the City Board of Water Works enter into a ten-year management contract with a private agency to operate the properties for a specified proportion of increase in net income over the 1938 figure, exclusive of savings through reduction in retirement charges and increases due to rate adjustments. A proposal for such a contract from a responsible concern is submitted.

C. *Reduction of general sinking fund levy:* If the total estimated license revenues and water company dividends are realized, these two sources alone will provide $2,145,000 of the total required for the sinking fund. The amount needed if the committee's suggestions are accepted, may be reduced by $125,000, which the sinking fund will receive this year in back tax collections. Therefore, the net amount required currently from the property levy will be only $116,614, or four cents per $100.

In a statement to the Board of Water Works concerning the report, the superintendent of the water company pointed out that the operating expenses of the company compare favorably on a unit cost basis with those of other water companies in similar cities, and advised that a curtailment of $150,000 annually in operating costs and a reduction of $150,000 in annual retirement reserves, as recommended, are impossible. In considering capital expenditures, which had appeared as unnecessary to the committee, the superintendent called attention to conditions arising from the rapid growth of the city, from the drought years, and from the Ohio Valley flood of 1937, which together had necessitated these expenditures. The statement also notes that the company's operating statement for the first eight months of 1939 shows a decrease in expenses, retirement charges aside, of $33,800.

The president of the Louisville Water Company also made a statement which amplified the contentions of the superintendent.

James W. Martin

Bureau of Business Research
University of Kentucky

Two Rivers, Wisconsin, Debt Free by 1947

Two Rivers, Wisconsin—a city of 10,000 population—has recently announced the progress it has made in its eighteen-year plan to become debt free and begin operation on a pay-as-you-go basis by 1947.

Designed to eliminate bonded indebtedness, the program does not depend upon curtailment of capital improvements or an increase in the tax rate, according to a report to the International City Managers' Association. Started in 1929, the plan provides for annual payments of about $65,500 for bonds and interest until 1947. Thereafter a similar amount of money can be used each year for construction of physical improvements without an increase in the tax rate.

In working out the program, city officials first listed the most important major improvements to be made. In no period of the city's history have so many public improvements been made as during the ten years the plan has been in operation; yet the tax rate has been reduced from $30 to $26.50. Since 1929 the city has built one bridge, two new schools, a sewage-disposal plant, and a fire station, and has rebuilt harbor facilities, seventy-one blocks of concrete streets, and ten miles of sidewalks.

The burden on the resources of the city resulting from the depression has been offset largely by federal funds. A large part of the sewer, paving, and sidewalk work was done as work relief projects. The Public Works Administration aided financially in the repair of harbor facilities, and in the construction of the sewage-disposal plant and one of the schools.

In connection with the Two Rivers' plan, it has been pointed out that several cities are planning six-year programs in coöperation with the National Resources Planning Board in an effort to develop techniques and procedures and to show the practicability of such programs. Preparation includes making an inventory of desired projects, determining probable future revenues, and the scheduling of desired projects in order of priority for the next six years. The programs are based on estimated revenue, and may be revised annually in the light of future changes in needs, desirability, and funds. Six-year plans of this type have been developed in Winchester, Massachusetts; Nashville, Tennessee; Dallas, Texas; Sacramento, California; Kalamazoo, Michigan; Fargo, North Dakota; and Spokane, Washington.

Survey Shows Trend Toward Uniform Assessment Date

A trend among the states toward establishing January 1 as a uniform tax assessment date, partly in order to prevent tax evasion through the movement of property across state boundaries, is shown in a report prepared recently by the National Association of Assessing Officers. Of eighteen states which have January 1 dates, six—Arkansas, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Washington, North Carolina, and Maryland—joined the group within the last twelve years.

The most recent changes were made in 1939 by North Carolina, where the legislature moved the assessment date up from April 1, and by Maryland. Maryland's assessment date, which had varied considerably from county to county, was established definitely as January 1 except for two counties and the city of Baltimore, where it is in October.

The assessment date determines one or more of three things, the association said: (1) ownership on the assessment date determines who pays the tax on a piece of property; (2) the tax on a property is usually levied upon its value on the assessment date; (3) if the property is movable and tangible, its location on the assessment date often determines what tax districts may levy taxes on it.

One of the principal reasons for desiring uniform assessment dates is to prevent an owner from moving his property across a state line to keep it from being in either state on the assessment date.

A uniform, or even an exact, assessment date is not essential for real property since its location does not change, its value changes slowly, and delinquent taxes usually are collected by enforcement of a tax lien rather than by a suit against a person.

In addition to the states with January 1 assessment dates, two states—Idaho and Tennessee—have January dates, on the second Monday and the 10th respectively. April 1 is the assessment date in seven states—Colorado, Illinois, Maine, Nebraska, New Hampshire, North Dakota, and Vermont. In Michigan there is some variation among home rule cities, but the second Monday in April is the usual date.

Assessment dates vary from month to month in the other states: February—Wyoming; March—California, Indiana, Kansas, Montana, and Oregon; May—Minnesota, South Dakota, and Wisconsin; June—Missouri and Rhode Island; July—Kentucky and New York, with the exception of some cities; October—Alabama, Connecticut, and New Jersey. Ohio uses January 1 as the assessment date for personalty and the second Monday in April for realty.

Arizona, Delaware, Nevada, and Pennsylvania have no fixed dates that are uniform either throughout the state or for all important classes of property. In Pennsylvania, for example, the assessment date for the state personal property tax may be set by the revenue department between January 1 and 15; county personal property tax assessment dates vary somewhat but fall for the most part on December 31; and there is no provision for a real property tax assessment date.

U. S. Census Bureau Tabulates Election Results

For the second successive year the Division of State and Local Governments, Bureau of the Census, has tabulated and reported on proposals passed upon during the year by state and municipal voters. The reports show that only twelve of the forty-eight states submitted proposals to their respective electorates in 1939, as compared with thirty-six in 1938. Among the cities, 122 out of 322 of over 25,000 population reporting to the bureau submitted a total of 292 proposals.

The twelve states submitted a total of sixty-one statewide proposals, of which, however, thirty-three were submitted by one state, Georgia. Over three-fourths of the measures were approved, the voters accepting forty-three of the fifty constitutional amendments proposed, including all thirty-three of Georgia's which referred mostly to single specifically named localities. Of the eleven propositions not in the form of constitutional amendments, only four were approved. Six of the questions submitted concerned bond issues, five of which sought authorization for issues in specified amounts aggregating $89,700,000. Three of the issues, amounting to $66,450,000 or nearly three-fourths of the total, were defeated. Each of the defeated proposals was in the form of a constitutional amendment, while the two that were approved were not constitutional amendments.

Thirty-one of the state proposals related to specifically named localities, ten to organization, judiciary, and elections, seven each to taxes and miscellaneous governmental proposals, and six each to bond issues and regulatory proposals. The states voting were Alabama, California, Georgia, Maine, Michigan, Mississippi, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, and Rhode Island. The bond issues approved were $21,000,000 for unemployment relief in New Jersey; $2,250,000 for sinking fund requirements in Rhode Island; and a general authorization for refunding of highway certificates in Georgia. None of the tax proposals was adopted, although New Jersey and New York both adopted constitutional amendments to permit parimutuel betting at race tracks, measures which the sponsors expect to provide important revenues for state purposes. The two measures attracting most attention when submitted were the California and Ohio old-age pension proposals, both of which were decisively defeated.

Of the 322 cities of over 25,000 population from which the Bureau received replies at the date of preparation of its preliminary report, two hundred, or almost two-thirds, referred no city-wide proposals to the voters in 1939. Voters of twenty-three of the 122 cities holding elections were requested to express an opinion on four or more city questions, while seven cities (in the mountain or Pacific region) submitted five or more questions. In all, 292 measures were proposed, of which 163 were approved. About 40 per cent of the elections were held in November, but elections were held in every month of the year.

Some twenty-seven of the reporting cities submitted bond issues aggregating almost $46,000,000 to their voters, but of these only $11,000,000 or twenty-six out of fifty proposals, were approved. The larger cities, submitting the larger issues for approval, registered more disapprovals than acceptances, while cities under 250,000 population, submitting a total of only $13,500,000, approved more bond issues than they disapproved. Including two bond proposals which would amend the charter, 112 charter amendments were submitted in forty-one cities. Fifty-four of these were approved, while fifty-eight were defeated. Proposals relating to taxation were submitted in forty cities, with seventy individual measures under consideration. Of these, thirty-two were approved and thirty-eight defeated. Most of the tax measures were requests for authorization of special levies, and some were for levies to service bond issues being submitted at the same time. Measures bearing on tax administration included proposals to authorize installment payment of taxes, approved in Beaumont, Texas, and Kalamazoo, Michigan; a proposal to have the county collect taxes, approved in Santa Monica, California; changes in delinquent tax collection procedure, proposed and approved in Flint, Michigan; and a proposal to reduce back taxes prior to 1937 by 50 per cent, defeated in Superior, Wisconsin.

New P. R. Councils Make Good Start

Cincinnati and Toledo Choose Mayors
P. R. League Meeting

Edited by
GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.

Two days after the P.R.-elected 4-4-1 council of Cincinnati seemed headed for a prolonged deadlock over the election of its presiding officer and mayor, a universal thrill was provided by the representatives of the Charter group, supporters and sponsors of Cincinnati's city management-P.R. form of government, when they ended the deadlock by handing the mayoralty to the Republican Organization's candidate, James G. Stewart. The stalemate was the result of a prolonged refusal by Herbert S. Bigelow, lone independent of the nine men in council, to make an election between Stewart and Charles P. Taft, Charter nominee for the mayoralty.

Mr. Taft, acting with the knowledge and consent of his Charter associates, himself broke the deadlock by casting the deciding vote for his opponent. Taft's action choked off propaganda emanating from anti-P.R. forces, which attempted to find in the deadlock "proof that P.R. enables one person to select their mayor for the people of Cincinnati."

Opined the *Cincinnati Post*: "We have a feeling that it will be a long time before another independent councilman in a 4-4-1 council tries to block the election of a mayor. . . . Mr. Bigelow has received a rather salutary lesson which should convince him that he is one member of council, entitled to all rights and privileges as a representative of one group of voters, but not the ring-master of Council."

Praise for the action of the Charter group was unanimous. Said the *Enquirer*: "It was a generous and statesmanlike decision, coming from all four Charter councilmen, and confirming the confidence which many citizens have had in the Charter movement. Mr. Taft and his colleagues rightly placed his own group's advantage in a secondary place, and gave first consideration to the orderly management of the city's affairs."

The *Times Star* editorialized: "The Charter movement and Charles P. Taft are especially to be congratulated; the one, because it could hardly have survived the election of one of its men through Bigelow's favor, the other, because he put the interests of his group and city above personal advantage."

The *Post* said: "[Mr. Taft's vote] was a symbolic vote, as we see it, to put into effect the proposed amendment to the city charter, which the Charter councilmen proposed last July for submission to the voters, but which was blocked by the votes of Republicans and Wiley Craig (Bigelow protege in the former council). That amendment, in brief, provided that in the event city council was unable to choose a mayor by January 15, the councilman with the highest first-choice vote, or the first one to be declared elected, automatically became the presiding officer of council (mayor).

"Mr. Stewart, by virtue of receiving the highest first-choice vote last November, would have become the mayor had the amendment been in effect. The Charter members wisely decided not to wait until the January 15 date to act, since the deadlock appeared certain to last until that date."

Harry Drackett, president of the City Charter Committee, endorsed the action of the Charter councilmen in a congratulatory statement which follows:

"Now that the organization of council has been decided, the City Charter Committee congratulates Mr. Stewart on his election as mayor, Mr. Waldvogel[1] on his election as vice mayor, and Mr. Cash[1] on his election as chairman pro tem. We wish them well in the conduct of the city's business.

"The Charter councilmen have kept their promises made during the campaign and since the election that there would be no deal to obtain anyone's vote. They have also kept their promises not to permit an extended deadlock.

"They have presented their own candidate, Mr. Taft, but have rejected Mr. Bigelow's offer to auction off his vote. When it became apparent that Mr. Bigelow would insist upon his demands or deadlock council they have approved the election of Mr. Stewart who received the highest first-choice vote. Their action is entirely consistent with the procedure outlined by the amendment presented by the Charter councilmen last July. That amendment would have put an end to deadlocks for all time. Its passage was blocked by a majority consisting of the Republican councilmen and Mr. Bigelow's representative, Mr. Craig.

"Personally and on behalf of the City Charter Committee I congratulate Mr. Cash, Mr. Taft, Mr. Waldvogel, and Mr. Wilson on their sound and consistent conduct. They have demonstrated that their desire for good government in Cincinnati comes before petty party politics or the ambition for office.

"We of the Charter Committee are reasonably satisfied under the circumstances with the strong representation which we have in council in its official acts which may be counted upon to continue Cincinnati's record for good government during the next two years."

Forest Frank, *Executive Director*
Cincinnati City Charter Committee

Toledo Council Begins Auspiciously

Toledo's third P.R.-elected council, which took office on January 1, is off to an auspicious start and, with a display of industry and economy-mindedness, already has established itself in the public mind as a "good" council.

In their first three weeks on the job, the nine councilmen—six of whom also served in the 1938-39 council—have completed negotiations on five electric light and power contracts with the Toledo Edison Company which brought a total reduction in rates of more than $600,000 a year; have completed the detailed study of the 1940 budget in record time, and have attended to the routine business of the council.

Election of the mayor and presiding officer, with one strong candidate from the City Manager League-endorsed group and at least six other aspirants, provoked a spectacular contest which aroused almost as much public interest as the race for council seats. The four league-endorsed members agreed to support John Q. Carey, for four years vice mayor, chairman of council's public utilities committee, and a popular young attorney, who was the second man elected in the 1939 election, while at least four of the "independents" were believed to be prepared to vote for Addison Q. Thacher, former mayor and two-term councilman, who campaigned in 1939 on an "anti-league" platform.

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[1] Mr. Waldvogel and Mr. Cash are Charter Democrats, elected by the votes of the four Charter councilmen and Mr. Bigelow after the mayoralty had been decided.—Editor.

The deciding vote was held by Charles D. Hoover, who was endorsed by the League in 1937, but not in 1939. Before a packed council chamber on New Year's night—and with no one but himself knowing which way the contest would be decided—Mr. Hoover cast his vote for Mr. Carey and the League-endorsed councilman became, at thirty-four, the youngest mayor in Toledo's history.

A league-endorsed councilman nominated Mr. Hoover for vice mayor and again the ex-endorsee held the spotlight and cast the deciding vote against himself for an "independent" candidate, Ollie Czelusta.

After this spectacular campaign and dramatic finale, the citizens settled back, wondering if the new council would immediately get into a series of factional fights which would delay and obstruct action on the city's business. To the surprise of some and the gratification of most council observers, the new legislators plunged into both routine and special problems with an apparent desire to get things done.

Reduction of the light and power rates is only partially to be credited to the new council, of course, because the negotiations, carried on over the last six months, had been brought nearly to the point of agreement by the old council in its last session on December 31. The $600,000 rate reduction is very plainly the result of the continued negotiations, since the Edison Company had been willing to grant less than half of that amount several months ago. The old council refused several increased offers and the Citizens Advisory Committee on Light and Power Rates urged the new council not to accept the offer which finally was agreed to, but the council felt the Edison Company had gone as far as it would go and was reluctant to resort to long and costly litigation.

Final agreement on the contracts, which cover domestic, commercial, street and public building, and Lake Erie Water Project rates, was hailed enthusiastically by Toledo newspapers, and the council and city administration, as well as the Edison Company, were highly praised.

The next achievement of the newly installed legislators was to complete a detailed study of the 1940 budget in the record-breaking time of four and a half days. Some important items, however, including the entire relief budget, were delayed for special consideration.

That the detailed study was finished in such short time and that the final figures were only $512 different from the document as submitted by City Manager George N. Schoonmaker, brought praise for the council, the manager, Finance Director D. E. A. Cameron, who had charge of the preparation of the budget, and all department heads.

A factor which was not apparent to the public, but which perhaps was more important than the others, was commented on by some administration officials. The 1940 budget "had all the water squeezed out of it" before it ever got to council, as one official put it, and in this respect was similar to the budgets of the three preceding years. Whole credit for the greatly improved budgetary procedure of the city was given by this official and others to former City Manager John N. Edy, now doing important budget work for the federal government as executive assistant to the Administrator of the Public Works Agency.

While the new council is off to a good start, so far as efficiency, industry, and internal harmony are concerned, many rumors are afloat regarding what goes on "behind the scenes." The council has come in for criticism for having held four secret sessions in its first three weeks.

Reports which gained wide circulation

immediately after the November election about moves to abolish P. R. still are current. The City Manager League and other citizen organizations are sifting all the rumors about council, maintaining observers at all sessions, and keeping on the alert for any moves to amend the charter or otherwise interrupt the remarkable progress Toledo's government has made in the last four years.

Richard P. Overmyer,
Executive Secretary
Toledo City Manager League

New York Minorities Cooperate

The New York City council organized on January 1 with the re-election of John Cashmore of Brooklyn, Democrat, as vice chairman and majority leader, and Genevieve B. Earle (Mrs. William P. Earle, Jr.) of Brooklyn, independent, as minority leader.

Mr. Cashmore was supported by the fourteen organization Democrats, and Mrs. Earle, who was the only woman member of the 1936 charter commission, received the votes of six of the seven opposition councilmen who were elected, thanks to P.R., as minority members in the Democratic sweep last fall. The five councilmen endorsed by the Citizens' Non-Partisan Committee—one of the two Republicans, the two American Labor party members, and the two City Fusion independents—and also Alfred E. Smith, Jr., elected as an insurgent Democrat, voted for Mrs. Earle, while the second Republican member refrained from voting.

On the adoption of council rules, however, the seven opposition members all voted against the Democratic organization majority and there are indications that on many matters the seven will stand together.

Mayor LaGuardia addressed the council on current city problems and declarations of policy were made by spokesmen for the Democrats, Republicans, Laborites, and independents. The proceedings were broadcast to a large radio audience by the city station, WNYC.

The most serious issue before the new council was the reorganization of policemen's and firemen's pensions, which were proving an increasingly heavy drain on the city's resources. Reorganization had to be arranged before July 1, if at all, because of a provision freezing maximum contributions and minimum benefits on that date in the new constitution. Mayor LaGuardia submitted a plan agreed to by the men themselves which increases their present contributions but leaves them far short of those required for comparable benefits from other public employees. The council passed the Mayor's bills after holding extended hearings, which were very fairly conducted and which threw much light on this complicated subject.

Mrs. Earle has re-introduced her bills for the reorganization under the city government of the five county governments within the city. Since these governments are strongholds of Democratic party patronage, the bills are not expected to make much progress in the present council, but the able minority may be counted on to keep the issue alive.[1]

The Annual P. R. Meeting

The Proportional Representation League, Inc., held its nineteenth meeting on November 16, 1939, at the Severn Hotel, Indianapolis. As in past years, the meeting was held in connection with the annual National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League.

Professor A. R. Hatton of Northwestern University, president of the League, presided.

Two important matters of business were transacted. The following trustees were unanimously re-elected: Richard S. Childs of New York City; Paul H. Douglas of Chicago; C. A. Dykstra of Madison, Wisconsin; A. R. Hatton of Evanston, Illinois;

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[1] See also page 131.

C. G. Hoag of Haverford, Pennsylvania; J. Henry Scattergood of Villa Nova, Pennsylvania; and Thomas Raeburn White of Philadelphia. The president of the League was authorized to appoint a committee to study and recommend, in the light of experience in over fifty American P. R. public elections, standard up-to-date regulations for the conduct of such elections.

After the short business session the meeting was devoted to reports from the various communities where P. R. has recently been to the fore. Speakers and their topics were as follows: Walter J. Millard, the Philadelphia P.R.-manager campaign; Julian G. Hearne, Jr., the second P. R. election in Wheeling and the Waterbury campaign for a new P.R.-manager charter; Cyrus J. Fitton, the seventh P.R. election in Hamilton; Richard P. Overmyer, Toledo's third P.R. election; Murray Seasongood, Cincinnati's successful fight to retain P.R. and its eighth P.R. election; George H. Hallett, Jr., New York City's second P.R. election, the first election in Yonkers, and the campaigns for adoption of P.R. in New Rochelle, White Plains, Schenectady, and Onondaga County, New York; Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., why P.R. is essential; Arthur W. Bromage, P.R. in Ireland.

The first session of the conference was also devoted to proportional representation. At a luncheon held November 15, Dr. F. A. Hermans, of the University of Notre Dame, and Walter J. Millard, field secretary of the National Municipal and Proportional Representation Leagues, debated the merits of P.R.

E. S. P.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION GROUP ORGANIZES

(Continued from Page 117)

administrative character. That the opportunity for a considerable contribution exists in this time of rapidly changing and expanding government, none will deny. Already the enlistment of a large number of those who have, during recent years, contributed generously to the advancement of public administration augurs well for the growth of the society.

Persons interested in applying for membership or receiving further information about the society should address Stuart H. Van Dyke, acting secretary-treasurer, at the society's temporary headquarters, Box 36, University Station, Syracuse, New York.

IRISHMEN LIKE P. R.

(Continued from Page 110)

sometime be abandoned that he hastened to announce that no deviation would ever be made without a popular referendum. Further information on de Valera's attitude toward this system was contained in the announcement of his proposed plan for an all-Ireland parliament which might be used if the north and south should be united. This projected all-Ireland legislative body should be chosen on the basis of P. R., according to An Taoiseach.

The election held on June 17, 1938,[11] resulted in a clear victory for de Valera. With the voting taking place in accordance with P. R., de Valera nevertheless obtained 77 seats in a Dail of 138 members, an over-all majority of 16. He accumulated support from farmers, laborers, and wealthy conservatives and in widely separated constituencies. The election indicated de Valera had gained in popularity by his successful negotiations with England and that a stable majority could be attained under P. R.

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[11] See John H. Humphreys, "The Proportional Representation Elections in Ireland," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, August 1938.

Recent Books Reviewed

Edited by ELSIE S. PARKER

Grants-in-Aid under the Public Works Administration. By J. Kerwin Williams. New York City, Columbia University Press, 1939. 292 pp. $3.75.

If ever our federal system disintegrates entirely, historians will not be lacking who blame it upon the PWA, which carried the grant-in-aid technique so far that the federal government actually dealt directly with local governments and laid down rules and regulations for their guidance. Dr. Williams demonstrates in "Grants-in-Aid under the Public Works Administration" that he would not be among the decriers of this break with tradition. The federal grants, he found, improved local budgeting procedures, encouraged local governments to wriggle out of too confining debt limitations, but did not, however, foster over-expenditure and over-borrowing, as has often been charged.

In the main, Dr. Williams' book constitutes a dispassionate, detailed description of the nature of the federal administration of public works grants-in-aid and of the difficulties encountered. There is a profusion of remarkably interesting footnotes, for most of them are anecdotal proof of statements made in the text. Unquestionably, this work will have a lasting importance as a collection of facts on an important governmental experience.

M. R.

Training for Recreation. By Dorothy I. Cline. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1939. xiii, 130 pp.

Miss Cline's book deals with the history, and the lessons to be learned from it, of the valiant and quite successful attempt, in which she played an important part, to organize the leisure of those in the present depression (1929 through 1939 plus) whom we refer to in our slip-shod speech as "unemployed." A more exact term would be, "in a state of incomelessness and enforced leisure."

The book tells in detail, sometimes with too many details but with shrewd comment, how the Recreation Division of the WPA came to exist, its internal confusion at first, and finally how, by the use of the democratic process in the democratic spirit (and upon this Miss Cline and certain colleagues insisted), it became a well devised means for achieving one of the "great values." Into both leaders and participants it built personality through that which in itself comes nearer than anything else to being both a means and an end—group recreation of the active type.

The competence of Miss Cline to write this book is unquestioned. One sentence in Chapter V, "Looking Forward," is: "Lack of imagination and responsiveness was one of the main reasons for the schism between purpose and action." That puts into one sentence the thesis of the best book Aldous Huxley has yet written. The chapter as a whole re-enforces the remark of Dr. Eduard C. Lindeman who wrote the Introduction, "By training and inclination Miss Cline is a person devoted to the improvement of American public service."

Every general public administrator and every citizen should read this book. The suggestions it contains will be more than useful during the time in which we are ignorant and willful enough to allow "unemployment" to exist. That we do exhibit some social conscience is demonstrated by such governmental agencies as the Recreation Division of the WPA. As this book reveals, we are building and maintaining the morale of some of those upon whom we visit unmerited punishment for our collective sin of economic ignorance and sloth in removing it.

W. J. M.

George W. Aldridge, Big Boss, Small City. By Clement G. Lanni. Rochester, N. Y., Rochester Alliance Press, 1939. 158 pp. $1.50.

George Aldridge is one boss who has been forgotten by nearly every student of local government today; and yet, in his prime, he cut quite a figure. As Lanni says, he ruled the city of Rochester, New York, for two score years. After his death in 1922, George Eastman, of international fame, assumed control of the city's political fortunes and led the successful fight for the city manager plan. After Eastman's death—even a little earlier, when he began to lose interest in civic affairs—the good government movement languished. While Rochester has retained the manager form of government, leadership in the party organization is divided among men who do not have Aldridge's vision, and no one has risen in the "charter" group to take Eastman's place.

A full, unbiased, penetrating, and honest account of George Aldridge's role in Rochester municipal politics would be welcomed by political scientists, and it would certainly be helpful to citizens in other cities that are now boss-ridden. Unfortunately, this book is too skimpy, unclear, and evasive to be of service. A reader who knows the background can discern the author's desire to "tell all" in his hurried comments on the Eastman-Aldridge alliance (p. 119 et passim), on Aldridge's wealth (p. 119), on political assessments, and so forth. The pity of it is that Lanni, an ex-newspaper reporter and publisher, could tell a satisfactory tale of George Aldridge's career, if he would.

As a matter of fact, there has never appeared in print an adequate case history of an American political boss. Perhaps it would help if journalists and others familiar with the intimate lives of bosses were invited to write everything down and place it under bond to be opened after they die. The reviewer does not mean to disparage Mr. Lanni's work; as such things go, it isn't bad. But he has a story to tell that he hasn't told yet. Let us hope that it is written down while there is yet time.

R. V. P.

Education for Democracy. Proceedings of the Congress on Education for Democracy. New York, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1939. 466 pp. $2.50.

Since 1936 Columbia's Teachers College has sponsored a series of eight conferences on educational policies, and this volume is composed of the speeches and discussions resulting from the last such attempt to define democracy, to establish its place in today's world, and to determine the role of education in the continuing process. As at each previous conference an attempt was made to bring together representatives of all major and many minor fields of thought on these problems.

It is interesting to note the lack of any common understanding of democracy. To some of the contributors it is a spirit, a mode of life. To others it is a technique of government. Again, democracy is representative government. One man suggested that "a democracy needs a longer period of growth than a standardized society planned from above"; another, that we limit our conceptions of democracy to those subscribed to by the apologists for the Republican form of government; and a third, that "human development and progress must be judged by standards of humanity as a whole." There is no unanimity nor, according to some who see the difficulties of the democratic process, can there be unanimity until we have first determined the true content of the term and imparted this concept to those generations who must ultimately determine its fate.

How can we *educate* for *democracy* until we have determined the content of these two terms? This volume may well serve to re-emphasize the problems involved in such a program by presenting, as it does, without comment, these examples of present-day thinking.

While there is much in this book that will prove immensely stimulating to students and practitioners in the field of local government, it is disheartening to reflect that we are as far away from practical rules for the guidance of teachers of democracy as we ever were.

JAMES KIRK EADS

The Administration of Old Age Assistance. By Robert T. Lansdale, Elizabeth Long, Agnes Leisy, and Byron T. Hipple. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1939. xiii, 345 pp. $3.75.

This is one more in the valuable series of studies in administration which the Committee on Public Administration of the Social Science Research Council has been putting out in the past few years. Both the professional reputation of the authors and the financial and social importance of the subject matter make this a must book in any serious library on government in this decade.

As Mr. Lansdale himself admits in his preface, the serious defect of books on subjects such as the administration of old-age assistance is their tendency to become out of date almost before they are published. Federally-aided assistance programs were just getting under way when twelve states were visited and studied by these authors. That was in 1936 and 1937. It is a triumph of this volume that the generalizations at which the authors were able to arrive bear unmistakably the ring of principles which will be applicable long after the specific circumstances which prompted them have been altered. This is a textbook and guidebook on the administration of old-age assistance which will probably be the definitive work for a long time to come.

M. R.

New York Election Law Manual with Forms. By Lewis Abrahams. New York, Edward Thompson and Company, 1939. xxi, 274 pp. $5.00.

The *New York Election Law Manual with Forms* is a clear and concise survey of the New York State election laws as they are in effect at present. This work will be of special interest to attorneys and those politically active in New York State. In a larger sense this book will be of interest to students of government and to civic-minded citizens everywhere in that it clarifies the position of the voter in regard to his rights and privileges in the electoral process.

The manual exhaustively covers the last four years' cases and citations as well as previous decisions and opinions significant in the development of the New York election law. The ample footnoting of the text should be of considerable aid in the preparation of cases by reducing the amount of research necessary. Mr. Abrahams has fortunately dodged the jungle of legal phraseology and has written in a simple, readable, and declarative form.

The material covered is grouped into the following chapters: suffrage, party committees and committeemen, petitions, candidates, ballots, judicial proceedings, board of elections, and proportional representation, and is built up in a logical progression from the basis of the law. Chapter subdivision and detailed indexing of both topics and citations make this book excellent as a reference source. The text is supplemented with legal forms required for litigation. Provision has been made for the addition of cumulative supplements which the author promises will be forthcoming as needed.

ROBERTS CHICKERING

Additional Books and Reports Received[1]

Civil Service

A Digest of State Civil Service Laws. Special Bulletin No. 12. Chicago, Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, 1939. 35 pp. Twenty-five cents.

Fifty-sixth Annual Report, United States Civil Service Commission. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1940. vi, 167 pp. Twenty cents.

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[1] See also "Research Bureau Reports Received," p. 120.

Finance

Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Meeting of Municipal and Local Finance Officers of Pennsylvania. State College, Institute of Local Government, The Pennsylvania State College, 1939. 60 pp. mimeo.

Receipts and Disbursements of Townships and Road Districts 1925-1936. (Survey of Local Finance, Volume Four.) By Illinois Tax Commission in coöperation with Work Projects Administration. Springfield, 1939. viii, 654 pp.

Fire

Report of Fire Survey Board on Consolidation of the District of Columbia Fire Stations. Supplementary Report of Fire Survey Board on Consolidation of the District of Columbia Fire Stations. Washington, D. C., Board of Commissioners, 1939. 141 pp. and 20 pp. mimeo.

Municipal Government

Municipal Government in Florida. (Report of the State and Local Government Survey, Volume 1.) By Work Projects Administration of Florida. Jacksonville, Florida State Planning Board, 1939. xv, 213 pp. mimeo.

Police

Police Statistics of Cincinnati. By F. Robert Meier under the direction of Daniel C. Laurence. Cincinnati, Bureau of Records of the Cincinnati Police, 1939. 120 pp. mimeo.

Public Welfare

Housing and Welfare Officials Confer. A summary of discussion at the Joint Conference of Housing and Welfare Officials. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1939. vi, 19 pp. Twenty-five cents.

Public Relief—Its Fiscal Importance for State and Local Governments. Washington, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1939. 16 pp.

State Government

Annual Message by His Excellency, William H. Vanderbilt. Providence, Rhode Island, 1940. 10 pp.

Summary of 1939 Wisconsin Laws. Madison, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, 1939. 82 pp. Fifty cents.

Taxation

How Public Employees and Public Bodies Are Affected by the Federal Income Tax Act. Chicago, The Municipal Finance Officers' Association, 1939. 12 pp. Fifteen cents.

Problem of Taxation in Massachusetts. Papers presented at the fourth annual conference on current governmental problems November 3 and 4, 1939. Edited by Charles J. Rohr. Amherst, Massachusetts State College, 1939. iv, 74 pp. mimeo. Twenty-five cents.

Property Taxation: Assessed Valuations, Tax Rates, and Tax Extensions, 1927-1936. (Survey of Local Finance in Illinois, Volume Two.) By Illinois Tax Commission in coöperation with Work Projects Administration. Springfield, Illinois, 1939. x, 637 pp.

Property Taxation: Assessed Valuations, Levies, Tax Rates, and Tax Extensions 1937 and 1938. (Survey of Local Finance in Illinois, Volume Three.) By Illinois Tax Commission in coöperation with Work Projects Administration. Springfield, Illinois, 1939. x, 249 pp.

Survey of Taxes Paid by Business in 1938. New York, Research and Statiscal Division, Dun & Bradstreet, Inc., 1939. 40 pp.

Taxes. Questions and Answers on State and Federal Taxes Levied in Wisconsin. Madison, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, 1940. 35 pp. Twenty-five cents.

Use Taxes. New York, Tax Policy League, 1939. 9 pp. mimeo. Twenty-five cents.

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William C. Wichman

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William L. Nunn

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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The League's Business

Regional Conferences Held

The third of a series of 1940 regional conferences on citizenship and government under the joint sponsorship of the National Municipal League and coöperating local organizations will be held March 20, 21, and 22 at Dallas, Texas. Public officials, educators, and representatives of citizens organizations, business, and finance from various southwestern states will speak and participate in the sessions which will be divided between the Baker and Adolphus Hotels. The Dallas Citizens Council will be joint sponsor of the conference.

The regional conferences, representing a new departure in League policy, are patterned after the National Conferences on Government which the League has conducted each year since 1894, and are designed to implement the growing awareness of the importance of popular understanding of the problems of responsible citizenship.

The Southern Regional Conference was held February 6, 7, and 8 at the Piedmont Hotel, Atlanta, in coöperation with the Institute of Citizenship of Emory University, Agnes Scott College, and the Georgia School of Technology. There were forty-seven speakers, including Samuel H. Ordway, Jr., president of the National Civil Service Reform League and former United States Civil Service Commissioner; Frank Bane, executive director, Council of State Governments; and Howard P. Jones, secretary of the National Municipal League and New York State Civil Service Commissioner.

With the coöperation of the Minneapolis Civic Council, of which Allen H. Seed, Jr., a member of the League council, is executive vice president, a regional conference was held February 19, 20, and 21 at the Curtis Hotel, Minneapolis. The conference drew a large attendance from Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, Illinois, and North and South Dakota. Among the hundred or more participants and speakers were C. A. Dykstra, president of the University of Wisconsin and president of the National Municipal League; Leonard D. White, former United States Civil Service Commissioner; Leslie M. Gravlin, commissioner of administration for Minnesota; and Roy V. Peel, director of the National Municipal League's Institute of Politics at Indiana University.

Coöperating with the Minneapolis Civic Council were the Minneapolis Council of Civic Clubs, the Fifth District Minnesota Federation of Women's Clubs, the League of Minnesota Municipalities, the Minneapolis League of Women Voters, the Minneapolis Taxpayers Association, the Minnesota Tax Conference, and the Woman's Club of Minneapolis.

A New Educational Program

The National Municipal League is sponsoring a new program on education for democracy in which it is being aided by the Payne Fund which has released Mr. S. Howard Evans for direction of the project. Invitations are being sent to some six hundred college and university presidents and to nation-wide citizens organizations, requesting their participation. These invitations are being sent in the name of a sponsoring committee consisting of the following well known educators: President C. A. Dykstra of the University of Wisconsin, who is also president of the National Municipal League and who will serve as chairman, President Donald Cowling of Carleton College, President Arthur G. Crane of the University of Wyoming, President Thurston J. Davies of Colorado College, President Edmund E. Day of Cornell University, President Robert I. Gannon, S.J., of Fordham University, President Meta Glass of Sweet Briar College, President

Dexter M. Keezer of Reed College, President Raymond A. Kent of the University of Louisville, President Homer P. Rainey of the University of Texas, President H. B. Wells of the University of Indiana, and President Henry M. Wriston of Brown University.

The proposal is designed to make available for general educational use a new technique developed as part of the program of preparing voters for intelligent action on the complicated issues of the New York State Constitutional Convention of 1938. In the general election of that November 3,000,000 average American citizens voted on nine constitutional amendments proposed by the convention with an intelligence and discrimination astonishing to the experts.

This technique was developed by the Special Committee on the New York State Constitution which was created under the auspices of the National Municipal League, with the coöperation and assistance of the Payne Fund. The committee consisted of the presidents or administrative heads of forty-seven New York State colleges, universities, and normal schools and the representatives of thirteen state-wide citizens organizations. Mr. Evans acted as chairman of the committee.

The function of each college represented on the Special Committee was to act as a regional center of information for organized citizens groups in neighboring communities. It included an impartial development of the facts about constitutional problems, simplification of the facts for presentation to citizen discussion groups, and actual presentation of facts to such groups.

The function of each of the state-wide citizens organizations represented on the committee was that of sponsoring discussion.

Because this program was so successful in New York State it is proposed now to expand it nationally. The plan of coöperation will remain the same, with colleges and universities acting as local centers of fact-finding and with citizens organizations encouraging their various local groups to work with nearby institutions. It is understood that in any locality the citizens groups and the various institutions are completely free to develop any program they may choose. The only function of the nationally organized central committee will be that of helping to supply to all coöperating groups the best scholarship available nationally upon the subject or subjects which may be under consideration in any locality.

New York State Committee Meets

Members of the New York State Committee of the National Municipal League met February 28 at Union College, Schenectady, and adopted a legislative program for recommendation to the New York State legislature. Among the matters approved in principle were: permission to municipalities to borrow to reorganize unsound pension systems on an actuarial basis; changes in the judiciary, including power for the state's highest court to remove or retire other judges, statutory recognition of a code of judicial ethics, and nonpartisan election of elective judges; a state "Hatch law"; various improvements in election procedure, including permanent registration, standard rules for proportional representation for adoption in city charters and other laws by reference; electric voting machine and a legislative council for the state legislature. M. P. Catherwood, chairman of the state committee, presided.

White Plains Survey Completed

On February 29 the Consultant Service of the National Municipal League submitted to the Common Council and Board of Education of White Plains its report on a survey of the principal administrative departments and schools of the city of White Plains, New

(Continued on page 163)

Letter to the Editor

To the Editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW:

In order to clarify and complete the record in the recent Richmond-Henrico County annexation, and to avoid the implication that the decision was one against the manager plan, it should be said that the *manager plan* had only an incidental relation to the case.

It was my fortune, as technical adviser to the city attorney and one of the city's chief witnesses, to be present throughout almost all of the three months of testimony-taking in the case, and to read the transcript of such evidence as I did not hear in court.

It is true that the county's defense was based largely on a comparison between its up-to-date administration and what it called the "horse-and-buggy" character of the Richmond government. That the court took notice of these arguments is evident from the opinion of Judge Barksdale. They were not, however, allowed to affect the court's decision.

The question at issue was whether eight parcels of land lying adjacent to the city boundary should be included in the city or left in the county. One of these parcels—Parcel E—includes Windsor Farms and Westhampton, Richmond's most fashionable suburban residential section. Not unnaturally this area, most of which is organized as a sanitary and a fire district, and which has Richmond water and a connection with Richmond's sewers, received most of the attention of the public, the press, and—it must be admitted—of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW. This parcel was strongly opposed to annexation. From it had come the backbone of the support for the manager plan in Henrico County.

While the annexation proceedings were pending, the county began the construction of a trunk sewer and disposal plant and prepared plans for an independent water system, principally for this parcel, which Professor Abel Wolman of Johns Hopkins University, one of the most highly regarded experts in the country, testified were highly uneconomic in view of the availability of the city's facilities. It may be admitted, however, that this parcel could have provided itself by district taxation—questions of expense aside—with all the necessary services of government.

Parcel E, however, contains only about half the area and population covered by the annexation petition. Along the eastern and northeastern boundaries of the city were a series of parcels with an almost equal population, the whole or large portions of each of which are without water supply, fire protection, or sewers; in other words, without the fundamental necessities of urban living. And for these areas, not only had the county made no provision for urban services but seemed quite unlikely to make any.

A great deal was made in a recent editorial in the REVIEW[1] of the fact that in Henrico County, as a result of the district system, the people pay only for what they get. This is true. It is a corollary of this that they get only what they pay for. It is, therefore, likewise true that large numbers of people, being unable to pay, get nothing though their need is intense. These parcels could not be made part of special taxing districts because they could not afford to pay for the works and services such districts could supply. On the other hand, city water pipes, city sewers, city gas mains, and city fire and police protection, were available just across an artificial boundary line, and the city proposed to extend its services into these districts immediately following annexation. It was these facts which led the court to decree the annexation.

The issue was not the relative quality of government in Henrico County and Richmond, but the kind of governmental service each was prepared to offer. A first-rate county

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[1] May 1939, p. 333.

(Continued on page 155)

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Supplemental to Mr. Pope's Couplet

THERE is an unfortunate disposition to feel that simply because a man is very old or because he has been dead a long time there is something especially wise about his counsel. Ready examples may be found by proving either side of an argument by quoting from the Bible, from George Washington, from Thomas Jefferson.

One need not be so foolhardy as even to wish to show Pope less than his day's master of letters to regret the lasting mischief of his couplet, "For forms of government let fools contest, that which is best administered is best." Other men who have been respected for their thinking rather than for their mastery of technique and grace of expression have taken Pope apart pretty thoroughly. Some have insisted that he became a subsidized champion of the established order, and that he "concerned himself wholly about the phrase, leaving the thought to be as faulty as it would."[1]

All that and much more has become pretty well established so far as Pope is concerned, and we might even quote Pope against Pope: "But when to mischief mortals bend their will how soon they find fit instruments of ill"[2] and "Be not the first by whom the new is tried nor yet the last to lay the old aside."[3]

It is more to the point to deal with the recent epidemic of newspaper editorials which argue that the council-manager plan is no absolute insurance of good government (as if anyone ever claimed it was). This time very few mention Pope's couplet. They have new and current evidence—Kansas City. So the manager plan does away with graft, crooked elections, job-brokering, bossism, does it? Look at Kansas City! And most of them say or imply that the manager plan "did not prevent Boss Pendergast from stepping in and seizing control."

Their antecedents are a bit mixed. The Pendergast dynasty was well established long before anyone ever breathed the magic words "manager plan" around Kansas City. A distracted public turned to this comparatively new idea in the desperate hope that it might do, even in Kansas City, what it apparently had done for many other similarly plagued communities. Demonstrably the new form of government did work some improvements for Kansas City, but it was no hocus pocus which caused a boss to disappear, especially a boss who was so powerful, so crooked, and so far beyond the reach of the law.

But the scientist in his laboratory, Dr. Gallup among his polls, or the manufacturer of a new type of steel would scarcely base his conclusions on a single experience if it ran counter to the evidence of one hundred to five hundred others. He would let the majority rule.

---

[1] *Literary Essays,* by James Russell Lowell.

[2] *Rape of the Lock.*

[3] *Essays on Criticism.*

The succession of distinguished committees of administrators and students of government who have painstakingly developed the *Model City Charter* have no interest whatever in adhering to a single form, rule, or procedure. Their only wish has been and is to examine actual experience and from it to develop workable methods. If some city tried a different structure of government which might be named "engineer plan" or "auditor plan" or "superintendent plan" or "boo boo plan" they'd favor it—if it proved itself capable of translating the will of the people more efficiently, more economically, and more honestly into administrative action than the council-manager plan has done.

The Kansas City experience is full of significance, but not the kind of significance so carelessly attributed to it. There would be more point to running a "Name Three" contest, like this:

Name three commission or weak-mayor or even strong-mayor cities in its class which, during the last fifteen years, can equal Cincinnati's record.

Name three commission or weak-mayor or even strong-mayor cities in its class which, during the last twenty years, can equal Kalamazoo's record.

Naming five or ten would be fairer odds, but naming only three is difficult enough—impossible, in fact.

Several years ago an editorial in the REVIEW[4] touched one of the most significant features of the council-manager form of government. It said: "To be most effective, a cause must be capable of being simply expressed; it must furnish a rallying cry around which may be mustered large groups of citizens. This, too, change in government provides. Of the 450 [now about 500] cities which have adopted the city manager form of government, few indeed are they which would have witnessed any fundamental improvement in the conduct of their affairs had they not changed their form of government. All too numerous are they, indeed, where a movement for improvement in government would never have developed sufficient virility to emerge triumphant without the issue of change in the form of government to present to the people."

Tax Rates of Council-Manager Cities

IT seems logical to concede that the form of government may not be the most essential need in self-governing communities; but isn't it a bit silly to say it is of no significance? Every day evidence continues to pile up.

Each December the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW publishes the tax rates of cities of 30,000 population or over except for those few cities which for some reason stand on their "constitutional rights" or something and fail to answer. These rates are adjusted for purposes of comparison because all cities do not assess the same, and obviously it would be unfair, without adjustment, to compare the tax rate of a city which assesses at 35 per cent of true value with that of a city which assesses at 100 per cent.

---

[4] "Fools and Forms," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, April 1937.

The figures might be analyzed in any one of dozens of ways. But while we are talking about forms of government it might be of some value to see how cities using the council-manager form compare with others. Of the 287 cities listed, slightly under 25 per cent have the council-manager plan. Yet 50 per cent of the ten with the lowest tax rates and 50 per cent of the thirty lowest are manager cities.

To argue that administrative structure is of no significance, as some people do, is approximately the same as saying a good workman is just as good no matter what tools he has, that a good pilot ought to do as well in an old World War "Jenny" as in a modern plane.

A Good Neighbor Slaps Our Boys

OUR steamed and respected contemporary, *The Municipal Review of Canada,* recently pricked the pride of American "experts" and "specialists" in municipal administration by arguing that "in civic affairs Canada has little to learn from the United States," and that therefore Canadian cities should quit hiring our experts.

The *Review* (of Canada) now claims this suggestion has aroused our experts' resentment; and in one devastating gesture it sweeps them all aside and puts them in their places. How? By republishing from a single issue of *Time* stories showing how badly Kansas City, Philadelphia, and Cleveland are governed.

While it peps up almost any publication to republish things from *Time,* one cannot help being stricken with some doubts as to whether these stories indicate lack of ability and experience on the part of our administrative consultants.

May we suggest that one becomes able in a field by having problems to solve, the more difficult the better? If, as is claimed, the "whole machinery of municipal government in the Dominion" is "far superior to that of its southern neighbor" it must be quite inadequate as a place to develop governmental trouble shooters.

Come, come, neighbor.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

(Continued from page 152)

government may well be inadequate for the needs of urban communities. If it embraces, as Henrico does, a large rural area, urban needs must be left to districts and the district plan will not work for small poor communities scattered around the periphery of a large city.

As a matter of fact, Richmond provides municipal services unusually complete for a southern city, some of which the county now enjoys without paying for them. The city, in the court's judgment, is ready and able to extend these services to the annexed areas at a less cost to the community as a whole than could the county.

Thomas H. Reed

New York, February 22, 1940

Editor Puts Civics on Page One

"Enlightenment on municipal affairs has been a circulation builder and a circulation retainer"

By **MIRIAM ROHER**
National Municipal League

IN NOVEMBER 1938 Yonkers, New York, voted to adopt the council-manager plan, to go into effect in January 1940. To many citizens the prospect of change was bewildering. Was a minor revolution due to occur in Yonkers within a few months, would all city employees be dismissed, would there still be a mayor, would taxes skyrocket—or what?

Oxie Reichler, managing editor of the *Yonkers Herald-Statesman*, decided that what was needed was a simple, non-bombastic, nonpartisan interpretation that anyone could understand. To a young reporter on his staff he assigned the task of writing four or five questions and answers a day, designed to bring out the meat of the manager plan. Like these:

> Q. When does the city manager form of government go into effect?
> A. On January 1, 1940—the day the present city administration goes out of power.
> Q. How much will the manager be paid?
> A. As much as the council decides he's worth.
> Q. Can a Yonkers resident be manager?
> A. Yes, provided he meets the charter qualification of "executive ability."

And so on. The questions and answers were printed in fourteen point type and put in a prominent box on the front page of the newspaper.

The result was surprising. People who had heretofore done very well, they said, with the New York City papers (Yonkers is a city of 134,000 just north of New York City) suddenly found that a subscription to the *Herald-Statesman* was a necessity.

It is the custom of the *Herald-Statesman* to run the first four installments of a new feature on the front page, and then to banish it to an inside page. But when Editor Reichler attempted to follow the practice with this series, his circulation manager said "Over my dead body" or words to that effect. Sc the questions and answers stayed on page one, and, says Mr. Reichler: "In my twenty years of newspaper writing and editing, I do not recall any piece of news or feature presentation that even remotely stimulated direct sales of the paper as did the question-and-answer matter. Members of our sales crew, who are regarded as doing pretty well when they write two or three new subscriptions a day, came in tremendously excited to discover they could—by exhibiting the question-and-answer articles on the new form of government—enlist as many as sixteen or more new readers in a morning."

The questions and answers ran for two months, twice as long as a normal series. The circulation department insisted on it. "After a while," says Mr. Reichler, "we were almost frantic trying to think up more questions and answers. We had asked ourselves dry."

To keep the series going, the reporter took to analyzing the charter minutely, asking himself questions about what would happen under such-and-such circumstances, and then supplying the answer. It was a space filler then, but within a few weeks after the manager began work, people realized that the space filler had been a smarter prognosticator of some of the legal snarls in the charter than the charter drafters themselves.

The question-and-answer series even had its repercussions in the Yonkers public schools. Mr. Reichler got wind of the dent he had made on the educational world when the newspaper began to be flooded with calls from school children who wanted yesterday's paper. He discovered that teachers had been assigning the daily paper as part of the civics lesson. He therefore had all the questions and answers and explanatory articles made up into a tabloid, which he presented free to the schools, to distribute to their pupils. The teachers promptly dubbed the papers textbook material, and insisted on their return at the end of the term, so that next year's class might use them.

READER INTEREST

The entire episode constitutes Mr. Reichler's almost inadvertent proof that a newspaper need not be an economic martyr to assume that rôle of unbiased leadership which "reformers" are always urging on the press. Straight-from-the-shoulder, understandable, uncolored information about political goings-on is, in these days of ubiquitous propaganda machines, a pearl of great price and John Q. Citizen, it appears, will gladly pay five cents to dive for it. According to the Yonkers editor, "We have found that enlightenment on municipal affairs has been a circulation builder and a circulation retainer."

Emboldened by the success of the question-and-answer series, and urged on by the circulation department, Mr. Reichler began looking around for a new stunt to hang on the manager plan peg. But the paper was in an economy mood, so that new material had to be not only good but *cheap*. A few months after the question-and-answer series had run itself into circulation history, and five months before the manager plan was due to go into operation, Mr. Reichler came upon his next idea. He picked out the paper with the largest circulation in each of fifty cities which has the manager plan, and on August 31, 1939, wrote the editor the following letter:

> Dear Mr. ———
>
> We are preparing a series of articles on city manager government and the way it is working out in various municipalities—each to be written by a competent newspaperman on the scene, each to be by-lined with his name and paper.
>
> If you will assign one of your staff to prepare such a report—possibly 500 to 800 words—I shall be glad to forward you a set of proofs of the entire series, so that you may present them to your readers.
>
> We should like the report to discuss outstanding problems that faced the city manager administration, how they were solved, if and where the plan broke down, and whether the municipality appears to be progressing or receding under the manager government.
>
> I shall appreciate a word from you

CITY MANAGER LOWDOWN: Salaries Go Up And Taxes Come Down In Portsmouth, Va.

EDITOR'S NOTE—This is one of a series of articles on City Manager government—where it works and doesn't—by working newspapermen on

Sacramento Reports Its Stride Under 19 Years Of Manager Form

EDITOR'S NOTE—This is one of a series of articles on "The Lowdown On City Manager," written from a newspaperman's point of view.

By ARTHUR B. WAUGH
Associate Editor, The Sacramento Bee

One of the first cities in the West to adopt the City Manager form of government, Sacramento will celebrate her nineteenth year of City Manager administration on July 1, 1940.

Tucson Manager

tire year on pay-as-you-go basis, through the schools, pay 73,000 to the city and necessary relief, curtailed from $610,000 to $210,000; indebtedness of $400,000. city a clear profit of $200,000 ($20,000 a of contract with the

the city government since the manager plan. Despite the bonding

Fort Worth Grows And Prospers Under Manager Government

By E. D. ALEXANDER
City Hall Reporter, Fort Worth

supply by gravity from Lake W distant) to the city pumping pla led sanitary and storm sewers to territory. a city plan expert to draf program.

Manager Gives Wheeling Joy And Sorrow, But Also Lowest Tax Rate In America

By ROBERT L. PLUMMER,
Staff Writer, Wheeling (W. Va.) Intelligencer

Wheeling has achieved the lowest tax rate in the United States—$1.05 per $100 of assessed valuation—under

Wheeling's record in the demonstrates

ago, after another series of unsatisfactory charter and a new system of adopted.

improvements cost money, so a adopted for issuing bonds

Watertown Improves City Credit Under 20 Years Of Manager

By ROBERT G. SEWELL
Staff Writer, Watertown (N. Y.) Times

Putting the city's credit on a sound basis is City Manager which is completing welfare

can intelligently personalities

on the records

How Cincinnati, Under Manager, Became 'Best-Governed City'

EDITOR'S NOTE—This is one of a series of articles on "The Lowdown on City Manager," which appears from time to time.

By WILLIAM H. HESSLER
Chief Editorial Writer, Cincinnati Enquirer

Cincinnati is the largest city in the to use the City Manager system and expects to continue using It was adopted in phenomenally good results cism or suggest Representative

an air-tight has been publ

Government Cost Reduced 17½% By Manager In Hamilton, Ohio

By CLAYTON A. LEITER
Formerly of Hamilton (Ohio) Journal-News

City Manager government has been the salvation of Hamilton, a city which owns and operates

of City Manager government, operating expenses have been giving to the taxpayers a 1928, to Jan. 1, has been cut

Richmond Eyes Manager Regime Such As Improves Its County

NOTE—This is one of a series "The Lowdown on City from time to time.

DABNEY
Times-Dispatch

government, partial reorganization of the agencies which administers relief, substitution of a jail farm for the old-fashioned city jail, and a simpler method of amending the city charter. Dr Bright is bitterly against a referendum on a unicameral council, and similarly opposed to the other above-mentioned programs and procedures, with the possible exception of a jail farm. Mr Ambler also favors a federal slum-clearance program, whereas Dr Bright is irrevocably opposed to as "undemocratic and un-American." It is too early for any predictions as to outcome. It is generally felt that the race close. The primary is April 2.

County, described by some best managed county

Toledo Finds Manager Strength Where Old Form Was Weakest

EDITOR'S NOTE—This is one of of articles on "The Lowdown on City Manager," from the viewpoint of newspaper

JENKS
Blade
in Toledo

Saginaw Likes Manager

funding and deficit financing over near year period. A crushing relief burden deficits of approximately $1,000,000 in 1939. Deprived of tax levying power city has been confronted with more than two years. growing opinion that the by the state and not state-wide move for work and for a state funds is momentum.

Help may be special tax levy. levies have been defeated Ohio law, political subdivisions not incur debts which would operating and debt service levies tax duplicate

Lexington Has Manager Form But Still Lacks The Spirit

By FRED B. WACHS
General Manager, Lexington (Ky.) Herald

It is not an exaggeration to say that, except name, Lexington has not had City Manager government since 1936.

For four years

substantial

Meddling By City Commissioners Is Miami's Manager Problem

By MISS JEANNE BELLAMY
City Hall Reporter, Miami (Fla.) Herald

The fly on the nose of Manager government in Miami is the persistent meddling of commissioners in matters.

Miami adopted the City Manager in 1921 with a charter patterned model charter promulgated City Managers' Association. In the 18 years, the nine times.

for their ments. This dozen of court order.

Manager Regime Gives Dallas Its Most Progressive Period

values (53 per cent of true property effect. When reduced to a common the Dallas tax rate is the lowest largest cities in Texas. Today the $290,000,000.

During the depression a 15 per assessed values was ordered to property owners.

Manager Rule In Flint, Mich., Gives City Staffs Security

BY HAROLD R. GERACE
City Hall Reporter, Flint (Mich.) Journal

One of the major accomplishments attributable

the brunt of the earlier policies. Couple large tax delinquency in the first four years new type of government as to whether you are willing to coöperate.

Sincerely yours,
(Signed) Oxie Reichler
Managing Editor

Again the response exceeded the editor's wildest dreams. Snapping up the bait of a good series of surefire articles entirely free, numbers of editors were delighted to assign a staff man to a few hours work for the Yonkers paper. When thirty articles had flowed into his office within a couple of weeks from the time his appeal was mailed, Mr. Reichler stopped searching his mail for more. The series, titled "The Lowdown on City Manager," began in the *Yonkers Herald-Statesman* in October 1939 and ran for thirty days. It also ran in contributing newspapers and in numerous other papers which had heard of the series, asked for them, and been supplied—still free of charge.

Fellow-newspapermen soon pointed out to Mr. Reichler that he had originated a new technique in the science of news-gathering. Within a few weeks, the editor of the *Kansas City Journal* inquired: "Why don't we do the same thing on another subject? Will you coöperate with me if I write editors and ask for an article on their city's parking problems?" Two weeks later Mr. Reichler had on his desk the tear sheets of an entire series on parking. He hadn't even done the gathering this time—the Kansas City editor had done that. The whole thing had cost no one any more than a very small item of postage, stationery, and stenographer's time.

A third use of the new news-gathering technique has now been made by Mr. Reichler himself, in a New York state-wide series on local pension fund operation, which is a particularly pressing question in New York now because of new constitutional provisions.

Important as this is from a newspaperman's point of view, the implications are even more interesting for the science of government. In gathering thirty articles from thirty newspapermen in thirty cities, Mr. Reichler also gathered thirty separate, detailed, and reasonably unbiased testimonials as to the efficacy of the manager form of government. In all thirty articles, dealing with cities ranging in population from 31,000 to 450,000, and ranging in location from California to Florida, there is only one that pronounces the manager plan a failure. The remaining twenty-nine consider the form of government successful. Such criticisms as are made provide a guide to the pitfalls which may be expected when the plan is adopted, and to the ways of avoiding them.

There has been only one similar study made, and that was done at great expense by expert governmental researchers who spent several months in the field. The *Herald-Statesman* series differs from this work in that it cost, at most, a few dollars to produce, and required a few weeks to assemble. More important, it approximates the judgment of citizens within manager cities—of those, in short, whom local government is meant to serve.[1]

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[1] Summary sentences from each article in the series are quoted in an addendum on page 161 of this issue of the REVIEW. The National Municipal League deemed the *Herald-Statesman* series so valuable

The *Herald-Statesman's* next venture in political education occurred when the first city council was to be elected under the new system—November 1939. The city was faced with more problems than are usually found in connection with an ordinary election. First, it was the first council under the new plan, and thus could be responsible for giving the infant form of government either a firm foundation or an early grave. Second, proportional representation, commonly calumniated by the term "complicated," was to be used for the first time. Third, one of the most popular leaders of the pro-city manager forces, Mrs. Edith Welty, who was a candidate for council, had attracted the opposition candidacy of a Mrs. Elizabeth Weldy—and the P. R. ballot is alphabetically arranged.

AID TO GOOD GOVERNMENT

According to George H. Hallett, Jr., elections expert, the result of this difficult election was a gratifyingly large total vote, and a "remarkably" small percentage of invalid ballots. Mrs. Welty was elected, while Mrs. Weldy was not. And the "carefully planned and intensive educational work done by the *Herald-Statesman,*" says Mr. Hallett,[2] was at least partly responsible.

Mr. Reichler's interest in the council-manager plan did not end when the plan was at last installed. Rather, he has been demonstrating that perhaps he has found the answer to that common complaint of newspapermen in city manager cities, and of city managers themselves, that good government is not dramatic. "When things are efficient and going well, what is there to write about?" they lament. "Then citizens lose interest and the field is open for hostile politicians to seize control of the council while 'good' citizens are looking the other way."

But in Yonkers, from the day that Manager Raymond J. Whitney took office, the *Herald-Statesman* has been "playing up" good government in eight column streamer headlines. Hardly an official act of the manager has been considered too technical or too unimportant to be given attention by the newspaper.

The *Herald-Statesman* even made "copy" of a bond interest rate, which is something practically unheard of in the annals of orthodox journalism. On January 5 an eight-column double headline proclaimed "FIRST MANAGER LOAN FLOATED AT LOWEST COST IN HISTORY." The story begins, dramatically, "Indicating confidence in Yonkers' city manager administration, New York bankers, who balked at making any loan in the final weeks of the Loehr administration, today lent the city $2,000,000 at the lowest interest charge in Yonkers' history."

A summary of the *Herald-Statesman's* adventures in political education is impressive. Within the past thirteen months, it appears, this suburban newspaper has made a small informational feature pay big circulation dividends, originated a

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that it has also secured permission to reproduce the articles exactly as they appeared in the newspaper and to offer them free, for republication, to newspaper editors, and at a small charge to others.

[2] NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, January 1940, p. 68.

new technique for gathering the facts about governmental experiences, brought together a unique fund of information which renews proof of the success of the council-manager plan, and—made a new form of government about the most dramatic thing that's ever happened in town.

Excerpts from Yonkers Herald-Statesman Articles on the Manager Plan

W. Blount Darden, Editor, **Portsmouth (Va.) Star:** "The day of miracles has not passed! They are being performed with regularity in the city of Portsmouth, Virginia, under the city manager form of government."

Robert L. Plummer, **Wheeling (W. Va.) Intelligencer:** "Wheeling has achieved the lowest tax rate in the United States—$1.05 per $100 of assessed valuation—under city manager government. Wheeling has not yet reached the millenium. But let the record speak for itself."

Kirk Ringkamp, **Trenton (N. J.) Times:** "Politics, a staggering debt heritage, huge relief expenditures, a self-exploiting council and a temperamental city manager proved fatal to city manager government in New Jersey's capital city. In the face of this situation the council-manager régime gave the city some real achievements."

Harold W. Hartl, **Saginaw (Mich.) News:** "The voters of Saginaw are well satisfied with their government."

Jeanne Bellamy, **Miami (Fla.) Herald:** "There is a strong conviction [among voters] the present system is ideal if allowed to function as intended."

Barry Bishop, **Dallas (Tex.) Morning News:** "Dallas has made much progress in recent years, while taxes have been kept low."

Harold W. Sanford, Editor, **Rochester (N. Y.) Democrat and Chronicle:** "Looking back over the years since a civic uprising put the charter into effect, many benefits can be discerned which are directly chargeable to the plan."

C. B. Moody, **Pasadena (Calif.) Star-News:** "Largely because of the adoption of city manager government, more progress has been made in Pasadena in the past eighteen years than was accomplished during the preceding thirty-five years."

Fred B. Wachs, General Manager, **Lexington (Ky.) Herald:** "Even under present conditions the standard of performance is higher than it would be under either the old aldermanic form or the more recent commission setup."

E. D. Alexander, **Fort Worth (Texas) Star-Telegram:** "Fort Worth has grown and prospered under city manager government during the past fourteen years."

Fred Post, **Amarillo (Tex.) Globe-News:** "Amarillo's city manager government is operated on the basic principle of drawing the least possible amount of taxes from the people consistent with the demand for municipal services."

Harold R. Gerace, **Flint (Mich.) Journal:** "It is a reasonably certain belief in Flint that the government is progressing, is adjusting itself to special circumstances as they arise, and that its permanence will not be seriously shaken."

Ralph M. Turner, **Schenectady (N. Y.)** City Hall Reporter: "It may be said Schenectady today provides more services—more benefits, more control, more regulation, more planning—than at any time in its history."

Judd J. Robbins, **Pontiac (Mich.) Daily Press:** "After what seems to have been a full trial of commission-manager government, Pontiac citizens seem satisfied. The city has made substantial progress in spite of adverse business conditions."

Jack Gould, **Port Arthur (Tex.) News:** "Installed in 1932, city manager government has worked well in the city financially, but it has fared poorly 'politically'."

Calvin D. Myers, Editor, **Newburgh (N. Y.) News:** "Newburghers, celebrating their twenty-fifth year under city manager government in 1940, would no more consider relinquishing manager government than trading their motor-cars for horses and buggies."

Edgar C. Hanford, **Springfield (Ohio) Daily News:** "It is the belief of a large majority of local citizens that Springfield has progressed materially under the commission-manager form of government, and that the advantages of this form of government considerably outweigh its disadvantages."

William O. Dapping, Managing Editor, **Auburn (N. Y.) Citizen-Advertiser:** "Statistical records of the State Conference of Mayors show the city has made remarkable strides forward since adoption of city manager government."

Louis T. Hamlett, **Wichita Falls (Texas) Daily Times:** "Not one anti-city manager candidate appeared at the last municipal election in April!"

Eldorous Dayton, **New Rochelle (N. Y.) Standard-Star:** "Both city managers serving New Rochelle have been economy-minded."

M. N. Squires, **Bay City (Mich.) Times:** "The city manager government has curbed abuses of the former ward system and its aldermanic control."

Robert G. Sewell, **Watertown (N. Y.) Times:** "Sound financing, establishment of a municipal power plant to light city streets and public buildings and provisions for adequate services during the depression years, without boosting taxes sky high, have served to make city manager more strongly entrenched in Watertown in its twentieth year than in its fifth or its tenth."

Steve Murdock, **San Jose (Calif.) Mercury-Herald:** "Energetic, white-haired Clarence B. Goodwin last month completed nineteen years as city manager of San Jose—nearly two decades of undeniable municipal progress."

William R. Mathews, Editor and Publisher, **Tucson (Ariz.) Daily Star:** "Tucson has had a municipal administration that would match the best in the country."

Clayton A. Leiter, **Hamilton (Ohio) Journal-News:** "City manager government has been the salvation of Hamilton, a city which owns and operates utilities."

T. T. Hunt, **Beaumont (Tex.) Enterprise:** "This triple-check style was, and has remained, with few exceptions, unattractive to politicians."

George F. Jenks, **Toledo (Ohio) Blade:** "The shoddy, down-at-the-heels appearance that marked the city in 1935 has disappeared. Fire, police, street, garbage, and other city divisions have been re-equipped and gaps in personnel have been filled. Toledo's taxpayers are getting their money's worth in service."

Virginius Dabney, Editor **Richmond (Va.) Times Dispatch** (writing on Henrico County): "Since its adoption in 1933, the plan has been under heavy fire from disgruntled political elements despite the great improvements it has made with respect to economy, efficiency and service under County Manager W. F. Day."

William H. Hessler, Chief Editorial Writer, **Cincinnati (Ohio) Enquirer:** "The new regime has saved the city a total of $19,000,000 in gas and electric costs. It has cut fire losses by 50 per cent. It has brought the tax rate down until it is one of the lowest in the entire country for cities of comparable size. This has been done while paying off each year the debts piled up by the old corrupt administration before 1925."

Arthur B. Waugh, Associate Editor, **Sacramento (Calif.) Bee:** "The city manager form of government in Sacramento has been tested in the laboratory of experience for nearly nineteen years, and the answer is that it has provided the best government yet devised for American cities."

LEAGUE'S BUSINESS

(Continued from page 151)

York. Field work on the survey was begun in the late summer of 1939. The report is eight hundred typed pages in length. Staff members included:

Director: Howard P. Jones
Assessment: Cuthbert E. Reeves, consulting engineer of Buffalo, New York
Paul D. Smith of the Rochester, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research
Public Safety: Robert M. Goodrich, director of the Providence Bureau of Governmental Research
Police: L. S. Timmerman of the Institute of Public Administration
Fire: Frank C. Charlesworth, fire chief of Providence, Rhode Island
F. A. Murray, fire chief of Teaneck, New Jersey
Roberts Chickering, Indiana University
Other Bureaus: Cuthbert E. Reeves
Public Welfare: T. Lester Swander, director of Corpus Christi, Texas, Community Chest and Council
Miriam Roher, National Municipal League
Public Works: W. Earl Weller, director of the Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research
Recreation: Jay B. Nash, professor of physical education at New York University
Earl Kauffman, Jr., School of Education, New York University
Education: Director: John W. Withers, former dean of the School of Education of New York University

Kenosha Citizens in Action

Civic Council, representing all groups in the community, acts as sounding board for "the voice of the people"; has made city administration responsive to public will.

By **WILLIAM C. WICHMAN**
Northwestern University

AMERICAN cities, under the stress of a continuing economic depression, and faced with popular demands for more public services without increased burdens on the taxpayers, are recognizing more and more the need for citizens' advisory councils to collectively represent the people in their relations with the governments responsible to their will. Promotion of such councils, in fact, is one phase of the activities carried on by the National Municipal League. Because of its early establishment and continuous usefulness over a long period of time, the Civic Council of Kenosha, Wisconsin, presents an experience of unusual significance in the story of organizations of this type.

The Kenosha Civic Council, representing seventy-four civic organizations, has been actively functioning for sixteen years with a beneficial influence which has long since removed it from the realm of experimentation. Principles have been evolved from that experience that should prove helpful to parallel movements contemplated in other cities—movements delayed at their inception from lack of precedent to follow.

Other civic councils have been established, but this one is different. It was not organized as a temporary "reform" body in order to accomplish some change such as the adoption of a city manager charter, or to clean up a corrupt city. It is not a "good government" party, dedicated to the task of getting good men into council. It is not a booster club, endorsing everything done by Kenosha. Neither is it a vigilante group, critical of the government and on the alert for mistakes. It is rather a permanent organization, dedicated to the purpose of unifying all groups interested in the civic betterment of the city of Kenosha through coördination of efforts, fact-finding, forum discussions, digesting of proposals, adoption of programs of action, education, and coöperation with public authorities. Its influence is real.

On December 10, 1923, less than a year after Kenosha had adopted city manager government, Jessel S. Whyte called a meeting of the civic committees of local organizations. Whyte, an industrialist and commander of the American Legion post, wanted to coördinate the efforts of various groups sponsoring public movements, to sift out those with merit, and to crystallize public opinion behind them. Sixteen organizations responded to the call, a favorable discussion ensued, and the outgrowth was the Civic Council. By the following April twenty-two organizations had sent duly elected delegates, a constitution had been adopted, an election of officers and executive committee held, and the Civic Council rolled into action.

Its first big job was participation in the Wisconsin Better Cities Contest. The Wisconsin Conference of Social Work had devised an elaborate scheme for rating cities on the basis of detailed reports from the cities. The Kenosha Civic Council undertook to compile the report for Kenosha, divided itself into fourteen committees, and went to work. As a result, Kenosha not only won the contest and was adjudged the best city in Wisconsin, but it had a rating twice as high as its nearest competitor.

ORGANIZATION OF COUNCIL

While the winning of this contest was due to conditions already existing in the city as a whole, the organization of the newly-created Civic Council lent itself to the compilation of the type of report required. That organization, except for changes in personnel, is set up now much the same as it was in 1924. Any organization whose purpose is to promote the welfare of Kenosha can petition for membership and, if admitted by the council, is entitled to send two delegates to the monthly meetings. The manner of selection and tenure of delegates is left to the determination of the respective groups.

Provision also is made for delegates-at-large, not to exceed 20 per cent of the regular membership of the Civic Council, and elected for one year by unanimous vote of its executive committee and two-thirds of the members present at a regular meeting. The executive committee is elected annually by the members, and is composed of six men and three women. This committee, in turn, selects annually a president, a vice president, and a secretary-treasurer. It conducts business between monthly sessions, but the president must call a special meeting of the council if seven members petition for one.

A member organization can be expelled if it has no delegate present for two consecutive meetings without satisfactory reason. Member organizations can resign, but can petition for membership again only after a lapse of one year. The council is self-supporting and independent of the city administration or any of the member organizations. Dues are one dollar per organization, with a maximum yearly contribution of ten dollars permissible.

The Civic Council, then, is loosely organized and democratically constituted, but with sufficient power to insure uninterrupted operation.

In a large measure the value of the Civic Council depends upon the extent to which its member organizations include all popular elements. It is truly representative in that practically every group of any size is included—civic, patriotic, labor, women's, commercial, industrial, fraternal, and service organizations. As City Manager Laughlin states: "The Kenosha Civic Council is a decided asset to the community because it increases interest in community affairs and promotes thinking and study on local governmental affairs; and since its membership reaches such a large number and extends to practically all professions, trades, and occupations, it offers an exceptional opportunity for city-wide education in civic matters."

ALL GROUPS INCLUDED

E. F. Marlatt, editor of the *Kenosha Evening News,* also stresses the inclusiveness of its membership, being of the opinion that: "It is so constituted as to give a cross section of the industrial and civic welfare of Kenosha and therefore the decisions which it reaches can be taken as representative of the thought of the entire citizen body."

Thus all opinions bear out the contention of the man who originally conceived the idea, Jessel S. Whyte, that: "The fact that the Kenosha Civic Council is made up of delegates from all civic organizations, both men and women, makes it a very good clearing house for civic matters which are sponsored by the individual organization."

A mere glance at the list of seventy-four members indicates the basis for this unanimity of opinion. To mention a few shows wide diversity of interests: American Legion, Advancement Association, Business and Professional Women's Club, Kiwanis Club, Retail Food Dealers, Rotary Club, Manufacturers Association, fourteen labor unions and the Trades and Labor Council, Catholic Junior League, Jewish Aid Society, Italian-American Society, German-American Home, Slovak Catholic Sokol Organization, College Club, Federation of Church Women, BPOE, Insurance Agents Association, County Bar Association, Dental Society, Historical Society, Medical Society, League of Women Voters, Education Association, Knights of Columbus, Ministerial Association, Parent-Teachers Council, Real Estate Board, St. Thomas Parent-Teachers, Boy Scouts Council, Girl Scouts Council, and the WCTU are represented. The Civic Council always has attempted to extend its membership, so that no large section of the people is without representation somewhere among the member organizations at the present time.

The best evidence of the usefulness of the Civic Council would be a listing of the scores of proposals made, discussions and studies carried on, and the action secured during the past sixteen years, but space permits mention of only a few. Participation in the Better Cities contest, of course, is the best example of a report brought out on the strength of a comprehensive fact-finding investigation.

The Civic Council was not satisfied with winning the contest for, although Kenosha rated high in all other phases of municipal development, she was adjudged deficient in town-county relations. Nat Frame, director of the Agricultural Extension of the University of West Virginia, in judging this aspect of the contest, said that Kenosha needed to recognize the existence of rural people from the standpoint of recreation, education, community interest, etc., and should have as much interest in developing these as she had her rural trade. In other words, Kenosha should be a service station, rendering specialized services for her rural neighbors.

The Civic Council has made sustained efforts to improve this phase of community development. The results speak for themselves. A few of the many measures helping to better rural-urban relations are: an annual banquet by the Chamber of Commerce, a Retail Merchants Association good-will tour, an annual Rotary Club dinner with entertainment and dancing, American Legion visits to outlying posts, rural library service, athletic meets through cooperation between city and county recreation departments, annual meeting of the Milk Producers' Association with the Rotary Club, invitation to Rotary Club meetings to pastors of rural churches and 4-H Club members, and similar functions by other clubs. This is illustrative of the informal way in which the Civic Council influences civic betterment. Often the council itself does not sponsor the action, but a delegate gets an idea from the discussions and makes a proposal before his particular organization. Thus the action is often decentralized, but the Civic Council tends to integrate the various measures into a unified program.

CITY ADMINISTRATION HELPED

The Civic Council has proved very helpful to the City Council and the administrative departments. According to Manager Laughlin: "The administration considers the Civic Council to be an excellent medium for ascertaining public opinion on vital questions, by reason of the fact that delegates from practically all civic, fraternal, and labor organizations in the city have representation and because of the fact that it is thus possible to secure widespread discussion and determination of public opinion on matters before action is taken by the City Council. The City Council on many occasions has approved recommendations and enacted beneficial legislation proposed by the Kenosha Civic Council."

On the municipal level, as well as on the national, democracy means that the government must carry out the will of the people, but popular opinion is hard to find among a vast accumulation of heterogeneous people. Government is often at a loss to find the common interest and to determine the appropriate means to promote that public interest. The Civic Council in Kenosha, by its careful discussion of questions in its own meetings, through committees, and by its member organizations, usually comes out with a proposal that reflects the general will as closely as possible in our complex society. The city administration and City Council naturally give great weight to its determinations, for they carry the support of the popular governors.

Lord Bryce once wrote that the chief obstacle to popular government was the difficulty of ascertaining public opinion, which he called "that great compound of folly, weakness, prejudice, wrong feeling, right feeling, obstinacy, and newspaper paragraphs." The Civic Council enables public officials charged with promoting the public interest to determine what the public interest is with some degree of accuracy. Conflicting interests find common ground in Civic Council meetings, and public officials can act on this common ground.

To cite two examples, Council acted on the proposals of the Civic Council in regard to street naming and ward redistricting. The Civic

Council, after an extensive study and canvassing of popular opinion, proposed a new system of naming and numbering streets to remove the confusion of the existing setup. Another survey revealed inequality among precincts and wards, insufficient voting facilities, and need for further divisions. A proposal was made to change the plan considerably. In both cases, the City Council accepted the findings of the Civic Council and passed the legislation necessary to put the changes into effect. These two reforms are important, because they represent the type of action that is politically dangerous for an elective body to tackle.

FORUM MEETINGS HELD

The educational value of the Civic Council cannot be overestimated. As Editor Marlatt says: "It has been particularly helpful in recent years by presenting 'town meetings' which have discussed many subjects of civic interest and have contributed much to informing the public of existing situations of many problems." At each of its monthly meetings a speaker is called in to discuss some phase of municipal affairs, to the end that the council and its member organizations may gain information from many sources, have an opportunity to discuss the information presented, and get ideas leading to beneficial action in Kenosha. Civic interest in public affairs is awakened in this way, serving a necessary but often lacking element in democratic government.

A partial list of subjects discussed would include civil service, trailer camps, museum centers, mental hygiene, school patrols, nursing, WPA, AAA, food adulteration, vocational schools, libraries, parks, coast guard, public welfare, housing, postal service, traffic safety, and others too numerous to mention. Few subjects of vital public interest fail to receive expert consideration at some time or other. The discussions are of value beyond the floor of Civic Council through reports of delegates to their respective organizations and through newspaper accounts of meetings.

Another important educational activity of the Civic Council is its support of several movements to educate new citizens, whether naturalized or young people reaching their majority, in their duty to vote intelligently. Moreover, the council has been effective, through member organizations and concentrated campaigns, in getting out larger percentages of voters to the polls, thus making democratic government more real in Kenosha. Special effort is made to get voters to the polls for referendum issues.

At other times, the Civic Council has been instrumental in securing direct action by the people on fundamental changes. An outstanding example is the revision of the Kenosha School Board which formerly consisted of eighteen members elected from wards. The board itself invited the Civic Council to make a study of the situation. The council, through its committees, comprehensively surveyed the organization of schools in other cities and came to the conclusion that the school system in Kenosha could be administered most efficiently by a board of seven members elected at large. It conducted a campaign of education and information through member organizations and the press. A referendum was initiated by petition, and the seven-member board was voted into operation by the electorate. It is interesting to note that, in this case, the request came from the School Board, a majority of whose members would lose their positions as a result of the change. Again, a body without the scope, organization, and support of the Civic Council could not have crystallized public opinion behind such a far-reaching reform.

Activities of the various member organizations were further coördinated in 1936 through coöperation with the Simmons Memorial Library. The library maintains a bulletin board for all information concerning the programs of the member organizations. In this way, the public is informed of meeting places, dates, and special programs of the organizations, and conflicts are avoided.

MOVEMENTS SUPPORTED

Although the Civic Council is cautious in endorsing any movement, it does throw its support behind movements that are deemed to be of real benefit to the community. Often support merely takes the form of a resolution favoring the program of some member organization. Sometimes the Civic Council takes over sponsorship of a movement proposed by one of the delegates. Sometimes a committee is appointed to coöperate with a member organization on some activity. In every case the Civic Council carefully considers the proposal before declaring its approval, and then gives the united support that accrues from its widespread membership. As a result, the number of good causes failing because of half-hearted support is relatively small.

Special interests have been advanced by the Civic Council whenever their requests are in keeping with the general welfare. Discriminatory freight rates on coal shipped to industries in Kenosha were removed. Citizens were protected from stray dogs. Numerous suggestions regularly are made to the Safety Council, and many are made the basis of action. The council sponsored a movement for establishment of a branch library, initiated a plan to plough vacant lots and plant gardens, investigated the method of establishing gas and electric rates, secured the support of the Park Department and Public Works Department in the employment, wherever possible, of men on relief on useful public works, recommended a street tree ordinance which was incorporated in the park code, reduced traffic hazards by securing better unloading conditions around chain stores. These are only a handful of the great number of improvements accomplished.

The Civic Council once conducted a regular series of classes on county government. Professor Ford MacGregor, of the University of Wisconsin, was brought in to discuss various phases of county government with special emphasis on the overlapping of governmental and taxing units. Although its resources are limited by the ten-dollar restriction on contributions and by the low dues of one dollar, the Civic Council was able to finance this series of lectures from the accumulated interest on the

$1,000 prize from the Better Cities contest. Incidentally, the income of the council averages about three dollars per organization per year, and the cash surplus on April 30, 1939, was $240.51. No support is solicited from the city government, except use of the City Council chamber and the ex-officio services of the city engineer, who has acted as secretary-treasurer ever since the founding of the Civic Council.

COUNTY MATTERS CONSIDERED

On several occasions the Civic Council activities have gone beyond the city limits of Kenosha. Besides the measures already mentioned in regard to rural-urban relations, the Civic Council appointed a committee to coöperate with the county board in the matter of county zoning. It endorsed the county board's action in consolidating standing committees.

In state affairs, too, as they pertain to municipalities, the Civic Council has a voice. It assisted passage by the state legislature of clarifying measures in regard to signatures on petitions for a referendum to change the form of municipal government. It requested the assembly to broaden the scope of county planning to permit close supervision of territory near the city but outside its jurisdiction. It actively promoted before the assembly the "Laughlin plan" of installment taxpaying. It advised local members of the legislature of its approval of a pending habitual criminals act. In 1936 a legislative committee was appointed to report to the Civic Council on legislation of interest to the community. Incidentally, a state legislator is a member of the Civic Council and takes an active part in its deliberations.

In this connection it is important to note that the Civic Council is completely nonpartisan. It refuses to admit to membership any organization political in nature. Its activities are carried on independently of any party connection. It does not express its favor or disfavor of candidates for the City Council. It has even gone so far as to vote against the holding of an essay contest on the subject, "Why City Manager Government Is Best," because it might be construed as partisan.

There is no hesitancy in proposing to the administrative departments that they remedy a matter which the council considers an undesirable condition. In fact, Robert M. Smith, as secretary of the Civic Council, sometimes has to record a complaint to the city engineer. As city engineer he adjusts the complaint and reports back to himself as secretary of the council. On the other hand, the council freely commends departments for meritorious service. Police, fire, health, recreation, and other departments have received special letters voicing the approval of the Civic Council for activities that they have furthered.

The Civic Council apparently sidesteps no issues, however controversial they may be. A careful reading of the minutes of both the council and its executive committee indicates that practically every type of question has been brought up, that all types of people have been affected by their decisions, and that all proposals have received consideration and only a few have been tabled or lost in executive committee. Those rare cases have been extremely deadly. The last one remembered by Secretary Smith was a motion that the council go on record as favoring one side in the Allen-A labor strike. The motion was ruled out of order.

Democratic principles underlie all procedure. Members are democratically appointed to the council. Any delegate can make a proposal on the floor, and discussion is not restricted. Organizations have equal voting strength, and the limitation on contributions makes the council obligated to no one. A printed copy of the minutes is mailed to each member. A majority of delegates constitutes a quorum, but proposed amendments to the constitution must be read at two successive meetings before a vote is taken, and reported in the minutes of the first meeting.

COMMITTEE SELECTION

Most important to the democratic functioning of the council is the method of selecting committees. When the council votes to create a committee the president appoints its members, and the list is recorded in the minutes sent to all members. In making appointments the president attempts to distribute them among the delegates of as many organizations as possible, and to provide the widest diversity of opinion and experience on each particular question. To illustrate, a Youth Committee of five was recently appointed to find from youth what it needs in the way of recreation at the high school and post high school ages. It was composed of a past president of the ministerial union, a vigorous organizer and speaker; a past executive of the Red Cross, mother, and housewife; a representative of the WCTU and other movements; a policewoman trained in social work, and secretary of the local coördinating council of professional social agencies; and a leading PTA executive, mother, and wife of a junior high school principal. Party affiliation is never a consideration. Although no explicit provision is made for minority reports from committees, opportunity always is given for disagreement on the floor of meetings and, if opinion is too closely divided to permit a definite majority opinion, the report is stated as an alternative.

Several factors in the city of Kenosha have contributed to the success of the Civic Council. As Whyte himself says: "Of course, the fact that Kenosha has a city manager form of government in my opinion makes it easier for the Civic Council to function inasmuch as there are no partisan politics whatsoever in the city government." Absence of partisanship in elections and in City Council proceedings certainly removes a possible obstacle to the effectiveness of a citizens' council with nonpartisan objectives.

The Better Cities contest showed Kenosha to be advanced beyond other cities in the development of municipal functions. Consequently, the Civic Council was not beset by many of the causes for agitation in other cities, as is indicated by the following quotations from the judges of the contest. Dr. W. S. Deffenbaugh, chief of the City School Division, United States Bureau of Education, wrote: "Educational work in Kenosha has many excellent and satisfactory phases." Joseph L. Wheeler, librarian, of Youngstown, Ohio, said: ". . . it [Kenosha] presents features which all library workers will study with enthusiasm." A group of ministers and professors stated that the report of religion itself is "a unique achievement and sets a new standard for religious survey work done by laymen." J. R. Batschelor, field director of the American Playground and Recreation Association, wrote: "Kenosha has a wonderful program of community recreation, in some respects probably unexcelled anywhere in America."

Professor Stewart Scrimshaw, Marquette University, said of industrial development: "There is little to be said except in praise . . ."; and speaking of recreational opportunities in relation to industry, he said: "One knowing the general conditions to be found throughout America is utterly amazed at their development in Kenosha." Myron Downs, chief planner of Toledo, Ohio, said that Kenosha was fortunate to have a city planner, enforcement of a planning ordinance, and men with sufficient interest in the fundamentals of community well-being to furnish leadership in all matters on this question.

Lastly Luther Gulick found that council-manager government in Kenosha had made great and lasting progress, with capable executives, adequate administrative procedures, extensive public services and improvements, with very few functions below standard. Thus, it is evident that the Civic Council had a good city to start with. The same type of organization might fail in a corrupt, poorly organized and administered city, where a crusading type of reform party must first clean house, as the charter party did for Cincinnati in the 1920's. The Kenosha type of council serves better gradually and continuously to study, educate, and advise.

LEADERS HAVE VISION

Finally, leadership is essential in a loose organization of this kind more than anywhere else, and Kenosha has been fortunate in having capable leadership. The several presidents of the Civic Council have brought seasoned judgment, diplomacy, and social vision to their task. The tireless energy of Secretary Smith, who has provided the driving force of the council since he took down the minutes of the first meeting in December 1923, cannot be overlooked or overestimated.

While these conditions have favored the progress of the Civic Council, real success has been due to its own pioneering initiative. After all, it had no precedent to follow, and other cities with equal facilities have no comparable organization. Despite some advantages, Kenosha is a typical American city, with typical problems. All religions are represented, as well as races. National groups include, English, German, Irish, Italian, Polish, Lithuanian, and Russian. A list of the names of Civic Council delegates, in fact, might bear similarity to the roster of the League of Nations. The depression hit Kenosha hard. Her percentage of unemployed was the largest in Wisconsin, relief loads have been terrific, and strikes plentiful. Economy moves found services curtailed. That the Civic Council could meet all of these fundamental problems of an industrial community is ample testimony of its permanent strength.

The purpose of the Civic Council, as stated in its constitution, is to ". . . coördinate civic effort, bring together information, digest proposals, and present programs to make more effective the coöperation of organizations engaged in civic development." Less than two years after its establishment, Luther Gulick said: "In Kenosha's Civic Council, the city has an authoritative medium through which the will of the citizens at large can be accurately reflected." In 1939, after sixteen years of operation and on the tenth anniversary of a world-wide economic depression, an appraisal of the Civic Council still is well represented by the opinion of the city manager that ". . . it has secured close harmony and unity among the various organizations of the city to the end that city-wide movements of sound civic nature have been drafted in an intelligent and systematic manner."

From its experience, Kenosha has set down the following principles that must be followed to make a civic council effective:

1. Include all groups genuinely interested in civic welfare;
2. Avoid partisan activities;
3. Coöperate with government, do not fight it;
4. Hold public meetings and determine policy democratically;
5. Provide written reports of all major activities, detailing both sides of a controversial issue;
6. Spread committee appointments;
7. Act as a fact-finding body, gathering a convincing array of facts;
8. Avoid small issues, saving energy for larger objectives;
9. Welcome proposals from delegates and public;
10. Announce definite programs with special features;
11. Have friendly press relations, and provide a prolific source of news;
12. Insure that the general community welfare shall govern all considerations;
13. Test proposals as to their probable long-time effect—five to ten years.

These principles have worked in Kenosha. At least one heterogeneous body of people has found a way to define that vague quantity, "the public mind," to the end that government has been made more responsive to the will of the public to whom it is legally responsible. Maybe this is an answer to the prosaic question, "How to make democracy work?"

Communities Settle Their Labor Problems

Toledo Industrial Peace Board pioneers in solution of industrial conflicts by the city hall; other cities follow Toledo's lead.

By **WILLIAM L. NUNN**
University of Newark

Editor's Note.—This is the first of two articles on municipal industrial peace boards. The second, on the Labor Relations Board of Newark, New Jersey, will appear in the April issue of the Review.

THE Toledo (Ohio) Industrial Peace Board had its genesis in the series of strikes prior to June 1935, when, according to Edward F. McGrady, who at that time was assistant secretary of the United States Department of Labor, ". . . pent-up emotions burst loose and disorder took place . . . which put Toledo on the front pages of the newspapers of the nation in a very adverse light."[1]

In the words of Carlton K. Matson, editor of the *Toledo News-Bee,* "Mr. McGrady was no doubt tired of being called from Washington to act as doctor to some aggravated industrial labor cases . . . [but he also] had gained a vision of some industrial relations pioneering which the Toledo community might undertake which would hold the possibility of converting the community's bad experience and reputation into an asset for itself, and possibly for the nation."[2]

In the latter part of June 1935, after the widely publicized power workers' strike had been settled, Mr. McGrady proposed to the editors of the three Toledo newspapers that the citizens create a local agency for maintaining industrial peace within the city. To Mr. McGrady the city needed "a composite forum representing the community to which either side can bring their grievances and which shall be of such repute and dignity that much trouble can be avoided at once and ready access given to the very heads of industries with branches in Toledo whenever the seriousness of the case suggests it."[3]

Accordingly, a group of citizens, including trade union officials, representatives of management, city officials, and newspaper editors, were brought into the formulative stage of the plan. Mr. McGrady assigned Ralph A. Lind, who at the time was in Cleveland as director of the Eighth District Labor Relations Board of the NRA, to Toledo as impartial chairman of the peace board which he was to round off and make into an effective organization.

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[1] Quoted from an inter-office memorandum of the United States Department of Labor. No date, but probably written by Mr. McGrady in the early spring of 1935, while the Toledo Plan was being formulated.

[2] "Toledo's Plan to End Strikes," by Carlton K. Matson, *The Nation's Business,* July 1936.

[3] Quoted from an inter-office memorandum of the United States Department of Labor.

By the time the board had been formed and its first meeting held in the first week of September, Mr. Lind had participated in the settlement of several minor labor difficulties and considerable confidence was publicly voiced in the success of the plan.

The board when finally formed was made up of eighteen citizens; five of these were nominated by the Central Labor Union (A. F. of L.) to represent labor, five were nominated by the Toledo Chamber of Commerce to represent management, and the remaining eight were selected by Mr. McGrady and Mr. Lind to represent the public. The public representatives included a priest, a rabbi, a merchant, two judges, the county relief administrator, and two lawyers. The first director of the Board was L. S. Harding, who was assigned by Mr. McGrady from the United States Department of Labor to this task.

Until March of 1936 the board continued to function without official recognition and support from the city. During this time its policies and procedures were slowly worked out largely on a trial and error basis. The board had no power, other than the power of group persuasion and the prestige and good will of its members. It afforded a round table where the problem at issue could be discussed by the participants in the controversy in a neutral setting with either the director of the board or a panel of board members present for the purpose of making helpful suggestions.

The board did not vote or otherwise determine the rightness or wrongness of either party in such a conflict, or indeed the rightness or wrongness of the principles of the open and closed shop, picketing, boycotting, etc. It is somewhat significant that the fear of gaining ill will caused the board and its members to refrain from acting as arbitrators in industrial conflicts and to merely assist when requested by both parties in setting up the necessary machinery of arbitration.

Although some criticism and more skepticism was directed at the board, the board was given credit for making ". . . industrial relations in Toledo . . . vastly better in 1936 than they were in 1935. . . ."[2]

BOARD BECOMES OFFICIAL

Support from labor groups, the Chamber of Commerce, and from the public caused the city of Toledo to take over officially the financial and administrative responsibility of the Toledo Industrial Peace Board in April 1936. The city ordinance, which was unanimously passed by the city council, called for the assumption as a municipal activity at public expense of the peace board as it was at the time. The ordinance authorized the employment of a full-time director and a full-time office secretary.[4] Mr. McGrady and Mr. Lind recommended to the members of the board the employment of Edwin Ruffin, a local newspaperman, as director of the board. The appointment was made.

Until this action by the city of Toledo, the board had been in a peculiar sense the creation of Mr. McGrady who believed that "most labor troubles start as community problems," and who saw in the Toledo board an opportunity to demonstrate that local industrial disputes could be settled in local communities satisfactorily by local persons.[5] Small wonder that General Hugh S. Johnson, while WPA administrator in New York City, stated that Mr. McGrady was proposing for the country what he (McGrady) "modestly calls the *Toledo* Plan."

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[4] Ordinance No. 76-36, passed March 30, 1936.

In the first year of its operation, from July 5, 1935, to July 4, 1936, the board participated in twenty-five industrial disputes, including eight which reached the strike stage and which included a total of more than 11,000 employees. In the second year, it took a hand in fifty-two disputes, which included eighteen strikes but which effected a total of only about 9,500 persons.[6] For the calendar year 1938 the board handled a total of seventy-four disputes involving more than 12,000 employees. These disputes represented pretty much of a cross section of Toledo's industry and ranged from key industrial concerns, one with 3,000 employees, down to the Jewish second-hand clothing merchant who employed no one but who, because of a mistake in the address given a picket line captain, had his place of business picketed for a few hours one day.

In the summer of 1937 a wide variety of business, professional, and labor leaders had much praise for the work of the board. Even those who at first seemed sharply critical were not in favor of abolishing it; they merely wanted it to use more or less power on behalf of either unions or employers depending on the prejudices of the critic. More than one statement ended with a belief that Toledo was enjoying the best relations between labor and capital in its history. The city manager, John N. Edy, who was not in Toledo until some months after the board was created but to whom the board at least nominally reports, states: "I preach it all the time. In the beginning we didn't know just what we wanted but we knew that we wanted something. We set up something that looked reasonable. It's working now."[7]

OTHER CITIES INTERESTED

Harassed mayors and municipal officials in an ever larger area, who were rapidly becoming amateur mediators of industrial disputes, began to write letters and to send personal observers to Toledo. Mr. McGrady was asked to speak to the United States Conference of Mayors on the work of the board. Soon other plans came into existence, ranging from the mere appointment of an additional secretary to the mayor, or the selection of public-minded citizens to serve on voluntary panels as mediators of labor disputes, to passage of formal ordinances creating municipal mediation machinery.

The increase in strike activity in all industrial centers since 1933 has followed, as might be expected, the upward swing of the price level, the rise in industrial output, the increase in employment, as well as the encouragement given labor organizations by a sympathetic government as indicated by the inclusion of section 7a in the National Industrial Recovery Act, the passage of the National Labor Relations Act, the public inquiry by the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee into the antilabor practices on the part of militant employers, and so on.

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[5] Interview with Max Stern, Scripps-Howard staff writer, *The Pittsburgh Press*, August 29, 1937.

[6] Letter to John N. Edy, city manager of Toledo, from Edmund Ruffin, director of the Toledo Industrial Peace Board, dated July 15, 1937.

[7] A series of personal interviews with various persons in Toledo, including Mr. Edy, by the author in the summer of 1937.

FEDERAL ACTIVITY

The newer policy on the part of the federal government was to fix minimum wages and maximum hours by statutory legislation and make the actual wage a result of the bargaining process between employers and employees. Obviously, bargaining is possible only between fairly equal contestants and hence the main tenets thus far of the newer legislation have centered around the guarantee to employees of the right to organize trade unions and select representatives for the purpose of bargaining with employers on the going wage and hour standards of particular plants and industries.

But only in the transportation industry does the National Mediation Board as a single agency possess the authority to handle a dispute from beginning to end. The National Labor Relations Board specifically is enjoined by the act from mediating labor disputes. Its powers are limited to enforcing the provisions of the act itself. Thus the stresses and strains of much of the labor unrest since 1933 fell on the shoulders of the Conciliation Service of the United States Department of Labor which was unprepared for the task. Limited personnel and limited budgets demanded that attention be given only to strikes of major proportions. The few effective state mediation services were likewise limited.

In addition the usual strike results in varied and contradictory demands being made on municipal authorities by the participants in industrial conflicts. The employer wants extra police protection; the union wants the right to picket and demands the assistance of the city in closing the gates to the factory. Merchants fret over loss of payrolls; departments of public welfare are placed between the cross fires of strikers who want relief and taxpayers who frown on relief for strikes; leaders in commerce and industry growl about the "reds" who helped elect the mayor and expect the obvious quid pro quo. In the nature of the case our city halls are involved —with or without the assistance of federal or state mediators. Toledo has found the answer in the Toledo Industrial Peace Board.

American Governors—1930 to 1940

Decade of the thirties finds state heads regaining their lost leadership with increased administrative power and enhanced political prestige.

By **JOHN A. PERKINS**
University of Michigan

IN 1933 it was contended that the states as vital units of government were finished, and "that only the federal government could solve our state and national needs." Therefore it was to be expected that the personalities playing major roles on the larger stage of national politics would have the floodlight of publicity cast upon them. The American governors as the outstanding personalities in the states, like the states themselves, seemed for a time of secondary importance.

Now the doctrine of "an indestructible union of indestructible states" has been reasserted and the states will probably continue to function very much as they have in the past. Consequently, interest in the outstanding political personalities in the states is not likely to abate.

Has the calibre of our governors declined while the states have been wandering in the wilderness? While eyes have been focused on the national government's attempts to reorganize, eleven states made reorganization an accomplished fact in the last ten years. This has continued the governors on their march "from figurehead to leader." Twenty-six states have now refashioned themselves in the modern mode. In most instances reorganization has enhanced the governor's political prestige and increased his executive and administrative power until the holders of such office become worthy of increased study.[1]

One hundred and seventy-eight persons have held the high office of governor in our forty-eight states in the last decade.[2] What has been the political affiliation of those who have been chosen to exercise executive and administrative power of this high order? Of those who have held office during this ten-year period, 107 (or 60 per cent) have been Democrats, sixty-seven Republicans, three Farm Laborites, two independents, and one Progressive. Two governors, William Langer and Philip La Follette, were each elected under two party labels. Of even greater interest than a comparison of the party totals for the decade, however, are the fluctuations between the parties in succeeding elections.

In 1930, of the thirty-four governors elected, twenty were Democrats, thirteen Republicans, and one Farm Laborite. In the year 1932, there were thirty-five governors elected; the Democrats increased their number to twenty-nine at the expense of the Republicans who won in but five states. The one Farm Laborite was reëlected. The next congressional year, 1934, saw the Democratic superiority decline to twenty-five; the Republicans elected seven, and the Farm Laborite was joined by a Progressive in a neighboring state. The second presidential year of this study, 1936, produced twenty-eight Democratic governors, four Republicans, and one each of Farm Laborite, Progressive, and independent labels. The year 1938 was marked by Republican ascendancy when for the first time in the decade they elected eighteen governors, two more than their Democratic adversaries. These figures include all states but Virginia and Mississippi which have elections in odd years and have remained Democratic throughout the decade, and New Jersey which has a three-year term. This last state had a Republican executive from 1928 to 1931, a Democrat from 1931 to 1934, a Republican for the next three years, and is finishing the decade with a Democrat.

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[1] Previous studies of the governors have been made in this REVIEW by A. F. Macdonald, "American Governors," vol. 16 (1927), pp. 715-719, and S. R. Solomon, "American Governors Since 1915," vol. 20 (1931), pp. 152-158.

[2] The information on which this study is based was secured from *Who's Who in America*, *Who's Who in Government*, the state manuals, and by personal correspondence. Some data has been obtained on every governor, but in a very few cases complete information was not available.

NATIONAL POLITICS VS. STATE ELECTIONS

The elections in this decade demonstrate that state and local officers are often chosen on national issues. In the presidential year of 1932 there were eleven changes of party from Republican to Democrat. The only exception to this nation-wide trend was Republican Alf Landon's defeat of Democrat Harry Woodring in Kansas. There were Democratic governors in more than three-fourths of the states in 1936. Therefore, it cannot be expected that in the second presidential election of the decade there would be as many shifts to their column. Even so, three states switched to Democratic governors.

The party out of power in Washington had its greatest successes in gubernatorial elections in congressional years. In 1930 the Republicans lost nine executive chairs to the Democrats. By 1934, when the Republicans were the party-out-of-power, they won three states from the Democrats. In 1938, the last congressional year of the decade, the political pendulum had swung far enough in its course to sweep out twelve Democratic incumbents in favor of Republican candidates.

In this decade the overwhelming influence of presidential choice upon state gubernatorial elections is best illustrated by Michigan. In 1932 the state voted Democratic; in 1934, Republican; in 1936, Democratic; and in 1938, Republican, thus alternating the two political parties every two years.

Only seventeen states remained constant to one party throughout the decade. Those faithful to Democrats were the "Solid South," Montana and Utah in the west, and the Empire State in the east.

Rock-ribbed Vermont and New Hampshire were the only states courted successfully by the Republican party throughout the ten years. California presents an anomaly for it had remained Republican in the years of Democratic triumph, but when the other states were returning to the G.O.P. ranks in 1938, the "golden state" elected a Democrat.

In spite of the fact that these were not years of political calm, forty men gained successive reëlection in their respective states; five secured reelection after one interim election. Three governors served three successive terms, while the honors for being successively elected four times go to Herbert H. Lehman of New York and Wilbur L. Cross of Connecticut. Of course, the record of A. C. Ritchie, Maryland's "permanent governor," is a part of this gubernatorial saga because four of his sixteen years as chief executive were in this decade. T. H. Moodie of North Dakota served the shortest period of any of the governors (twenty-six days). In 1934-35, North Dakota had the unique experience of having four different governors occupy the executive office in a little more than six months.[3]

It seems that the states prefer to have native sons in the executive mansions for 116 were born in the states they governed. Fifty-five executives became governors of the states to which they migrated. Inasmuch as 53 per cent of these adopted sons were governors of western states, one may conclude that Horace Greeley did not advise in vain. Seven governors were born outside the United States. Three were Canadians by birth, one English, one German, and two Scandinavians.

FROM LITTLE RED SCHOOL TO PH.D.'S

It is significant that 77 per cent of our state executives in these recent years either attended or graduated from colleges whereas in the lush years of the twenties only 64 per cent had been exposed to higher learning.[4] Degrees were received by our governors from almost every department in a university: 91 LL.B.'s, 35 A.B.'s, 3 B.C.E.'s, 2 M.D.'s, 2 Ph.D.'s. Governor Stark of Missouri graduated from the United States Naval Academy and Governor Martin of Oregon was a West Point graduate. That these men made the most of their educational opportunities is evidenced by the fact that eleven of them were elected to *Phi Beta Kappa*. High school marked the limit of formal education in twenty-seven instances. Ten governors-to-be took training in business institutes. Five had no formal training other than that given in the little red school house. No doubt, Arkansas' Governor Futrell's reply when asked the extent of his education aptly expresses the feeling of most governors: "I never did complete my education and never will."

Equipped as they were, the governors went out to take their places in the business and professional world. They did not bury their talents and it seems their talents were many. In fact, it is difficult to classify them as to occupations because, like Frank Merriam of California, they might be successively an educator, editor, banker, and realtor. Arranged in the following occupational groupings, the governors fall into these categories:

Vocations of State Governors

Lawyers	88	Editors	2
Merchants	15	Publishers	2
Farmers	12	Clerk	1
Financiers	8	Live Stock Auctioneer	1
Manufacturers	8	Army	1
Educators	6	Housewife	1
Ranchers	4	Mining	1
Oil Producers	4	Druggist	1
Career Politicians	3	Manager Farm Coöperative	1
Nurserymen	3	Laborer	1
Realtors	3		
Railroad Men	2		
Physicians	2		

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[3] R. L. Miller, "The Gubernatorial Controversy in North Dakota," *American Political Science Review,* June 1935, pp. 418-432.

[4] S. R. Solomon, *op. cit.,* p. 153.

The occupations which seem to lead to the governorship have not changed a great deal in the past thirty years, though lawyers are a little more predominant in this decade. The five occupational classes which produced the largest number of governors from 1900 to 1910 also produced the largest number today and in much the same proportions.[5] Making allowances for inevitable weaknesses inherent in classification it is evident that our governors are chosen from the able business and professional men of the states.

With a few exceptions, such as Frank Murphy, Henry Horner, and Theodore Green, the governors have been married. The average official family had two children, but in one there were eleven children. Some of the governors are ardent churchmen, and most of them have a church preference. Together they represent fifteen religious faiths.

For the most part it can be said that the governors are "joiners." Former Governor Green of Rhode Island is exemplary, being affiliated with thirty organizations. Starting early in life, seventy-six joined social fraternities at college. Today they hold memberships in recreational, professional, service, fraternal, and patriotic societies. The fraternal organizations attract them to the extent of 228 memberships. Of these affiliations, eighty-seven are held in the Masons, fifty-one in the Elks, and the rest are scattered in virtually all other fraternal orders. Their recreational activities have led governors to join everything from the Circus Saints and Sinners to the exclusive Racquet Club. In these many organizations the state executives assumed leadership; they have been National Commanders of the American Legion, Exalted Rulers of the Elks, Past Grand Commanders of the Masons, Grand Masters of the Odd Fellows—to mention a few of their honors.

The average age of the governors when they took office was fifty-three. The thirty-one-year-old neophyte, Governor Stassen of Minnesota, was forty-eight years younger than Michigan's octogenarian, Governor Dickinson. Except for C. Ben Ross of Idaho and a few others whose ages are not known, it can be ascertained that nineteen of the governors took office in their thirties, forty-nine in their forties, sixty-five in their fifties, thirty-six in their sixties, four in their seventies.

CAREER POLITICIANS

Although but three of the governors are self-confessed career politicians, only ten of them in the decade of the thirties assumed office without previous political experience. One of the most successful governors, judging by his four successive terms, is Wilbur L. Cross of Connecticut who had no previous political experience. On the other hand, Michigan's Frank D. Fitzgerald had spent more than twenty years in state service before assuming the governorship. He entered the capitol to become successively senate clerk, house proofreader, bill clerk, clerk to the secretary of state, deputy secretary of state, business manager of the highway department, and secretary of state for two terms. The extensive political experience of the governors can best be seen in the table on page 182 giving

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[5] A. F. Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 716.

Political Experience of Governors

National Government

Presidential Elector	8
Congress	7
District Attorney	4
Internal Revenue Bureau	3
Envoy Extraordinary	2
National Advisory Board of WPA	1
Division Chief of Income Tax	1
Assistant District Attorney	1
Governor General of Philippines	1
U. S. High Commissioner to Philippines	1
Senator	1
Assistant Secretary of Navy	1
Department of Justice	1
Supervisor of WPA	1
Collector of Customs	1
Department of Agriculture	1
Federal Trade Commission	1
State Director of FHA	1
Representative at International Conference	1

State Government

House of Representatives		55
Speaker	10	
Bill Clerk	1	
Proofreader	1	
Senate		51
Clerk	1	
Bill Clerk	1	
Page Boy	1	
Reporter	1	
Lieutenant-Governor		31
Attorney General		12
Public Utility Commissioner		8
Constitutional Convention		7
Secretary to the Governor		6
Board of Regents		6
Highway Department		5
Assistant Attorney General		4
Secretary of State		3
Clerk	1	
Deputy	1	
Justice of Supreme Court		3
Board of Education		3
Engineer		3
Farm Bureau		3
Commissioner of Agriculture		3
Governor's Council		2
Bank Commissioner		2
Court Commissioner		2
Chancellor		2
Tax Commission		2
Police Force		2
Railroad Commissioner		2
Recorder		1
Commissioner of Motor Vehicles		1
Commissioner on Securities		1
Judge of Appeal Tax Court		1
Auditor		1
Electoral Board		1
Judge of Court of Industrial Relations		1
Bridge Inspector		1
Board of Equalization		1
Board of Irrigation Commission		1
Assistant Superintendent of Public Instruction		1
Commissioner of Forestry		1
Board of Charities and Corrections		1
State Park Board		1
Treasurer		1
Corporations Commissioner		1
Clerk of State Land Office		1
State Institutions Commission for Public Welfare		1

Local Government

County

Attorney	25
Judge	13
Assistant Solicitor	2
Treasurer	2
Assessor	2
Probate Judge	2
Board of Education	2
Board of County Commissioners	2
Surveyor	1
Sheriff	1
Tax Collector	1
Engineer	1
Register of Probate	1
Court Commissioner	1
Agricultural Agent	1
Chancellor	1
Clerk	1
Magistrate	1

City

Mayor	24
Attorney	22
City Council	14
Assistant Attorney	6
Judge	5
Board of Education	6
Commissioners	4
Tax Collector	3
Treasurer	2
Board of Education Supervisors	2
Welfare Council	1
City Clerk	1
Engineer	1
Recorder	1
Deputy Clerk	1

the office and the number of governors who occupied it.

Whether or not this previous experience is an essential apprenticeship is a matter of individual opinion. Nevertheless, 95 per cent of the executives in this study have held between two and three public offices before becoming governors. There will be general agreement, however, that some types of public service would be of more direct benefit than others in preparing a man for the governorship. For example, those governors having been mayors, city commissioners, or heads of state departments should have profited mightily from their previous administrative experience.

Even more broadly prepared are those who have had the unusual experience of being Governor General of the Philippines or Assistant Secretary of the Navy. Likewise, 151 governors who have previously sat in the legislative chambers of the states should have an improved understanding of the legislative mind and thereby get fuller coöperation from the lawmakers. The office which most frequently proved to be the immediate stepping stone to the executive chair was the lieutenant-governorship; this was true in thirty-one cases.

NOT OVERPAID

What induced these 178 men to seek the highest office in the gift of the state is beyond the scope of this study, but the place is not, as James Bryce thought in his time, valued chiefly for its salary.[6] In South Dakota, for instance, only $3,000 is paid to the chief executive. The average salary throughout the United States, however, is $7,835. The south, the north central, and the pacific sections are typical of this average. The western states fall nearly $2,000 below this amount, while the states of the eastern seaboard exceed the national average paying $11,550. The exceptional salaries paid by New York ($25,000), New Jersey ($20,000), and Pennsylvania ($18,000) are largely responsible for the apparent generosity of the east.

One might expect that a meager salary would be compensated by a large state mansion, but there is little evidence of correlation. Fourteen states provide no official residence and five of these are in the low salaried section of the west. The mansions themselves varied in original cost from $5,000 in South Dakota to $231,000 in Maryland. Southern states, perhaps because of the demand for southern hospitality, have, on the whole, more elaborate and expensive official residences than the northern or western states. Mississippi, for example, has continued to improve the original dwelling until it is now valued at $250,000.

Investigation of the governors in times past has revealed that once a man held the governorship, except for a few unusual individuals, he had reached the epitome of his political career.[7] The governors of the decade under consideration here have not fallen into political oblivion but have been drafted into further governmental service. That the states *are* the proving ground for federal officials is revealed in the more than thirty instances in which ex-governors of the past ten years have entered every major branch of the federal government. Eight have become distinguished senators, several have entered the House, three have served in the Cabinet, one has served as High Commissioner of the Philippines, one was chairman of the Social Security Board, one has been recruited to the United States Supreme Court; and two opposed each other for the presidency. J. G. Winant of New Hampshire is now director of the International Labor Office in Geneva.

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[6] James Bryce, *American Commonwealth*, vol. I, p. 532.

[7] A. F. Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 718.

Of course, forty-eight of the men here considered are still active governors. It is too soon to predict the political future of the entire 178. A generation must pass before the record can be compiled for the younger men such as Harold Stassen, W. H. Vanderbilt, and A. B. (Happy) Chandler.

No one would today, like Mr. Jay in 1795, exchange the chief justiceship of the United States for the governorship of his state. Though Frank Murphy did quit his important federal post in the Philippines in order to seek the governorship of Michigan, the trend is plainly in the other direction. Nevertheless, as a consequence of reorganization in more than one-half of the states the office carries both dignity and power. "The governor's position today is a long cry from that of his forerunner who had just enough power to sign the receipt for his salary."[8]

Can one justify the increase in the governor's power in view of the personnel of the governors in the past ten years? Some executives following upon reorganization in such states as California and Illinois disprove that reorganization necessarily produces better governors. Notwithstanding this, the composite picture of the last 178 governors outlined above is a favorable one. They stand high in comparison with their predecessors. They outrank the average citizen in their states. Many of them have already gone on to further useful governmental service upon completion of their terms.

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[8] Leslie Lipson, *The American Governor—from Figurehead to Leader,* p. 239.

Choosing Election Officers

"The greatest single problem of election administration is that of securing honest and capable precinct officers, who are essential to a satisfactory election administration."

By **MURRAY H. SHUSTERMAN**
Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia

MANY students of judicial procedure have made the observation that, if the layman's respect for the courts and court procedure is to be maintained on a high level, the standards of the lower courts, those with which he most frequently comes in contact, must be raised. It is perhaps equally true that the voter would have a greater respect for the election procedure and a fuller appreciation of the privilege of voting if those who are in charge at the local voting precinct were of a higher calibre.

It is no exaggeration to say that the precinct election officers can well determine the character of an election. In New York the precinct election officers number over 15,000, exclusive of clerks, and in Chicago, excluding the clerks, there are about 11,000 election officers. The number of election officials in a city will, of course, vary with the number of election districts and other factors, but whatever the number certain principles still hold true. If these officials are incompetent, it is to be expected that the election will be conducted in a slipshod, careless manner, even though they are honest in intention. If they are dishonest and bent upon obtaining certain results, malpractices of one sort or another will prevail.

While the precinct election officer presents but one phase of the general election problem, it is far from being a minor one. Dr. Joseph P. Harris has said: "The greatest single problem of election administration is that of securing honest and capable precinct officers, who are essential to a satisfactory election administration. . . . It is hardly possible to emphasize too greatly the importance of securing satisfactory precinct officers."[1]

The purpose of this article is not to present solutions to the various administrative problems raised regarding precinct election officers, but rather to show how these problems are treated in the larger cities. It may perhaps be possible to learn by example—both what to do and what not to do. The facts presented in this study have been compiled from answers to a questionnaire sent to all cities having a population of over 300,000.[2] No questionnaire was sent to Washington, D. C., for obvious reasons. Replies were received from all but Jersey City, New Jersey.

There is no uniformity in the titles of election officials, and their titles are not always descriptive of the duties they are required to perform.[3] We shall refer to them as "election officers" and "election officials." In some cities the same persons who serve as election officers also perform registration duties, but we are to consider only their function of conducting the election on election day in the local election unit designated in the various cities as "precinct," "division," or "district."

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[1] *Election Administration in the United States*, Brookings Institution, 1934, p. 127.

[2] New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Los Angeles, Cleveland, St. Louis, Baltimore, Boston, Pittsburgh, San Francisco, Milwaukee, Buffalo, Minneapolis, New Orleans, Cincinnati, Newark, Kansas City (Mo.), Seattle, Indianapolis, Rochester, Jersey City, Louisville, Portland (Ore.).

Most cities have three or four election officers in charge of an election precinct, and usually they have one or more clerks to help them. In three cities, Detroit, San Francisco, and Portland, the number of election officers that serve will depend on the size of the precinct. Likewise the number may vary with the character of the election,[4] or depend on the number of voting machines used.[5]

DUTIES NOT DIFFICULT

Any one who has voted is familiar with at least some of the duties of the election officials. In general, they are charged with the arrangement of furniture and voting equipment within the polling place; opening of the polls, examination of voting machines and ballot boxes, opening of ballot packages, administering of oaths to inferior election aides; general supervision and conduct of the voting process, including distribution and receipt of ballots, keeping of voter's lists and district register, giving of instructions to electors, etc.; and finally tallying of votes and certification and delivery of returns to a central agency.

It will be worth while to note what the *legal* qualifications for election officers usually are. In addition to residence requirements and provisions for minority representation which are found in most of the state election codes, many states prescribe educational qualifications, though the degree of proficiency demanded varies. Most frequently the law demands that election officials be able to read and to write and sometimes the statutes go so far as to require these officials to be able to speak the English language. Iowa law provides that they shall be "well informed" as well as literate. Coming down to "fundamentals" the laws of Maryland and Missouri require their election officials to be "skilled in the four fundamental rules of arithmetic." It may be that the absence of this requirement in other states explains some of the peculiar additions, subtractions, multiplications, and divisions that have been used in arriving at the final count!

Many states have written pious wishes into the law regarding character specifications requiring the election officers to be of good moral character. Kentucky law says that to qualify as an election officer a person must be "sober, temperate, discreet, and of good demeanor."

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[3] Most frequently there are "judges of election" or "inspectors of election" or both. In Boston one of the election officials is called the "warden" and Indianapolis has an election official known as "sheriff."

[4] In Los Angeles four election officers are used at the city elections and six at the county and state elections. In Cincinnati and in Cleveland there are usually four judges and two clerks for each election; however, when special elections are held on questions only, there may be two judges and two clerks in attendance.

[5] This is true in New York, Buffalo, Rochester, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh.

Incidentally another provision in the same law makes one who has placed a wager on the election ineligible. Of rather wide acceptance in election laws is the principle of disqualifying public officials and employees, and those who are candidates for office, from serving as election officials.

HOW CHOSEN

In all of the cities surveyed, with the exceptions of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, election officers are appointed. In Philadelphia and in Pittsburgh they are elected by the people. The most frequent system followed is that of having the election commissioners or supervisors of election appoint the precinct election officials.[6] The appointees are usually those sponsored by the respective political party leaders.

Although not fundamentally different in result, the procedures used in selecting inspectors of election in Buffalo is quite different from that in other cities. Here the mayor is the appointing authority. The Board of Elections furnishes the mayor with an original and supplemental list of persons qualified by law to serve as inspectors of election, and from the original or supplemental list the mayor appoints. In practice, appointments are generally made at the instance of the district party committee and the mayor's part in the program is a matter of formality.[7] Some legal provisions exist for the preliminary examination of inspectors, but from the cases of incompetents that have been reported, the examinations are poor or are imperfectly applied.

Also off the beaten track is the practice in Minneapolis. There the law provides that the city aldermen in council session shall appoint election judges. In practice the aldermen in each ward select the election judges for their respective wards. In Los Angeles election officers are appointed by City Council for city elections and by the Board of Supervisors for state and county elections. The registrar of voters, who is a civil service employee, appoints the election officers in San Francisco. When the number of satisfactory persons registering with the registrar for appointment is insufficient, it is the registrar's practice to solicit applications from persons having standing on appropriate civil service eligible lists—such as general clerks, clerk-stenographers, and typists.

PHILADELPHIA AND PITTSBURGH

The system of choosing election officers in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh merits a few separate paragraphs of discussion—but not because it should be imitated. Written into the fundamental law of the state is the constitutional provision that the election officers shall be elected by the people.[8] And thus every two years the ballot, which is already too long, contains the names of candidates for these election posts. There is little reason to support this system of popular choosing of election officials. The practice is based on the popular notion that the best way to control public officials is to elect them.

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[6] New York, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, St. Louis, Baltimore, Boston, Milwaukee, New Orleans (for general elections only), Cincinnati, Newark, Kansas City, Seattle, Indianapolis, Rochester, Louisville, Portland.

[7] The County Board of Elections which is responsible to the state for the proper conduct of all elections in the county consists of one Republican and one Democrat appointed by the Board of Supervisors of the county, on nomination of the respective county chairmen of the two political parties.

[8] Constitution of Pennsylvania, article 8, section 14. Prior to 1909 election officers were elected annually. An amendment of November 2, 1909, (schedule) includes these

An examination of the facts will show that this principle has no sound basis so far as election officials are concerned. Names of candidates for these offices usually are placed in an obscure part of the ballot, where they do not attract much attention. The average voter hears little, and cares less, about the petty division contests, and it can hardly be said that he manifests any real interest in controlling these officials when he exercises his voting right. Moreover, one might well ask what sort of "control" would the voter seek to have over these election officers. They are not policy-determining officers, but rather, for the most part, perform duties outlined in detail by law.

It is interesting to note that many of these elected election officers, for one reason or another, do not serve. In 1938, with 1,300 divisions in the city, the Court of Quarter Sessions, which has power to fill vacancies occurring prior to election day, filled 367 vacancies in election judgeships and 629 in inspectorships. The report of the Reed Committee to the United States Senate in 1929 stated that in the election of November 2, 1926, only 25 per cent of the Philadelphia election officers who signed the returns were those who had been elected as election officers. If any good reasons exist for electing these officers, they disappear when the officers elected fail to serve.[9]

This elective system has been in force throughout the state since 1799 with the exception of the period from 1869 to 1873 in Philadelphia. A constitutional amendment which would have made it possible to substitute appointive for elective election officers was submitted to the electorate in 1909 but the proposal was voted down by a vote of 128,287 for the amendment to 194,810 against it.[10] The defeat of the amendment was attributed to the work of two groups—a reform group which maintained that the fundamental principles of democracy would be violated if the provision for an elected election board were abolished, and a faction of the dominant political party which maintained that much more satisfactory results could be obtained by election than by appointment.[11]

USE OF EXAMINATIONS

To perform the routine duties that are normally required of an election officer it is necessary to obtain a person of only average intelligence who is able to read and write and who knows what the duties of an election officer are. The best way to determine the presence of these qualifications is by examination. Examinations are given in some of the cities

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officers among others who are to be elected at the municipal elections which are held every odd year.

[9] *Citizens' Business*, September 12, 1939, Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research.

[10] Edward Bates Logan, *Supervision of the Conduct of Elections and Returns*, Lancaster Press., Inc., 1927, p. 18.

[11] Clinton Rogers Woodruff, "Election Reforms," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, October 1916, p. 615.

but, for the most part, they are slipshod and inadequate. The examination given by the Board of Elections in New York contains the answers to all the questions and a statement to that effect appears at the head of each page of the examination. It, therefore, is merely a test of the ability of the candidate to read English and to write fairly legibly, but it is not a test of the candidate's knowledge of his duties. That is the reason this examination is considered pretty much of a farce.[12] An attempt is now being made to remedy the present situation.[13]

One of the most efficient methods of choosing election officers is found in Milwaukee. In 1937 the Election Commission requested the Civil Service Commission to hold examinations to fill vacancies that had occurred in these positions. About 1,500 candidates took the examination. Eligible lists were set up to represent the three dominant political parties and appointments were made from these lists in conformity with legal requirements for party representation. It is interesting to note that in 1938, when the terms of those who had not taken the examination in 1937 had expired, some 30 per cent did not appear or failed to pass the test.

In several states there are movements for statutory provisions which would make it mandatory to test the competency of applicants for these jobs. At the last session of the Minnesota legislature a bill was passed providing for the selection of these officials on a merit basis to go into effect this year. The legislation was proposed to avoid the selection of incompetents whose appointments were made for political reasons.[14] A bill was also introduced in the 1937 general assembly of Ohio which would have reduced the number of election officers and would have placed them on a civil service basis. The bill received little attention.

A rather unusual provision regarding the selection of these officials is found in the election law governing Kansas City. The Board of Election Commissioners selects those who are to serve as the judges and clerks of election. Those chosen must appear for examination before the board as to their qualifications. If they are found to be eligible, they must accept the appointment and serve, unless they are excused by the board for a good reason. Those who have not been excused and who fail to serve are subject to mandatory prosecution by the board, and if convicted, may be fined from $100 to $300. It is reported that this legislation has enabled the Board of Election Commissioners to secure a higher type of precinct official.

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[12] Letter to the author from Walter M. Weis, chairman of the Committee on Election Law of the City Club of New York.

[13] A bill has been introduced in the New York State legislature (Senate Int. No. 385, Print No. 389) which provides, among other things, that "No person taking such examination shall be permitted to know the questions or answers in advance or be given access to the answers or an opportunity to consult with any person during the examination." The bill also requires finger-printing of all successful candidates.

[14] A provision in the law, however, enables the civil service requirement for the selection of election judges and clerks to be nullified by act of a city council. Taking advantage of this provision, the Minneapolis City Council adopted a resolution providing that the old system of aldermanic selection of judges and clerks is to be continued. Consequently, the law is nullified so far as Minneapolis is concerned. Numerous organizations in the city friendly to the civil service system, particularly the League of Women Voters, it is said, will endeavor to have the next legislature close this loophole in the law. Letter to author from Rudolph Lee, director of the Research Bureau of the Minneapolis Civic Council.

MINORITY REPRESENTATION

In all cities, except Los Angeles, San Francisco, New Orleans, and Rochester, the law requires that there be minority representation among those selected as election officials of the local precinct. The law governing New York includes a bipartisan provision that goes so far as to require equal representation of the two political parties which at the next preceding general election cast the highest and next highest number of votes. Substantially the same practice exists in Cleveland, St. Louis, Baltimore, Boston, Buffalo, Cincinnati, Newark, Kansas City, Indianapolis, and Louisville.[15] In Philadelphia and Pittsburgh where election officers, exclusive of clerks, are elected, a constitutional provision restricts a voter to voting for the judge and only one inspector. Although under this system of limited voting it would still be possible to elect three election officers of the same political party, in practice this does not usually happen. For Minneapolis, the law provides that no more than two judges or clerks of election may belong to the same political party; and in Chicago, at least one of the three judges of election and one of the two clerks are to be from the leading minority party. Substantially the same practice exists in Seattle. In Portland no specified division is made as to the number or kind of election official that is to represent a political party. The only restriction is that all of the election officials shall not be of the same political party.

Portraying the political party system of Wisconsin, the law governing the selection of these officials for Milwaukee provides that in each precinct not more than one inspector nor more than one ballot clerk shall be of the same political party and such inspectors shall be chosen from the *three* dominant political parties as shown by the returns of the next preceding general election in such precincts. Then, the two ballot clerks are chosen from the *two* dominant parties.

According to the best available information, the statutory authority governing elections in New Orleans cannot be cited with a high degree of certainty. The most recent law on the subject has been declared unconstitutional by the Louisiana State Supreme Court. It is interesting to note, however, the unique practice in selecting some of these local precinct officials. So far as we have been able to ascertain, the following system of choosing these officials for the primaries has not been changed for many years. Each candidate for the legislature has the power to nominate two commissioners for each precinct. The names of these proposed "election commissioners" are then placed in a wheel and five names are then drawn for each precinct. Our source of information tells us that these names have in recent years been drawn from the wheel by a blindfolded orphan boy in the office of the registrar. We assume that being an orphan (plus being blindfolded) adds to his potential honesty and nonpartisanship.

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[15] The law governing the appointment of precinct inspectors in Detroit provides that not more than 50 per cent, as near as may be, shall be of the same political party. Under a Supreme Court ruling, however, it has been held that this has no application to the so-called nonpartisan or independent voters. As a matter of practice, the city election commissioners appoint the election inspectors from among all the major groups.

RESIDENCE REQUIREMENT

Almost all of the cities surveyed are governed by provisions of law containing mandatory residence requirements for those who are to serve as precinct election officials. Fortunately for New York City, it is not subject to such a provision. If it were, it would be impossible to set up an entire election board in that election district in which only one voter is registered.

Most of the laws require actual residence in the precinct or division. In some cities, however, as in St. Louis, the rule is a little more flexible and allows the appointment of an election official if he resides, is employed, or has a place of business in the ward (not precinct) in which he is to serve. Substantially the same condition exists in Baltimore and in Kansas City.

There would appear to be no local residence requirements in Detroit, San Francisco, Buffalo, New Orleans, and Rochester. Nevertheless, in all of the cities an attempt is made to secure election officers who are residents of the precincts in which they are to serve.

TENURE

One does not find a high degree of uniformity in the length of term these election officials are to serve. Of the twenty-three cities surveyed, we find that in eight cities the election officers are chosen to serve one year;[16] in six they are appointed for each election,[17] and in five they are chosen to serve for a period of two years.[18] The longest term for which these officials are chosen is four years. This is true in St. Louis and Kansas City where the election officers are appointed at least sixty days prior to each presidential election. No term of office is fixed in Detroit. The city election commissioners appoint the election inspectors for indefinite terms. Although the law regarding elections in New Orleans is not certain, as has been pointed out before, it would appear that election officers are appointed for the two Democratic primaries, and prior to each general election.

COMPENSATION OF ELECTION OFFICERS

How much should these local election officers be paid for carrying out their duties on election day? It would perhaps be a difficult task to arrive at a conclusion if one were to be guided solely by the practice in large cities, for there is little uniformity. In Philadelphia and Pittsburgh the judge of election may be paid as much as $17.50 plus mileage expenses whereas in New Orleans, it would appear, they receive no compensation for service at the primary.

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[16] New York, Cleveland, Boston, Buffalo, Cincinnati, Newark, Rochester, and Louisville.

[17] Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Minneapolis, Seattle, and Indianapolis.

[18] Philadelphia, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Milwaukee, and Portland.

The compensation of these officials will often vary with the nature of the election. In Chicago they normally receive eight dollars a day. However, for presidential elections and for the primary preceding presidential elections, the judges and clerks are credited with two days' service in all precincts where 300 or more ballots are cast.[19]

In some cities, as in New York, a different rate of pay exists, depending upon whether voting machines or paper ballots are used. Furthermore, not all election officials serving in the same precinct are always paid the same amount.[20]

The election code of Pennsylvania of 1937 sets up a schedule of compensation for election officers for all of the municipalities of the state. For Philadelphia and Pittsburgh the judge of election receives fifteen dollars and each inspector ten dollars per election. An additional $2.50 is paid to the judge of election and the minority inspector for transmitting the returns and ballot boxes. The law also provides that the judge of election shall be allowed three cents per mile for mileage in making his returns.

Incidentally it is interesting to note that several other cities, among them Milwaukee, Minneapolis, and Cincinnati, provide for some small additional compensation to the election officer who calls for the ballots and makes the returns. An unusual provision governing the payment of election officers exists in Minneapolis. Whether designed to inspire these officials to induce as many as possible to come out to vote or to pay them according to their labors, the law provides that these officials shall be paid seven dollars a day *plus six cents for each 100 votes counted.* Seattle pays its election officers fifty cents per hour. Such a system is always open to the abuse of "stretching time." The only city of those surveyed that takes official cognizance that election officers must eat is the city of Portland, which allows the election officers two meals at fifty cents each in addition to the three dollars per day.

It is understandable that there should be some variations in the compensation from state to state because of economic and other factors involved. However, there is little reason for the range of compensation that exists today. It is probably true that some are paid too little and some too much for the work done.

FILLING VACANCIES

In most of the cities surveyed, vacancies occurring among the election officials are filled by the original appointing authority. However, some other procedure is frequently provided if the vacancy occurs on the morning of the election. Thus in New York, for instance, if a vacancy occurs on election day, the remaining inspector appoints a qualified voter of the district who is a member of the same party as the one whose office is vacant.[21]

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[19] For municipal, state, and federal elections, election officers in Milwaukee receive eleven dollars per day; in the smaller school and judicial elections only eight dollars a day is paid. And in Los Angeles election officials are paid eight dollars for serving at the regular elections and only five dollars for such special elections as may be held. In Detroit an election officer may receive eight, ten, twelve, or sixteen dollars, depending on the magnitude of the election.

[20] In Boston the "warden" and "clerk" each receive eleven dollars for the day and the "inspector" only nine dollars; and in Indianapolis, where the "inspector" is the more important official, he receives eight dollars for the day, each judge five dollars, and the "sheriff" three dollars.

Some cities are governed by a more complex procedure for filling vacancies. In Philadelphia and in Pittsburgh, if a vacancy occurs prior to election day, it is filled by the Court of Quarter Sessions. Such an appointee serves until his successor is elected at the next succeeding municipal election. If the vacancy occurs on election day, the following procedure must be followed: if the judge of elections does not appear at the polling place by 7:00 a. m., the majority inspector appoints a judge; or if the majority inspector does not appear at this hour, the judge of elections appoints a qualified person to act as a majority inspector. If the minority inspector does not appear at seven in the morning, the person who received the second highest vote for judge at the preceding municipal election is to serve as the minority inspector if he is available and qualified. If he is not, the electors of the district then present, under the supervision of the judge, elect one of their number who is qualified to fill the vacancy. This is known as a "curbstone election."

Boston has a somewhat similar provision for filling the vacancy of the office of inspector on election day. For Indianapolis the law provides that vacancies occurring on election day are to be filled by appointment by the other members on the election board of the same political faith. If none appears, the qualified electors present fill the vacancies by viva voce vote, as nearly as possible in conformity to legal provisions.

Vacancies occurring prior to election day are filled in Milwaukee by the Board of Election Commissioners from an eligible list made up of party representatives who have passed an examination given by the election commission. If a vacancy should occur on the morning of an election, it is filled by the first reliable person who is in the precinct at the time.[22]

IN CONCLUSION

As we pointed out at the beginning, this article was primarily concerned with a presentation of the current practices regarding the selection, tenure, compensation, and other matters affecting precinct election officers. No attempt has been made to suggest solutions to the problems discussed.

In conclusion, however, we should like to make one observation. Although some may differ as to the best method of obtaining a more competent personnel, it seems self-evident to those who have observed conditions in their respective cities that to allow party workers to constitute the

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[21] Substantially, the same procedure exists in quite a few other cities. In Los Angeles vacancies occurring prior to election day are filled by the city clerk. Those occurring on election day are filled by selection by the precinct officers present of any registered voter in the precinct.

[22] In Detroit applications for positions of precinct election inspectors are always on file with the city election commissioners. Usually about one hundred of the applicants are called as reserves for filling last-minute vacancies on election morning.

City Employees vs. Manager Plan Bane or Boon?

National Municipal League questionnaire to all manager cities shows few dismissals, higher salaries, other employee benefits resulting from manager form.

A DECISIVE reply to that moot question: "What happens to old regime city employees when the manager plan is instituted?" has just been made available as a result of a National Municipal League survey.[1] In January questionnaires were sent by the League to managers in every one of the 472 communities in the United States having the council-manager form of government. The questionnaire was filled out and returned by 215 managers, statistically a good showing.

A tabulation of the managers' replies shows that:

In the large majority of cities no city employees were dismissed during the first year of the manager plan.

Such dismissals as were made were almost invariably clear cases of inefficiency or infraction of civil service rules or superannuation.

In more than 25 per cent of manager cities the total number of city employees increased after the manager plan was instituted.

Teachers were almost never affected by the new form of government, because in almost all cities school administration is legally separate from municipal administration.

Dismissals of policemen and firemen were rare.

Employees' salaries are higher in at least 55 per cent of cities having the manager plan than they were before the plan was adopted.

The survey had an interesting by-product in the form of letters and notes of comment from some of the managers. One or two managers resented the questionnaire because they said it put the manager plan on the defensive, whereas in their opinion the other forms of government should be more logically called on to defend themselves. A common complaint was that officials under the previous form of government had either left no municipal records whatever, or else had given the manager plan a heritage of jumbled books and records, so that all attempts at quantitative comparisons were bootless.

In many cities, said the managers, the manager plan makes possible special benefits for city employees such as pension systems, sick leave, training opportunities, free medical care, which were not available under previous forms of government. They attributed these advantages to improved municipal finances resulting from increased efficiency of operation.

The sizes of cities replying to the League's questionnaire ranged from Cincinnati down to a municipality which admitted to one employee.

A summary of the results of the survey follows:

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[1] A leaflet has been issued embodying the results of the survey. See advertisement on back cover of this issue.

National Municipal League Inquiry

Into effect of the adoption of the Council-Manager form of government on public employees[1]

1. How many city employees were there (exclusive of school teachers) when the plan went into effect?

139 cities or 64.6% replied to this question. Answers show that the number of employees in the cities replying ranged from one to 3,591. This fact must be taken into account in interpreting the results given below.
76 “ “ 35.4% did not answer this question.[2]

2. How many were dismissed during the first year?

92 cities or 42.8%—no dismissals
14 “ “ 6.6%—1 dismissal
19 “ “ 9.1%—between 1 and 5 dismissals
14 “ “ 6.5%—from 5 to 10 dismissals
6 “ “ 2.8%—more than 10 dismissals[3]
5 “ “ 2.2%—“few” dismissals
65 “ “ 30.0%—did not answer this question.[2]

3. In general, what was the reason for these dismissals?

21 cities or 35.8%[4]—inefficiency or incompetence of employees
13 “ “ 21.5%[4]—overmanned departments
7 “ “ 12.5%[4]—infraction of rules or drinking
6 “ “ 10.5%[4]—consolidation of departments
2 “ “ 3.7%[4]—age or physical disability
3 “ “ 5.5%[4]—voluntary resignation
6 “ “ 10.5%[4]—other reasons.[5]

4. How many city employees (exclusive of teachers) were there at the end of the first year?

67 cities or 31.2%—no difference in the number employed
55 “ “ 25.7%—a greater number of employees under the manager plan.
20 “ “ 9.1%—fewer employees under the manager plan.
73 “ “ 34.0%—did not answer this question.[2]

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[1] Except for percentages given under question 3, all percentages are based on the total number of questionnaires returned—215.

[2] Many of those who replied were unable to answer all the questions, since the manager plan had been in effect in their cities for fifteen or twenty years and records of conditions at the time the plan was introduced were not available.

[3] Of the six cities reporting more than ten dismissals, two were cities employing more than 250, one employed more than 150, and one employed about fifty. Dallas, Texas, employing 2,639 when the plan was introduced, discharged 295 during the first year of the plan because of inefficiency and overmanned departments.

[4] These are percentages of the fifty-eight cities which reported dismissals.

[5] One city gave “political reasons” for dismissals.

5. What was the rate of turnover among public employees during the first year? The last year prior to the plan? The normal rate for a given period of years prior to the plan?

9 cities or 4.2%—increased turnover under the manager plan
29 “ “ 12.4%—decreased turnover under the manager plan
42 “ “ 18.4%—turnover about the same under the manager plan as under previous form of government.
135 “ “ 65.0%—did not answer this question.[6]

6. How many policemen were dismissed?

114 cities or 53.1%—none
12 “ “ 5.7%—1
11 “ “ 5.4%—2
4 “ “ 1.7%—from 4 to 8
1 city “ .4%—25[7]
73 cities or 33.7%—did not answer this question.

Firemen?

119 cities or 55.3%—none
9 “ “ 4.2%—1
4 “ “ 1.9%—from 2 to 4
2 “ “ .9%—10[7]
1 city “ .5%—15[7]
80 cities or 37.2%—did not answer this question.[2]

Teachers?

48 cities or 22.3%—none
96 “ “ 44.6%—did not know; teachers under a school board or county government.
71 “ “ 33.1%—did not answer this question.[2]

7. Has the city administration any actual authority over the appointment and dismissal of teachers?

191 cities or 89.1%—dismissal and appointment of teachers not under jurisdiction of city manager.
2 “ “ .9%—dismissal and appointment of teachers under jurisdiction of city manager.
22 “ “ 10.0%—did not answer this question.

The school budget?

162 cities or 75.5%—school budget not under city control.
22 “ “ 10.0%—school budget is under city control.[8]

(Continued on page 197)

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[6] Some of these made general statements indicating that the turnover of city employees under the manager plan was probably no greater and no less than might be expected under other forms of government. Since these replies were indefinite they have been classed with those who did not answer this question.

[7] Both managers reporting dismissal of ten firemen explained serious need of reorganization in the department. Dallas, Texas, (2,639 employees) was the city reporting discharge of fifteen firemen and twenty-five policemen.

[8] Most cities reporting any control over the school budget by the city manager stated that this control was limited to approval of the total appropriation and did not extend to control over the separate items within the school budget.

Contributors in Review

AS A member of the Newark Labor Relations Board, and as its first chairman, **William L. Nunn** (*Communities Settle Their Labor Problems*) comes realistically by his knowledge of municipal industrial peace boards. For academic background he has his professorship of economics at the University of Newark.

TO BECOME secretary to a man now prominently mentioned for the presidency of the United States, **John A. Perkins** (*American Governors—1930 to 1940*) interrupted his senior year at the University of Michigan in 1936. After his experience with Senator Vandenberg, Mr. Perkins returned to the university to complete work for the A.B. and M.A., and finally to join the staff of the Political Science Department. He has contributed articles to the *American Political Science Review* and *Social Education*.

AS RESEARCH editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW and publications editor of the National Municipal League, **Miriam Roher** (*Editor Puts Civics on Page One*) has contributed frequently to this magazine.

RIGHT out of Temple University Law School, and a few days after taking the State Bar examinations (1936) **Murray H. Shusterman** (*Choosing Election Officers*) became a member of the staff of the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research. Except for being loaned to the Philadelphia Charter Commission from August 1937 until April 1939, to help in drafting a new charter for Philadelphia, Mr. Shusterman has been with the bureau ever since.

WITH Northwestern University as a base, **William C. Wichman** (*Kenosha Citizens in Action*) has fared into nearby Winnetka, Kenosha, and Evanston to gather material on purchasing, civic organization, and personnel administration, respectively. At the same time he was receiving degrees in political science at Northwestern University and becoming a member of the department—the latter since June 1939. The work on the Kenosha Civic Council was done in connection with a seminar on local government and politics conducted by Professor A. R. Hatton, and involved research done personally in Kenosha.

CITY EMPLOYEES VS. MANAGER PLAN

(Continued from page 196)

31 “ “ 14.5%—did not answer this question.

Teachers' salaries?

179 cities or 83.3%—teachers' salaries not under city control.
2 “ “ .9%—teachers' salaries are under city control.
34 “ “ 15.8%—did not answer this question.

8. How do average salaries compare with the average under the previous form of government?

115 cities or 54.6%—average salaries higher under manager plan.[9]
9 “ “ 4.2%—average salaries lower under manager plan.
54 “ “ 23.9%—did not answer this question.[2]

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[9] A number of the replies pointed out that nation-wide economic conditions and cost of living were an important factor in apparent changes in city salary levels.

Campaigning for Council in Cincinnati

How Charles H. Tobias Did It

RATHER than discuss politics, I want to tell you a story. I am a broker. That is not an advertisement. That is a statement of background. One day not so long ago a gentleman came to me and said, "Charlie, I represent a group of men who are interested in a business—a rather large business. They would like to have you go on its board of directors."

"Why me," I asked.

"Well," he said, with a sort of "come on" smile, "you have been in business for thirty years, you should know something about finance and management. My men think you would be qualified to act as a director. It will take some of your time from your regular business, but you ought to do it."

LET ME KNOW

"What is the business? What's its name?" I asked. He wrote the name down on a slip of paper, handed it to me, and said, "Here, Charlie, don't answer now—take a few days' time. Investigate this business and see if, as a broker, you would recommend its stock for investment. Then let me know what your answer will be."

Well, I investigated and right off the figures staggered me by their size. Here was a business that had a plant, property, and equipment worth about $300,000,000. They were doing a volume of over $16,000,000. They have a yearly payroll of over $7,000,000, and employ steadily 5,200 people, with many more on the temporary payrolls from time to time.

"How long has this been going on?" said I to myself. Then I looked back over the history of the business. I found that formerly it was poorly run in the hands of men with selfish interests. The directors were accustomed to employ an uncle at $500 per month rather than an expert at $200. The plant was run down. The customers and stockholders were disgruntled. Cobwebs festooned the machinery. Buildings were in bad repair. The plant was obsolete. That was only thirteen years ago. In that year, 1925, the business had lost about $800,000 in operations.

A REVOLUTION

Something had to be done—and quickly. So a group of stockholders got together and practically staged a revolution. They drew up papers for a protective committee. They drew up a bill of lefts and rights to the jaw which staggered the old guard. They got proxies from the balance of the stockholders who up to then hadn't known what to do about it—and in one clean sweep kicked the defunct management out the door and set up a new order of things

They hung up a sing—"No Cousins Allowed." They secured an expert manager at a salary that fitted the responsibility of the job. They made it a rule that only the smartest and the most skillful employees should be hired.

They installed, by vote of the stockholders, a board of directors chosen from keen men who knew their jobs. And they established a system of voting whereby the minority interests were always represented on the board.

A THRIVING BUSINESS

In the last thirteen years the business has thrived. In 1926 it owed $70,000,000. In 1938 the debt was cut to $53,000,000—down about 22 per cent. During this period, competitive businesses had increased their debts from 100 per cent to 200 per cent. The business established such a wonderful reputation for soundness and credit that in June, 1939, they were able to borrow money at the rate of 1.69 per cent interest, while other similar plants were paying 2.60 per cent for their money.

In 1926 the business paid over $4,000,000 in interest for the money it owed at the rate of 4.29 per cent. In 1939 it will pay only $2,800,000—at the rate of 3.56 per cent.

And all the while it was operating at a profit under the new management and cutting down its debt; it was adding to the plant and equipment (last year it added about $4,000,000); and increasing its services to its customers out of income.

Its volume of business grew from about $8,000,000 in 1925 to $16,000,000 in 1938. The stock of this company advanced in value about 35 per cent in the last twelve years, while the stocks of competing companies rose much less rapidly.

CONTENTED CUSTOMERS

Today the customers are content with the product. The workers are happy. And the stockholders are getting their same steady dividends.

After this study of the business I was impressed and enthused with the idea of serving on its board of directors.

I do not have to tell you that the name of the business written on the slip was the city of Cincinnati—and that the new management was made up of the councilmen supported by the City Charter Committee.

I will be glad to serve on the board of directors, or council, as it is sometimes called—provided the stockholders will have me.

CHOOSING ELECTION OFFICERS

(Continued from page 193)

election administrative force is not to invite honesty, efficiency, or economy in the conduct of elections. These officers should be chosen on the basis of merit. Moreover, responsible persons should be urged and, perhaps, if need be, compelled to serve, as in Kansas City, Missouri.

In some cities attempts have been made to get business firms to suggest names of employees who can serve on election day. Since banks and some other business houses are usually closed on election day, it might be desirable to get many of their employees to act as election officers. If the personnel is maintained on a high level, it is not improbable that many of these clerks would be glad to earn extra money on election day.

Any such steps taken to improve the personnel will doubtless meet with the opposition of the party organizations who use the precinct position as petty patronage to reward the less important but faithful party workers. However, the fight will be worthwhile, for in achieving a better administrative personnel we will have taken a major step toward raising the citizens' regard for and appreciation of the democratic process of election.

The Researcher's Digest: March

Indianapolis bureau uncovers relief scandal; Detroit finds federal relief subsidies to localities began in 1825; Baltimore bureau places blame for debt; police in Boston; government internes in Los Angeles.

RELIEF has been administered for the vendors of supplies rather than for the families that must depend upon relief grants for their subsistence. . . .”

Rumors that persons were receiving relief who were not in need of it prompted the **Bureau of Governmental Research of the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce** to embark, in the summer of 1939, on an investigation of local welfare administrative procedures. A January 1940 report summarizes the bureau's findings, which constitute a thorough-going denunciation of the relief system caricatured in Indianapolis newspapers as “horse-and-buggy.”

That favored merchants are the present beneficiaries of relief is only one of the bureau's conclusions. It found that a decentralized administration was carrying on its rolls persons who were dead, had moved away, had jobs, were “on vacation,” were “unknown” at their listed addresses, or were listed as living in non-existent dwellings. Relief investigators were too few and incompetent. The system as a whole was geared to benefit relatives and friends of the trustee who was in charge of the relief office.

The research bureau's recommendations call for the establishment of a central investigating agency with trained social workers for all forms of welfare, the adoption of improved business methods which would give clients a free choice of vendors and permit all vendors to serve relief clients, the adoption of a pay-as-you-go budget, institution of work relief, and the elimination of political influence from the administration of relief.

A grand jury investigation of relief, the establishment of pay-as-you-go budgeting, and considerable publicity in Indianapolis newspapers have been some of the results of the bureau's study.

Madison Started It

In 1825—over a century ago—the federal government first gave relief to dependents in Detroit, reports the **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research** in *Just a Second* for January 15. Reversing the precedents making relief a local responsibility, President Madison allocated $1,500 from the federal treasury to help the 8 per cent of Detroit families which were distressed.

Contrasting this early example of federal “intervention” with the situation today, the bureau relates that “administrative costs” in 1825 “were nil. Social work did not exist. The authorities purchased sacks of flour which were distributed to the Catholic families by the parish priests and to the Protestant families by the justices of the peace. The total number of families given aid in that year was 604.” A tabulation of 1940's administrative agencies, types of grants, amounts of grants, and numbers of families aided, plus some suggestion of today's administrative methods, is appended to the report.

Only Ourselves to Blame

Shall we blame past generations for the heavy municipal debt burdens that taxpayers in today's cities are bearing? The **Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy** analyzed the Baltimore debt to find out. The commission reports in *Your Tax Dollar* for December 9 that the “municipal debt burden is largely of our own making and not inherited from past generations.”

Of the total $12,500,000 of debt service charges that must be paid by Baltimore taxpayers in 1940, 44 per cent is due to debt created during the present mayor's twelve and one-half years in office, equivalent to forty-eight cents on the tax rate. Due to debt created during the former mayor's eight years in office is thirty-nine cents on the tax rate, or 35 per cent of the debt charges for 1940. The rest—21 per cent or twenty-three cents on the tax rate—is due to debt created prior to May 1919.

How 32 Cops Caused a Survey

Thirty-two new patrolmen were recently appointed to the police department of Boston. Was the appointment justified?

By way of reply, the **Boston Municipal Research Bureau** made a survey of the police department. The city's financial situation is such, says the bureau, that it "should not incur any new expense without the most careful study."

The bureau set out to answer three questions: How well is Boston providing for police protection? How do police expenditures and personnel in Boston compare with those in other populous cities? What are the results of police work in Boston?

This research involved a study of Police Department expenditures from 1930 to 1939, legal responsibilities and controls within the department, size of the force from 1929 to 1939; distribution of personnel and location of station houses, comparison of these factors with other cities, comparison of crime rates with other cities, local trends in crime.

The findings, embodied in an eight-page report in the bureau's January 26 bulletin, do not support the appointment of the thirty-two patrolmen.

Learning by Doing

Within the past few years a variety of schemes has been put into operation in the governmental units of Los Angeles County for giving training to apprentices in the science of government. "Interneship Training for the Public Service in Los Angeles County," No. 2 of the Studies in Local Government of the **Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of California at Los Angeles** (December 1939) is a concise, comprehensive study of all the new arrangements, with recommendations for their improvement.

George W. Bemis, author of the study, cautions that no general conclusions or recommendations may be made which apply to all the various interneship training plans in the area: research internes in the Los Angeles County government, civil service internes in the Los Angeles county government, the working fellow plan in the Los Angeles city school districts, the personnel assistant plan of the city of Glendale, and the personnel aids in the Civil Service Commission of the city of Los Angeles. He has, however, several specific suggestions to make on the subject of each which will probably be a guide in judging interneship programs elsewhere.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Assessment

Tax Assessing. Dayton Research Association, *Facts,* February 5, 1940. 3 pp. mimeo.

City Automobiles

City Automobiles. Kansas City Civic Research Institute, *Kansas City Public Affairs,* January 25, 1940. 2 pp.

City Charter

About Charter Changes—I. The Form of Government. Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, *Just A Second,* January 30, 1940. 2 pp. mimeo.

Debt

Municipal Debt Burden Largely of our Own Making. Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency & Economy, Inc., *Your Tax Dollar,* December 9, 1939. 3 pp. mimeo.

Finance

Provincial and Municipal Taxation During the War. Citizens' Research Institute of Canada, *Canadian Taxation,* January 31, 1940. 4 pp.

Twelve Years of Income for Montgomery County Government. Dayton Research Association, *Facts,* November 1939. 44 pp. mimeo.

Fire

Comparative Data on Fire Departments. Atlantic City Survey Commission, Inc., January 29, 1940. 3 pp. mimeo.

Police

Sick Leave—An Unsolved Problem. Atlantic City Survey Commission, Inc. January 18, 1940. 3 pp. mimeo.

Police Appointments—A Test Case for Economy. Boston Municipal Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* January 26, 1940. 8 pp.

Prisoners

The Length of Sentences Imposed Upon Prisoners Committed to the Oregon State Penitentiary 1921-1936. Bureau of Municipal Research and Service, University of Oregon, December 1939. 26 pp. mimeo.

Public Welfare

"Relief" Story No. 3. Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research, *White Paper* No. 247, January 24, 1940. 3 pp.

About Public Relief in 1825 and 1940. Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, *Just a Second,* January 15, 1940. 2 pp. mimeo.

How to Reduce Our Relief Load in 1940. Des Moines Bureau of Municipal Research, *Subscribers' Bulletin* No. 84. January 12, 1940. 1 p. mimeo.

Self-Help Projects Cut Relief Costs. Des Moines Bureau of Municipal Research, *Subscribers' Bulletin* No. 85, February 1, 1940. 1 p. mimeo.

A Review of Poor Relief Administrative Procedures in Center Township, and Suggested Changes for Improvement. Bureau of Governmental Research, Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce, January 1940. 15 pp. mimeo.

Refuse Collection

Limiting Refuse Collections. Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* January 30, 1940. 3 pp.

Schools

Twelve Years of Income for the Dayton Public Schools. Dayton Research Association, *Facts,* August 1939. 35 pp. mimeo.

Facts About Rural School Districts in Missouri. Governmental Research Institute, *Dollars and Sense in Government,* January 17, 1940. 2 pp.

Training for the Public Service

Interneship Training for the Public Service in Los Angeles County. By George W. Bemis. Bureau of Governmental Research, University of California, December 1939. 46 pp. mimeo.

Voting

How Rochester and Monroe County Vote. Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc., *Municipal Research,* January 1940. 1 p.

News in Review

City, County, State Progress in Brief

Governor's Advisory Council Revived in Maryland

Idaho Tries the Merit System; New York Constitutional Initiative Sought; Kansas City Cuts Terms

Edited by
H. M. OLMSTED

On January 29, about one year after his inauguration, Governor Herbert R. O'Conor of Maryland announced his plan to revive the Governor's Advisory Council which had been virtually inactive for eighteen years. This council was created by law in 1922 at the request of Governor Albert C. Ritchie "for the purpose of promoting coordination and effective supervision over the conduct of the state government" and "for the consideration of general state policies, finances, departmental and intitutional work and conditions."

The law provided that the council should consist of the following executive officials: controller, treasurer, and attorney general of the state; the president of the state university and the Board of Agriculture (both positions are held by the same individual); the chairmen of the Board of Correction, Conservation Commission, Employment Commission, Welfare Board, and the Board of Education; the directors of health and public works; the commissioner of motor vehicles; and the police commissioner of Baltimore City.

Governor Ritchie saw fit to summon the council only twice during his thirteen years in office. Governor Harry Nice, who served from 1935-1939, met with it on only one occasion.

Governor O'Conor called the council together for its first meeting on February 6 at Annapolis. After having decided at once to hold frequent meetings thereafter, the council proceeded to the consideration of a proposal for an eventual annual saving of $300,000 in the state's salary payroll through the standardization of wages. The director of state employment, Harry C. Jones, disclosed that the surveys of the Salaries Standard Board revealed that a number of state employees are paid higher salaries than is called for under their merit system classification, but are protected by law from having their salaries reduced during their tenure. Consequently the reduction can be effected only whenever a replacement in position takes place.

In closing the first meeting Governor O'Conor indicated that he wished to have the council launch studies aimed at tax reduction and the elimination of administrative "red tape," overlapping, and duplication.

The revival and reorganization of this Advisory Council is highly interesting, if not significant, for many reasons.

Last March, after vigorous support by the Governor, the state legislature created a legislative council of fourteen members, seven from each house.[1] This council has met quite frequently since its inception and has considered a wide number of problems, the majority of which might be termed "innocuous." Although the act creating the legislative council did not give the Governor any position on the council the two have coöperated in the discussion of several problems.

There is speculation as to whether or not this move was prompted by the Governor's dissatisfaction with the work of the legislative council, and his belief that certain deficiencies might be remedied by reviving the executive group. Another view is that the legislative council will restrict itself to strictly "legislative," policy-determining matters while the Governor's agency will concern itself only with administrative matters such as the merit system, departmental finance, and the ever present problem of executive reorganization. At the outset at least the latter interpretation seems to be more correct. When summoning the members of the council the Governor stressed that its purpose would be to exchange ideas on how to effect economies in the handling of their department budgets, especially in purchasing, and to assist him in the preparation of the 1941 budget.

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[1] See "A Legislative Council For Maryland," by author, National Municipal Review, June 1939.

Regardless of the motives involved in this step, students of government will watch this development in order to see whether there is room and need for two bodies of this character in a state that has a population of less than two millions. Will it be demonstrated that there is a boundary line between the functions to be performed by an executive council and a legislative council working independently of each other? Will the two councils work together harmoniously and constructively to evolve a common recommendation on such a problem as executive reorganization? The Governor expressed this hope to his Advisory Council. Will this lead to closer coöperation between the executive and legislative branches of the government and to a greater degree of responsible leadership in solving the state's problems? These are but a few of the questions which the Maryland experiment may be able to answer.

Hugh A. Bone
University of Maryland

Merit System Makes Its Debut in Idaho

The year 1939 was an important one for the advancement of the merit system in Idaho. Although Idaho was one of the pioneer states in adopting administrative consolidation in 1919, the merit system for selecting personnel has only very recently received serious consideration. The year 1939 has been marked by a suddenly kindled public interest in personnel, and the accomplishments achieved, although piece-meal and poorly coördinated, are very encouraging.

The first step toward civil service was made in November 1938, when the voters approved an initiative measure establishing an independent Fish and Game Commission, and providing that all employees be selected on the basis of merit.

The next forward step came when Governor Bottolfsen, in his inaugural address in January 1939, endorsed the merit idea, recommending its adoption for certain departments. Legislation was enacted establishing merit systems in the Department of Public Welfare, the state comptroller's office, and the state police. Each was set up as a separate unit, no provision being made for a central agency or a coördinating link of any kind.

Progress after a year of experience is very uneven. Both the Fish and Game Commission and the Department of Public Welfare have established rather comprehensive sets of rules and regulations. In the case of the Fish and Game Commission one examination has been held and some appointments have been made from the register resulting. Public sentiment is somewhat divided; some charges have been made that the examination served only as a smoke screen for appointments made for other reasons. To date no examinations have been held by the Public Welfare Department, although all employees hired after September 15, 1939, are on a probationary basis subject to competitive examination to be held later.

The other two departments have not yet taken steps to install a formal merit system but some attempt is being made to base appointments upon special fitness. Failure to carry out the mandate of the law in these departments can be attributed not so much to spoils politics as to the failure of the legislature to provide the necessary funds for installing the new system.

In summary, Idaho, at the close of its first year's experience with the merit system, may look back upon an encouraging if not a spectacular degree of progress. It is to be hoped that these notable gains may be consolidated and insured for further growth by the correlation of all personnel activities through some type of central agency.

L. H. Chamberlain
University of Idaho

Constitutional Initiative Urged for New York

A proposal introduced in the New York legislature by Senator Pliny Williamson of Scarsdale, to provide a method of amending the state constitution by popular initiative, is being advocated by the Citizens Union of the City of New York. At the present time a constitutional amendment must be passed by two sessions of the legislature with an election of assemblymen intervening before it can be presented to the people, except that a means of bypassing the legislature is provided once in twenty years through the opportunity to elect a constitutional convention. Since there are certain fields in which legislators may find action embarrassing even though changes in them are urgently needed, Senator Williamson proposes a difficult but still possible method of getting amendments before the people, after ample time for thorough consideration, without legislative approval.

The Citizens Union points out that there are eleven states, including Michigan, Ohio, and Missouri, in which it has long been possible to put constitutional amendments on the ballot directly by a large petition, and to do so much more easily than under Senator Williamson's bill. The experience of these states the union regards as reassuring.

Senator Williamson's proposal contains special safeguards which are not thought necessary in the eleven states referred to. It provides that every initiated proposal shall be presented first to the Attorney General for advice as to drafting and later to the legislature for its consideration, and requires a second large petition for submission to the people if the legislature does not adopt the proposal as its own or meet the demand in some other way. This variation of the usual plan, which gives the legislature a chance to correct oversights, is copied in part from the present New York procedure for the amendment of city charters. The bill also provides that when an amendment is put on the ballot by petition, it must receive separate majority approvals in New York City and in the rest of the state. The minimum time required between the filing of the first petition and the popular vote following the filing of the second petition would be approximately three years, so that there would be no danger of hasty or ill-considered action. The bill even contains further safeguards to limit the use of the new method to matters of statewide concern.

One example of the sort of problem which might be solved by this device, in the opinion of the Citizens Union, is the problem of legislative reapportionment.

Idaho Administrative Consolidation Receives Judicial Setback

On February 3, 1940, Idaho's twenty-year-old system of cabinet government received a shock of as yet undetermined severity at the hands of the state's highest court in a unanimous decision holding the comptroller's act unconstitutional. Although the specific point at issue involved a law passed during the 1939 session, the opinion contained language broad enough to wipe out much of the original administrative consolidation act of 1919 as well as considerable supplementary legislation that has been enacted subsequently.

The decision in question terminated a

year-long attempt to determine the validity of the newly created state comptroller. This office, created by the legislature at the recommendation of the governor, was an innovation in Idaho governmental institutions. The new comptroller, by the terms of the statute, was to exercise powers of a very broad nature. Part of these were created *de novo* but most of them were simply transferred from other agencies. The new office included manifold functions some of which were widely divergent in character. For example, the following functions represent but part of the duties with which the comptroller was charged: investigation of all claims, financial consultant to the legislature, prescribing all financial forms, director of the budget, examination of all accounts, certification of accounts to the legislature, reports to the legislature of any illegal expenditure or contract.

Ranking in first place among those who lost important powers to the new comptroller was the state auditor, a constitutionally elective officer. He immediately brought suit challenging the validity of a statutory office which usurped the powers of an office established by the constitution. This transfer of powers from a constitutional office to a statutory one was declared to be beyond the power of the legislature by the district court and upon appeal the Supreme Court sustained the decision.

There is much difference of opinion as to the future effect of this decision upon the state's administrative structure. The decision itself is limited to this single statute but the court indulged in extended dicta on the general subject of legislative authority to interfere with the functions of constitutional officials, the implications of which are at present being widely debated. Generous portions of previous statutes modifying administrative institutions have cut into the powers allocated to various offices by the constitution without an issue of constitutional power being raised. Now that the subject has been opened only time can tell what the future holds for the cabinet system in Idaho.

L. H. Chamberlain

University of Idaho

Number of State Censuses Now Small

Although the constitutions of at least twenty-two states provide that state population censuses be made every ten years, between the federal census dates, no more than five states now make population counts, the Council of State Governments reports.

The five states, according to the survey based in part on United States Bureau of Census reports, are Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Florida, Kansas, and South Dakota; of these Massachusetts and South Dakota have adopted the practice recently. The other seventeen states either never carried out the constitutional provision, or have dropped the practice within recent years. A sixth state, Indiana, takes a census every six years of all male inhabitants over twenty-one years of age.

When most state constitutions were drawn up, the states were in the process of being settled and wanted state censuses in addition to the regular United States censuses in order to reapportion their legislatures.

Council-Manager Plan News

The recently formed Citizens' League of **Baltimore, Maryland,** is showing interest in the manager plan.

In the borough of **Shillington, Pennsylvania,** the ordinance which created the office of borough manager has been repealed.

Interest in the manager plan has revived in **Bath, Maine,** which turned down a manager charter last September. The first manager plan council for the town of **Lincoln, Maine,** is to be elected March 18.

Superior, Wisconsin, will vote on the manager plan April 2nd. **Hermosa Beach** and **Arcadia, California,** will also vote on the manager plan in April.

The **Mankato, Minnesota,** charter commission has filed its report with the city council, recommending that the manager plan be adopted. The new charter will be voted on April 8th. Adoption of a new charter requires four-sevenths of the vote cast.

Mayor W. W. Chadwick of **Salem, Oregon,** has appointed a committee of nine—three councilmen and six other citizens—to study the city charter and make recommendations for changes. The manager plan has been suggested. Manager petitions are being circulated in **Silverton, Oregon.**

Monrovia, California, will vote on the manager plan April 9.

The **Union, New Jersey,** Township Taxpayers' Association has adopted a resolution favoring council-manager government over the present township committee form.

The city manager study commission appointed by Governor Townsend of **Indiana** held a public hearing on February 13 at the State House, at which the Indianapolis Junior Chamber of Commerce submitted a memorandum favoring a constitutional amendment, rather than a legislative enabling act, to permit Indiana cities to adopt the manager plan. Although this would mean delay, it would be in the interests of permanency, according to the report. The latter also dealt with a proposal for proportional representation. At the same hearing the manager plan was strongly advocated by the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce and the Indiana League of Women Voters.

Considerable interest in the manager plan is being shown in **Cape Girardeau, Missouri.**

Proposed city manager charters submitted to the voters of **Newark** and **Atlantic City, New Jersey,** failed of adoption.

Terms of Officials Cut in Kansas City

Six proposed charter amendments were voted upon in Kansas City, Missouri, on February 13; the only one adopted was Amendment No. 1, which reduces the term of office of the mayor, eight councilmen, and two municipal judges, from four years to two years, thus terminating the terms of the incumbents on April 17, 1940, rather than two years hence. The present council has been dominated by the faction of Thomas J. Pendergast, who is now in the federal prison at Leavenworth, Kansas. A petition for a straight recall election had been prepared by anti-Pendergast people but the city clerk disqualified many signatures and rendered the petition invalid. The Pendergast forces were relatively inactive, and the amendment was adopted by about 96,000 to 17,000. An election is to be held April 2 to select the successors to the incumbents; great activity is expected then unless the present council succeeds in having the February election or the amendment declared illegal.

All other amendments were overshadowed. An active effort was made for the adoption of Amendment No. 2 which would have established civil service for firemen, placing all present members of the Fire Department under civil service protection, but it was defeated.

Public Service Training in New York City

On February 8 some three hundred city employees and one hundred prospective police and firemen started classes at the College of the City of New York along with more than eight thousand other students.

Commissioner of Investigation William B. Herlands has announced that seventy-four students from eight colleges in New York City have been appointed research associates or "internes" in his department, without pay, to study various municipal problems. They will receive academic credit.

Real Estate Boards Combat Urban Blight

At the January meeting of the directors of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, in Chicago, the following action was taken with the announced object of aiding cities to counteract trends which in many communities are causing progressive blight and decay in commercial and residential areas:

1. Suggestions made by the association's committee on commercial districts for cooperative action in individual cities to combat over-rapid decentralization and to conserve values in central and outlying business districts were approved.

2. Plans for conservation of residential areas, restoration of blighted areas, and good housing for low income groups through private initiative with the aid of existing public agencies were advanced.

3. It was agreed to sponsor and to make substantial contributions to the support of the Urban Land Institute, a research agency being created for objective study of the factors affecting city growth and values. As its first project the institute will attack the problem of decentralization, in its effect on business and residential districts.

On February 16 County Assessor John S. Clark made public various graphic and statistical illustrations in support of his contention that land in Chicago should be rezoned to halt the growth of slum areas and to stimulate home building. The last comprehensive zoning ordinance for Chicago dates from 1922 and largely represents wishful thinking. For example thirty-four square miles, or 16 per cent, of the city are zoned for high apartment buildings that in total would house 42,172,412 people.

Statutes for Public Housing Now Numerous

A total of 125 laws on public low-cost housing have been passed by thirty-eight states since New Jersey and Ohio pioneered with the first legislation in 1933, according to an analysis by the National Association of Housing Officials. Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the District of Columbia add a dozen more laws to the list. Ten states as yet have no legislation on public housing on their books.

Some states have only one housing law, the survey showed. Others have seven or eight statutes apiece because state constitutional provisions necessitate separate acts classified by subject matter, or because amendments were passed as distinct new bills.

Included are enabling acts for housing authorities, provisions for demolition and slum clearance, provisions for tax exemption on the property and bonds of housing agencies, and laws prescribing tenant selection and setting requirements for nonprofit operation.

Oregon County Considers Manager Plan

City-County Consolidation in the Limelight; Tax Collection Consolidated in Alabama

Edited by

ELWYN A. MAUCK

Civic groups of Clackamas County, Oregon, organized as the Greater Clackamas Union of Clubs, are initiating a movement to establish the manager plan in their county. Their aim under present tentative arrangements is to place the measure before the voters at one of the 1940 elections.

The union of clubs sponsored a constitutional amendment providing for a statewide optional county manager plan ten years ago, but the electorate defeated it at the polls. The new plan will be only of local application under the general provisions of the state constitution.

Clackamas County has a population of 46,205 (1930 census), and its chief incorporated municipality is Oregon City.

Limited Manager for Onondaga County, New York, Vetoed

Governor Lehman has vetoed a bill recently passed by the New York legislature which would have set up a somewhat limited manager plan in Onondaga County.

In conformity with promises made last fall, the Republican majority party of the county passed the plan under suspended rules at a little publicized special meeting of the Board of Supervisors. The plan was then forwarded to the state legislature for adoption.

The proposal entailed much less drastic reforms than those embodied in the county manager proposal defeated at the polls last November. It called for the abolition of no offices, but a manager was empowered to "coördinate" county activities, such manager to be a local resident and appointed for a four-year term.

In his veto message the Governor stated: "With the adoption of the county home rule amendment and the optional forms of government, there is no longer any excuse for makeshift legislation of this type.

"My approval of this bill would create in Onondaga County a new costly office of county manager, with deputies, clerks, and all the usual expenses. The proposed measure does not provide for abolition of any offices or for the consolidation of any offices.

"The county manager is given little effective authority in his own right. His powers and duties are stated in the vaguest terms and are made subject to approval by the Board of Supervisors.

"Moreover, this office would be foisted upon the people of Onondaga County without public discussion and without giving them the opportunity to express their approval or disapproval by popular vote."

Tennessee Consolidation Statutes Stir Further Action

Local governmental units in Tennessee again indicate they may take advantage of the series of laws passed by the 1939 General Assembly.[1] The acts permit complete consolidation of two or more counties and city-county consolidation of a functional nature. It is believed that complete city-county consolidation would require a constitutional amendment.

In April 1939, one month after the passage of the acts, the residents of Union County petitioned for annexation to Knox County, which contains the city of Knoxville. A short time later the mayor of Memphis proclaimed himself in favor of city-county consolidation. No further developments have resulted in either case.

Now the advantages of city-county functional consolidation have been called to the attention of Knoxvillians by the *Knoxville Journal*. Such consolidation could be achieved merely by action of the governing bodies of city and county. The leading officials of both units have agreed to give further study to the possibilities under the statute.

Atlanta City-County Merger Fought

The North Fulton Voters Club of Fulton County, Georgia, has been organized for the purpose of opposing any effort to consolidate the county with the city of Atlanta. The club will operate primarily in the area formerly embraced by Milton and Campbell Counties, which were annexed to Fulton County a decade ago. The sponsors of the club fear that their area will be excluded from the merger, leaving a unit with a tax base inadequate to support local services.

Alabama Counties Collect City Taxes

Ninety-one Alabama municipalities of varying size have transferred their duties of tax assessment and collection to the county, according to Ed E. Reid, executive secretary of the Alabama League of Municipalities, writing in the *Southern Municipal*

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[1] Public Acts, 1939, chapters 222 to 226 inclusive. See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, April 1939, p. 312.

News. The experiment in consolidation was begun in 1911 when the city of Birmingham, under a special act of the legislature, transferred the functions relating to taxation to Jefferson County. The plan proved so successful that in 1923 the legislature extended the right to all municipal corporations of the state. Under a ruling of the state courts, the added duties are mandatory on county officials. They cannot reject the added obligations nor demand compensation above that provided by statute. The 1939 legislature brought about further integration by establishing one date for the payment of municipal, county, and state taxes and by providing for the joining of municipal and county claims and action against tax delinquent property.

North Carolina Court Rules on Term for Sheriffs and Coroners

By unanimous decision the Supreme Court of North Carolina has ruled that sheriffs and coroners who gained office in the general election of November 1938 shall serve until December 1942. Since a constitutional amendment extending the terms of these offices from two to four years was adopted at the same general election, it had been open to question whether the present incumbents were serving two- or four-year terms. The members of the Supreme Court reasoned that while the amendment became effective in November, the terms of those elected to office began the first Monday in December, and hence the constitution in effect on the latter date would apply.

North Carolina Local Government Groups Cooperate

The executive committees of the County Commissioners Association and the North Carolina League of Municipalities, in a meeting held recently, have decided to attack their common problems by joint action. They are planning to sponsor regional joint meetings of city and county officials in various parts of the state and to coöperate in presenting a program to the 1941 legislature. The major provisions affecting counties in the legislative program are: (1) roadside control and beautification; (2) authority of counties to zone; (3) authority of counties to grant building permits; (4) increased home rule; (5) opposition to homestead exemption; (6) opposition to loss of further local revenue sources to the state.

Taxpayer Groups Stress ConcreteAccomplishments

Utica Mayor Invites Citizen Aid

Edited by
ELWOOD N. THOMPSON

Associated in an infant movement to cut the cost of local and state government, New Hampshire taxpayers can point to real accomplishments within a scant year of state-wide organization.

The history of local taxpayer organization in the state is scarcely more venerable. The first tax association in the state was started in the town of Claremont (population 12,000) five years ago. Although local merchants were the initiators, it was difficult for them to give active leadership, since both town and city were often their customers. Nevertheless, the Claremont association saw its town achieve one of the lowest tax rates in the state, with a quality of government so good that the association soon felt it had little reason for existence. By 1939 the Claremont group was entirely inactive.

In Franklin also, a city of about 7,000, a beginning was made several years ago. A little money was raised, but nothing more was done. The money is still in the bank, and once again there are hopes of using it.

The first active group to be formed was in Nashua, in March 1938. In the face of a threatened six-dollar tax increase, public opinion resounded in a mass meeting of over 1,100 taxpayers. An energetic but inexperienced leadership launched an effective publicity campaign, but, like too many new citizen groups, had too few facts on city spending to back up the pressure. Nevertheless, the actual tax increase turned out to be $1.80 instead of $6. In 1939, and again in 1940, actual work has been done on budget requirements of the city, the result, which may be at least partly laid to the work of the organization, was that the Nashua rate declined $1.25 in 1939. In 1940 city officials demonstrate a genuine intention to look at every expense dollar with a thrifty eye. The biggest item in the 1940 program is a Griffenhagen survey, of whose approval there is some hope.

Immediately after the formation of the Nashua group came three more: Hudson, a nearby town of 3,500 population, handicapped by a $48 tax rate; Laconia, a lake city with a serious relief problem; and Concord, the capital city, burdened with a non-taxable area of over one-third of the total.

By November of 1938, six small towns near Portsmouth had formed associations. Hollis, near Nashua, started another. Out of these seven, plus the four already mentioned, was organized the New Hampshire Federation of Taxpayers Associations. Patterned after its older Massachusetts brother, the federation was far poorer in everything except enthusiasm and determination.

Those two qualities won a measure of success. Some of the larger taxpayers in the state became interested in May 1939, and finally enough funds were obtained so that Donald J. Reed was employed as executive director of the federation, with offices in Concord. Mr. Reed is an experienced newspaper man, with five years actual work in the Massachusetts tax federation, and a record of accomplishment in the Lowell association.

Like most citizen organizations scarcely out of swaddling clothes, the federation is still very short on cash. Nevertheless, real progress has been made. Although the 1939 General Court session was already more than half over when Mr. Reed came on May 15, he began immediately to inform the members of the General Court, as fully as facts would allow, of the significance of several bills to the taxpapers. As a result the General Court, whose majority is made up of residents of small towns and small cities, backed the federation on all the four bills in which it took an active interest. A bill to give state aid to rural school districts, estimated to cost $100,000, and opposed, surprisingly enough, by many of those same rural districts, was defeated. A bill which would drastically liberalize old-age assistance was first passed by a sizable majority, and then overwhelmingly beaten on its second and final reading—savings to the taxpayer estimated at $150,000 in 1940 and $800,000 in 1941. A political move to eliminate the highly successful State Planning Board was defeated 325 to 89 in the House, after winning in the small Senate. A bill to enlarge the powers of the State Tax Commission to audit the books of cities was easily passed.

In the cities and towns, progress, while undeniable, was less striking, because the amounts involved were smaller. During the budget year 1939 there were tax associations in eighteen New Hampshire communities. Because of the imposition of a state tobacco tax, and the elimination of the state tax on property, there should have been a general property tax reduction throughout the state of $2.28 a thousand. Actually, the reduction was only forty cents. But in the eighteen communities with tax associations the reduction amounted to a net $115,442 more than in the other communities.

County government is one of New Hampshire's most serious problems. The nine counties, as elsewhere, comprise the hidden form of government. Unlike counties in other states, however, they have very extensive spending powers. They administer the bulk of relief and the county farms, hospitals, jails, and courthouses. Yet much which the counties do is also done by either the locality or the state.

The problem is to determine whether these county functions can better be performed by agencies other than the county. This is the biggest problem facing the federation in 1940, since it is its hope to submit to the 1941 General Court a comprehensive program for county reorganization.

The federation now has twenty-seven member associations, where less than two years ago there was one. Associations now exist in Nashua, Portsmouth, Manchester, Keene, Laconia, Claremont, Exeter, Concord, Newport, as well as in numerous smaller towns. Others are being formed in Rochester, Dover, and Meredith.

John D. Langmuir, *President*
New Hampshire Federation of
Taxpayers' Associations, Inc.

County Surveys and Manager Plan Sponsored by North Dakota Taxpayers

A far-reaching program of governmental research is on the 1940 agenda of the North Dakota Taxpayers' Association and other local associations throughout the state.

High-lighting this program is the Cass County audit-survey released at a public hearing in Fargo January 23, and the initiation of a similar survey in Ward County, to be released in Minot some time during the month of May.

The state association is convinced that an excellent method of eliminating waste and inefficiency in governmental activities is by means of such surveys patterned after the system used in Nebraska for a number of years under the direction of Frank G. Arnold, president of the Nebraska Federation of County Taxpayers Leagues.

The surveys seek to analyze expenditures so that local taxpayers and officials may determine whether they are obtaining full value for the money expended and whether more economical operation cannot be secured without the elimination or impairment of necessary functions of government.

By means of the survey, sincere officials are able to correct unnoticed abuses and taxpayers may intelligently insist on efficiency and economical administration.

The release of the Cass County audit-survey on January 23 reveals the present antiquated and inefficient methods of accounting now in use and demonstrates the urgent need of a uniform accounting, auditing, and budgeting arrangement in all departments of government. Further, the survey brings to the attention of the citizens, in many instances, officials' disregard of certain laws.

Numerous counties in the state are making inquiries regarding similar audit-surveys and it is likely that the service will be largely extended during the year.

The last session of the North Dakota legislature approved Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 135, endorsed by the Taxpayers' Association, which places on the June 1940 ballot a measure for alternative forms of county government, one of which must be the county manager form. The measure also provides for dissolution and consolidation.

If this constitutional amendment is passed, the legislative assembly must provide by law for optional forms of government for counties, but no such optional forms may become operative in any county until submitted to the electors at a special or general election and approved by 55 per cent of those voting.

J. M. Cathcart, *Secretary*
North Dakota Taxpayers'
Association, Inc.

Twenty-five Citizens—Eleven-Plank Platform

In line with his conviction that a working knowledge and understanding of municipal affairs on the part of the public will greatly improve standards of municipal government, on December 13, 1939, Mayor Vincent R. Corrou of Utica, New York, invited a group of twenty-five prominent business, professional, and labor representatives of the city of Utica to meet to discuss city problems. Thayer Burgess, local attorney, was named chairman and the group decided to organize as a Civic Affairs Committee with the express purpose of coöperating with city officials and making available to them the benefit of their advice and experience.

The committee's first task has been to coöperate with the city's Board of Estimate and Apportionment in preparing the annual budget. Other matters which the committee plans to study include: city finance, county finance, state legislation as it pertains to the city, consolidation of county and city welfare, methods of relieving real estate taxation, education of residents on the advantages of living in the city, attempts to attract new industries, investigation of detriments to the securing of new industries, the assessment situation as affected by certiorari action, study of the possibility of increasing residential construction within the city, methods of coöperating with existing organizations such as the Chamber of Commerce, Taxpayers' Research Bureau, service clubs, civic organizations, etc., in their efforts to promote the general welfare and industrial interest of the city.

This committee is nonpartisan. When the Mayor issued his initial call he specified that he would in no way attempt to influence any decisions of the committee, nor would he allow any other city officials to do so.

George P. Hodges
Secretary to Mayor Corrou
Utica, New York

Montclair, New Jersey, Publicizes Tax Cut

Tax Collections Less in Pasadena; Racing Yields States Ten Millions

Edited by
WADE S. SMITH

On February 12, 1940, the town of Montclair, New Jersey, wealthy suburban community in the New York metropolitan area, stepped into the news spotlight with the announcement that a postcard poll was being taken of taxpayers as to the disposition of a $500,000 surplus available for budget reduction in 1940. Taxpayers were asked whether they wanted to apply the entire amount to reduction of this year's tax levy, or whether they preferred to use only $400,000 of it for tax reduction and apply the remaining $100,000 to debt reduction. Early returns indicated a four-to-one vote in favor of splitting the surplus between tax and debt reduction. The postcard poll precedes by several months the quadrennial election for town commissioners, with the present administration strongly playing up its record for tax reduction during the past four years.

While the administration enthusiastically publicized the town's fortunate position, the minority member of the town commission declared the surplus to be a myth. He cited the fact that the town in 1938 went under the state cash basis law which requires reserves for uncollected taxes based on a definite formula. No such reserves were provided in the 1938 budget, prepared under the revenue system used previously, but a reserve of nearly $650,000 was necessary in the 1939 budget under the cash basis law. For 1940, the minority member says, the reserve will be cut about $300,000, and this reduction represents the major portion of the so-called surplus.

Such conflicting statements on decreases—and increases—in local tax levies are frequent, and the layman without knowledge of the intricacies of municipal accounting usually shrugs them off with the thought that statistics can be made to mean almost anything.

The municipal finance expert, on the other hand, looking at the Montclair situation, would probably find things somewhat different from either of the points of view indicated above. He would find, for instance, that Montclair had suffered a series of operating deficits through the depression, which by the close of the year 1937 resulted in a general fund accumulated cash deficiency of nearly $1,240,000, despite more favorable operating results in that year. Late in 1938, he would discover, the city found itself with a total of $1,150,000 tax loans outstanding—$430,000 in the form of so-called tax revenue notes, payable from delinquent taxes, and $720,000 in the form of tax anticipation notes, payable from the proceeds of the 1938 tax levy then in collection. On December 1, 1938, going further, he would find that the city sold $960,000 funding bonds, using the proceeds to pay off the $430,000 delinquent tax notes and $530,000 of the tax anticipation notes. The balance of the tax anticipation notes were paid from current funds.

Looking at this situation objectively, the finance expert would probably point out that by funding $530,000 of notes payable from current revenues, Montclair actually created a current surplus of a like amount. The funding operation, in other words, released $530,000 of 1938 taxes, during the fiscal year 1938, and as these current taxes came in they were entirely unencumbered. Of course, the finance expert would also point out that the $530,000 current surplus had been achieved by creating a capital liability (in this case funding bonds) of a like amount, and this borrowed money would have to be paid back in future years in the form of bond principal and interest. Thus, to the objective outsider with a knowledge of accounting procedure, it would appear that Montclair taxpayers are taking a present tax reduction in exchange for future taxation to raise $500,000 bond principal and interest. Some taxpayers in similar situations have preferred that surpluses so created be used up gradually over a period of years to offset the debt service on the funding bonds, and so help stabilize the annual tax levy.

Pasadena Tax Collections Slump

Pasadena, California, has long been outstanding for the excellence of its tax collection record. Hence, an increase in current tax delinquency, however slight, at a time when the average city continues to show improvement in this important index of municipal finances, attracts attention. For the fiscal year 1937-38 the city's year-end current tax delinquency was 3.8 per cent of the year's levy. For 1938-39, however, year-end delinquency increased to 4.2 per cent.

According to a statement by the city manager in his annual report for 1938-39, the increase appears to be deliberate on the part of a small group of taxpayers. Pointing out that a small issue of special assessment district bonds were refunded into less onerous form in 1938, the manager notes "a definite desire on the part of property owners in the special assessment districts to refund the present outstanding bonded obligations," which was accompanied by an increase in special assessment delinquencies from 13.0 per cent at the close of 1937-38 to 50.1 per cent at the end of 1938-39. The small increase in general property tax delinquency, he says, "was probably caused by the large increase in delinquencies in the special assessment districts."

Fortunately for the city's financial position, the special assessment situation can have only a slight and limited effect on general tax collections, as indicated by the collection record during the worst depression years when the special assessment districts were facing their worst difficulties. Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that even in a city with the sound governmental traditions of Pasadena, something like a tax strike on a small scale can occur.

Few New Revenues for Relief

Few cities have been able to develop new sources of revenue to match increases in local relief and emergency employment costs during the last ten years, the Municipal Finance Officers' Association of the United States and Canada reported recently. The report was based on a study of relief finance methods of more than fifty cities.

Only four cities—New York, San Francisco, Grand Rapids, and Erie—used special sources of revenue to any extent to finance relief programs. Almost all other cities used regular tax receipts both for direct relief and WPA and PWA costs.

Most cities used tax-supported bonds for their share of PWA projects, which included large public buildings and utility facilities. In most cities, also, a substantial part of general relief funds came from regular taxes. Louisville, Kentucky, for example, financed direct relief and its share of WPA work with regular taxes, and used tax-supported bond issues for large PWA projects. Baltimore annually has financed from 30 to 35 per cent of direct relief and all of its share of PWA costs from bond issues, but has paid its share of WPA expenses from regular taxes.

New York City became the great exception to the general practice when, some years ago, it adopted a policy of financing, as much as possible, all types of relief from current revenues. In 1939 the city paid 85 per cent of the cost of its three types of relief from current revenues, obtained mostly from municipal sales, cigarette, business, utility, and conduit taxes. It used new tax sources or other special methods to pay 60 per cent of its relief bill in 1938, 97 per cent in 1937.

Grand Rapids financed 55 per cent of its relief load in 1939, 27 per cent in 1938, and 10 per cent in 1937 from special sources. Its share of WPA costs was obtained from water department funds, special assessments, an estate left the city, and salvage of street car property. It financed PWA for 1935, 1936, and 1937 with water works funds and, in 1939, by a water revenue bond issue. San Francisco obtained money from utility revenues, gasoline taxes, and Golden Gate Exposition funds to finance 40 per cent of its relief burden last year.

The study showed that the larger cities and counties of California have generally been paying the entire local share of relief costs from regular taxes. Minneapolis, on the other hand, has financed all types of relief from tax-supported bond issues. In general, however, most of the large cities have followed no continuing policy either as to issuing bonds to pay for various types of relief or financing them from regular taxes.

Kentucky Appropriation Bill Adopted Unanimously

The 1940 Kentucky legislature has passed unanimously the general appropriation bill to give effect to the executive budget! There was practically no discussion. No amendments were adopted—aside from correcting a clerical error. So far as is known, this is a record vote for any state. It certainly is one so far as Kentucky is concerned. However, the appropriation bill to make effective the budget for the current biennium was passed unanimously in the Senate and with three or four adverse votes in the House.

This political phenomenon has received little local discussion. Some commentators, however, have speculated on the reasons for so exceptional a vote. The explanations most frequently suggested are three: (1) Governor Keen Johnson occupies a strong political position. This is supported by the fact that in the November election he received a record majority. (2) The budget proposed was eminently fair in the light of all the circumstances. (3) The Governor submitted the estimates to the Legislative Council for advice before finally fixing them; the recommendations of the council paralleled those of the executive in respect of all expenditure proposals.

JAMES W. MARTIN
Bureau of Business Research
University of Kentucky

Racing Pays Ten Millions in Taxes

Pari-mutuel betting added nearly $10,000,000 last year in taxes on racetrack wagers, track and occupational license fees, and admission taxes, to the coffers of sixteen states where it has been legalized, according to a survey by the Council of State Governments. More than $300,000,000 was wagered at tracks in the sixteen states.

Twelve of the states—Arkansas, California, Delaware, Florida, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Ohio, Oregon, Rhode Island, Washington, and West Virginia—place a tax on the total amount of money wagered through pari-mutuel machines. These states obtained more than $8,500,000 in revenue from this source. The other four states—Illinois, Kentucky, Michigan, and Nebraska—do not tax wagers, but obtain revenue from license fees and admission taxes. Track license and occupational fees returned $750,000 in revenue to thirteen of the sixteen states, while seven states obtained approximately $700,000 from taxes on track admission tickets.

Disposition of racing revenues varies greatly from state to state. California received $3,036,344, 4 per cent of $75,908,600 wagered through the state's pari-mutuel machines, last year, and allocated the money for use by state, county and district agricultural fairs, and agricultural schools. Arkansas allocated 33 1/3 per cent of its total racing revenue, 4 per cent of $3,090,917 wagered, to the state old-age pension fund, and the balance to the state charities fund. Rhode Island prorated its racing revenue among cities and towns, while Florida divided the revenue among its sixty-seven counties.

Twenty-two states now have legalized pari-mutuel betting at race tracks, but two states—New York and New Jersey—took this action only last year. There is little or no horse racing in four of the states—Maine, Nevada, New Mexico, and North Carolina. Sponsors of New York's constitutional amendment legalizing pari-mutuel betting predicted the state would obtain around $8,000,000 a year in taxes.

Under the pari-mutuel system, those who bet on horses to win, place, or show in a race will share in the total amount—or "pool"—bet on all horses in the race. All bets are registered on a machine called a "totalizator," which automatically calculates the amounts wagered and the odds on the various horses.

Governmental Accountants Organize

The Society of Governmental Accountants recently held its organization meeting at Los Angeles. Headed by its president, C. E. Cree, chief of division of audits, Los Angeles County Auditor's Office, this organization will bring together people engaged in governmental accounting, auditing, financial administration, and governmental office management for the following purposes: to advance the social, economic, and educational welfare of its members; to increase the personal efficiency of its members by joint discussion of governmental accounting problems; to further recognition of governmental accounting as a profession and to establish a central point of reference and meeting for its members. Dinner meetings are held on the third Monday in each month. At these meetings men prominent in governmental activities are introduced as guest speakers. Papers on governmental subjects are read by various designated members. It is hoped by the founders of the group that this unit will become the first chapter in a nationally organized Society of Governmental Accountants. All levels of government are represented in its membership. Information concerning the society may be obtained from C. E. Cree, of the Los Angeles County Auditor's Office.

Fourth P. R. Election in Norris

Another College Experience P. R. League Affairs

Edited by
GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.

On February 5 the town of Norris, Tennessee, held its fourth P. R. election, at which members of the Norris Town Council were elected. This council, composed of nine members, is elected annually and serves in an advisory capacity to the TVA town management.[1]

The vote cast in this election was smaller than at any previous election during the four years that P. R. has been in operation. The total vote cast was less than half the number of votes cast in the council election of a year ago and constituted less than a third of the eligible vote of the town. The light vote may be attributed in part to the small number of candidates who qualified for the election. Only nine candidates appeared on the ballot for the nine positions to be filled, and it is probable that many voters did not take the trouble to cast their ballots in the belief that the nine candidates would be elected in any case.

In the election notice, however, attention was called to the possibility of writing in names of candidates and many of the voters took advantage of this opportunity. Approximately a fourth of the voters marked their first choice for persons whose names did not appear on the ballot, two of whom were elected to the council.

For the first time since P.R. was inaugurated, all members of the council are employees of the Tennessee Valley Authority. This council will give trial to the recommendations of the Joint Committee on the Future Government of the Town of Norris regarding the relationships between the TVA and the Norris Town Council. It is also probable that this council will have under consideration problems relating to the future government of the town.

M. H. Satterfield
Tennessee Valley Authority

P. R. at the University of Idaho

By the use of P. R. in student government at the University of Idaho, students from over the state as well as many from outside states are obtaining first-hand experience of a live situation in government. The student body is divided about equally in voting strength between the United Students party, comprising Greek letter organizations, and the Independent party, comprising university dormitories and cooperative halls.

The major election of the year is the selection of a student body president and an executive board consisting of nine members. The Hare form of P. R. is legally in use. However, the two parties exert enough influence to allow each only nine nominees on the slate, thus tending toward the list system. The elected officers conduct student activities and handle approximately $109,000 during the school year. That the students take their government quite seriously is exemplified by a vote of 2,100 out of 2,800 students in the election last May.

P. R. was incorporated into the student body constitution in an effort to secure minority party representation and to put student government on a sounder footing. Previous to 1936 one party elected all members of the board, but with the inception of P. R. the minority party obtained three members. There has been a five-four division each succeeding year and in the last election the tables turned in favor of the previous minority party.

Surely P. R. should stay, for not only is it wise to give a sizable minority a voice in a university, where after all there is a community of interests, but P. R. has made the majority party realize its responsibilities. Beyond this there is a wider participation in student government and students have come to realize that there are other methods of voting than the marking of a cross.

Edward H. Johnson
University of Idaho

The P. R. League Council

The trustees of the Proportional Representation League have recently elected

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[1] See National Municipal Review, Nov. 1939.

Charles H. Woodward of Philadelphia to fill a vacancy in the League's Advisory Council caused by the resignation of Robert Treat Paine of Boston. Mr. Paine, who helped the League materially in its early efforts when the principles and advantages of P.R. were much less widely known, wished to make way for someone who could now be more active in advancing the work.

Mr. Woodward is an attorney who has been very active and helpful in the promising efforts of the Philadelphia City Charter Committee to get a P.R.—city manager charter for his city. He is the son of the veteran state senator from the Germantown district of Philadelphia, Dr. George W. Woodward, who has sponsored P.R.—manager bills for Philadelphia several times and who last year helped put through the Senate the Philadelphia City Charter Commission's official P.R.—manager proposal.

Though the P.R. League operates now through the National Municipal League, with which its work was consolidated in 1932, it continues its separate corporate existence and its separate officers, who take a special interest in the P.R. part of the program. The present roster is as follows:

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION LEAGUE OFFICERS

President: A. R. Hatton, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois

Vice Presidents:

Thomas Raeburn White, Philadelphia
John R. Commons, Madison, Wis.
Mrs. Alice Thacher Post, Washington, D. C.

Honorary Secretary-Treasurer: C. G. Hoag, Haverford, Penna.

Executive Secretary: George H. Hallett, Jr., New York City

Field Secretary: Walter J. Millard, Cincinnati

Assistant Secretary: Elsie S. Parker, New York City

Honorary Vice Presidents:

John H. Humphreys, London, Secretary of the P. R. Society of Great Britain
The Right Honorable Lord Parmoor, K.C.V.O., of England

ADVISORY COUNCIL

(Trustees indicated by asterisks)

Albert S. Bard, New York City
Ex-Governor Robert P. Bass, Peterboro, N. H.
Charles A. Beard, New Milford, Conn.
William E. Boynton, Ashtabula, Ohio
Harold S. Buttenheim, New York City
Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, New Rochelle, N. Y.
*Richard S. Childs, New York City
*Paul H. Douglas, Chicago
Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., St. Louis
Harold W. Dodds, Princeton, N. J.
*C. A. Dykstra, Madison, Wis.
Oliver J. Erickson, Seattle
Charles G. Fenwick, Bryn Mawr, Penna.
Cyrus J. Fitton, Hamilton, Ohio
John H. Finley, New York City
Glenn Frank, Madison, Wis.
Christopher M. Gallup, North Stonington, Conn.
Mrs. George Gellhorn, St. Louis
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Books in Review

Edited by ELSIE S. PARKER

The New York Primer. By Luther Gulick and Rudolf Modley. New York City, The Regents Inquiry into the Character and Cost of Public Education in the State of New York, 1939. 46 pp. Twenty-five cents.

A few years ago a graph or chart that used pictorial symbols instead of unrelenting straight lines or humorless curves to make its point was considered an amusing, if perhaps trivial, fancy to sugar-coat statistical information for the lazy mind. Those puritanical intellects who felt uneasily that there was something even a little immoral about thus sugar-coating hard facts and cold figures will find the *New York Primer* an object at which to throw up their hands in horror. The make-learning-attractive-for-the-masses crowd may, on the other hand, call the *New York Primer* the most exciting thing that has struck political science in generations.

Imagine a fifteen-volume two-year survey of all the aspects of the entire school system of New York State compressed into forty-six pictures, some of them distinctly frivolous pictures. Imagine the textual accompaniment to these pictures limited to about a thousand words, the type size equivalent to that reserved in many daily newspapers for front-page headlines.

Mr. Modley's art has changed considerably since those first few, isolated jazzed-up charts which he brought over from his native Vienna a few years ago. Now his pictures can be put together to tell a complete story, and in the *New York Primer,* at least, less than half of them can be called statistics. In the strict sense of the word, they are cartoons, cartoons that illustrate facts, certainly, but not figures. Whether this quiet elimination of the word "statistics" from the term "pictorial statistics" makes the result any less valuable, it is for the reader—perhaps it would be better to call him the looker—to judge. But whether the looker likes or dislikes, he will almost certainly be amused, challenged, and set to wondering whether science need really live in an ivory tower after all.

M. R.

Voting Behavior: A Case Study. By James Kerr Pollock. (Michigan Governmental Studies, No. 3.) Ann Arbor, Bureau of Government, University of Michigan, 1939. 42 pp. Twenty-five cents.

As this is written word comes that the voters of Newark, New Jersey, have just turned down a proposed manager plan charter by a decisive majority. Does this mean that a majority of Newark residents who are citizens, over twenty-one years of age, and thus qualified to vote, do not want a manager plan charter?

An examination of *Voting Behavior: A Case Study* in Ann Arbor, Michigan, by James K. Pollock, supplies the answer by implication. For in Ann Arbor, a university town where intelligence and civic spirit are presumably high, "the figures . . . which show the city-wide voting behavior . . . may well give the friends of democracy and representative government a few moments of prayerful meditation. Nearly two-thirds of the 23,000 people in the city are qualified to vote . . . Of the approximately 15,000 qualified voters, 11.7 per cent did not take the trouble to register. . . . Of the electorate, that is, those citizens who have taken the trouble to register, only 29.3 per cent on an average actually go to the polls to vote. In other words, out of the 23,000 people of Ann Arbor, about 3,800 voters run the city and make its political decisions."

Aside from its frightening findings, this study illustrates the possibilities of the use of electoral statistics for gaining objective information in political science.

M. R.

Democracy at Work: Living in American Communities. By Ernest Fincher, R. E. Fraser, and W. G. Kimmel. Philadelphia, John C. Winston Company, 1939. 566 pages. $1.36.

In the hands of Messrs. Fincher, Fraser, and Kimmel "civics"—that bugbear of high school subjects—has become alive, important, and interesting. The authors have discarded the usual expository techniques used in textbook writing, and have written in almost "story book" style. Much of the dryness of civics has been removed by the presentation of usual material in an unusual way. To say that this book is dramatic would not be strictly true—but it is true that the material is presented in an animated way which approaches the dramatic. Citizens in everyday life are given names, places of residence and character. *Democracy at Work* shows how the individual functions in society; and it shows also the relationship of the citizen to his government.

The authors of *Democracy at Work* have what would appear to this reviewer to be a healthy economic philosophy. They are aware of the increasing importance of government—of the expansion of governmental functions—and they make a sincere attempt to bring these changes in philosophy and function to the attention of the student. The volume is unusually well illustrated. The pictures are numerous and up-to-date; charts, cartoons, and "pictographs" are to be found in every chapter.

W. Richard Lomax

Institute of Politics
Indiana University

Additional Books and Reports Received

Assessments

Proceedings of the Sixth National Conference on Assessment Administration, held at San Francisco, California, October 10 to 13, 1939. Chicago, National Association of Assessing Officers, 1939. iv, 60 pp.

Urban Land Appraisal. A description of methods employed in assessing property taxes. Chicago, National Association of Assessing Officers, 1940. vi, 170 pp. Three dollars.

Civil Service

Civil Service Act and Rules, Statutes, Executive Orders and Regulations—with notes and legal decisions—amended to June 30, 1939. By United States Civil Service Commission. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, 1939. 277 pp. Twenty-five cents.

Proceedings of Thirty-first Annual Meeting of the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, San Francisco, California, October 16, 17, 18, 19 and 20, 1939. Chicago, Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, 1939. 86 pp. $5.00.

Synopsis of Activities, Department of Personnel and Civil Service Commission, City of Cincinnati, Year 1939. Cincinnati, Civil Service Commission, 1940. 19 pp. mimeo.

Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Civil Service Commission of the City of San Diego, California, for the fiscal year July 1, 1938, to June 30, 1939. San Diego, Civil Service Commission, 1939. 23 pp. mimeo.

County Government

Audit-Survey of Cass County, North Dakota. A study of county government —receipts, expenditures, records, administration, waste. Compiled by Fyrne L. Williams. Fargo, North Dakota Taxpayers' Association Inc., 1940. 122 pp.

Democracy

Democracy: A Reading List. Compiled by Benson Y. Landis. Chicago, American Library Association, 1940. 16 pp. Twenty-five cents (reduced prices for quantities).

Schools for Democracy. Compiled by Charl Ormond Williams with assistance of Frank W. Hubbard. Chicago, National

Congress of Parents and Teachers, 1939. 239 pp.

Education

Influence of Tax-Leeway on Educational Adaptability. A study of the relationship of residual or potential economic ability, expressed as tax-leeway, to educational adaptations in the State of New York. By Widnell Dimsdale Knott. New York City, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1939. x, 84 pp. $1.60.

1000 School Fires. A record of 1000 school fires and major school disasters reported to the National Fire Protection Association. Boston, National Fire Protection Association, 1939. 72 pp. Thirty-five cents.

School Accounting and Financial Reporting. A Manual for School Districts Prepared by the Finance Staff of the Regents' Inquiry, vi, 58 pp., seventy-five cents; **Secondary School Programs,** by Herbert G. Espy, 87 pp., one dollar; **Situations Affecting School Persistence,** by Everett B. Sackett, 39 pp., fifty cents; **The Teaching of Reading in the Elementary and Secondary Schools of the State of New York,** by William S. Gray and Bernice E. Leary, vii, 105 pp., one dollar. New York City, The Regents' Inquiry into the Character and Cost of Public Education in the State of New York, 1939.

Federal Government

The Constitution of the United States at the End of One Hundred Fifty Years. With an introduction by Hugh Evander Willis. Bloomington, Indiana University Bookstore, 1939. 72 pp. Seventy-five cents.

Libraries

Libraries in the Contemporary Crisis. By Archibald MacLeish. (Address at Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, on Founders' Day, October 19, 1939.) Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1939. 12 pp.

Planning and Zoning

All Together! By J. A. Wolf. St. Louis, St. Louis Foundation for Neighborhood Improvement, 20 pp. illus.

Progress Report. Statement of the Advisory Committee, National Resources Committee. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1939. v, 173 pp. Thirty-five cents.

Your Home Town. A community development handbook. By Frederick P. Clark. Concord, New Hampshire Planning and Development Commission, 1939. 62 pp. illus. Twenty-five cents.

Zoning Protects Property Values. By W. Phillip Shatts. (Paper presented at conference of New Jersey Federation of Official Planning Boards.) New York City, Regional Plan Association, Inc., 1939. 5 pp. mimeo.

Population

Urban Population in the United States from the First Census (1790) to the Fifteenth Census (1930). Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Census, 1939. 11 pp.

Public Opinion

The Place of Public Opinion Polls in a Democracy. By George Gallup. (Paper prepared for American Political Science Association, Washington, D. C., December 29, 1939.) New York, American Institute of Public Opinion, 1940. 14 pp.

Toward an Informed Public Opinion. Annual Report of the President of Town Hall 1938-1939. New York City, The Town Hall, 1939. 51 pp.

Public Welfare and Relief

General Relief Operations of Public Agencies in Selected Large Cities January 1938—June 1939. Washington, D. C., Social Security Board, 1939. 47 pp. mimeo.

Migration and Social Welfare. An approach to the problem of the non-settled person in the community. By Philip E. Ryan. New York City, Russell Sage Foundation, 1940. vii, 114 pp. Fifty cents.

Questions and Answers on the WPA. Washington, D. C., Federal Works Agency, Work Projects Administration, 1939. 26 pp.

Size of Visitor's Caseload as a Factor in Efficient Administration of Assistance. By Constance Hastings and Saya S. Schwartz. Philadelphia, Department of Public Assistance, Philadelphia County Board, 1939. 33 pp. mimeo.

Study of the Department of Public Welfare, Hartford, Connecticut. Hartford, Governmental Research Institute, 1939. 125 pp. mimeo.

Refuse

Combustible Refuse Collection Survey, City of Cleveland. By Work Projects Administration (Project No. 17254). Cleveland, Department of Public Service, 1939. 52 pp.

Refuse Materials. Classification of refuse materials, definitions, characteristics, quantities produced—all in relation to the problem of refuse collection. By Committee on Refuse Collection. Chicago, American Public Works Association, 1940. 44 pp. Fifty cents.

Thirty Cities in a Looking-Glass

A good newspaper, they say, is the mirror of the community. Hence, when newspapermen speak their minds on how the council-manager plan has worked out in their cities, their testimony is bound to be a pretty adequate reflection of how citizens really feel about the manager plan in action.

How Council-Manager Government Is Working

By 30 Newspapermen from 30 Manager Cities; originally compiled and published by the Yonkers *Herald-Statesman*

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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

16'4

Land of Riches: Know Thyself

Editorial

It Won't Be Long Now!

S. S. Sheppard

Politics Without Patronage

Leon Weaver

Research by Master Plan

Raymond Uhl

Mayor LaGuardia on P. R.

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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The League's Business

League Sponsors First Regional Conference in Southwest

The first regional conference of the National Municipal League in the southwest, sponsored by the Dallas Citizens Council, met in Dallas March 20-22. This conference prompted Editor Lewis W. Bailey of the *Dallas Journal* to tell his readers:

"Dallas has just entertained a regional conference of the National Municipal League. It brought together sixty speakers in sectional meetings and general sessions, discussing government and citizenship. Among the speakers were men prominent in public life in their home states and some nationally known. The addresses and round table discussions were stimulating and informative. . . . The conference should be repeated next year and participated in widely by the citizenship of Dallas and Texas, for in the interchange of ideas and experience comes the inspiration for better government."

One thousand people attended from Dallas, Houston, San Antonio, Ft. Worth, and other Texas cities and from Oklahoma and nearby states.

The sessions put particular emphasis on various phases of citizenship. Five general sessions dealt with broad aspects of problems facing democracy and the part each citizen can play.

Particularly noteworthy were the informed discussions in the twelve group sessions, six of which met concurrently each morning on March 21 and 22. These sessions discussed training for competent citizenship, citizens' organizations, training for citizenship in the public schools, new voters and the plan of a citizenship day, taxation, forms of city government, trained personnel, county government, traffic control.

Those present at the session on training new voters took definite steps toward introducing the Manitowoc plan in Dallas.

In addition to members of the League staff and speakers from Texas, those who took part in the program included Chief Justice John Dawson of the Supreme Court of Kansas, Allen H. Seed, Jr., executive vice president of the Minneapolis Civic Council, A. P. Haake, American Economic Foundation; Cortez A. M. Ewing, director of the School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, University of Oklahoma and several members of his staff; Virgil Sheppard, Indiana Department of Public Welfare.

More than fifty speakers led the discussions. Although it is impossible to select one session or one speaker above all the rest, several of the outstanding papers will appear in subsequent issues of the REVIEW.

League Members in the News

DR. C. A. DYKSTRA, president of the League and of the University of Wisconsin, recently made two addresses in New York City—before the New York Alumni of the University of Wisconsin and the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa.

(Continud on Page 227)

Letter to the Editor

To the Editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW:

I gather from Dr. Reed's letter in the March NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW that his attempt "to clarify and complete the record in the recent Richmond-Henrico County annexation" by a one-sided condensation into a few pages of the factual data contained in over 5,000 pages of testimony and 350 odd exhibits flows from his anxiety to extricate himself from the position of having been aligned with the forces of reaction in procuring an annexation decree.

The decree, if sustained on appeal, will take from Henrico, one of the seven manager counties in the United States, 46 per cent of its taxable values and 37 per cent of its population, including, according to Dr. Reed, the population of the area from which "had come the backbone of the support for the manager form." I say, if sustained on appeal, because the county, a week before Dr. Reed's letter of February 22, 1940, had publicly announced its intention to apply for an appeal from the two-to-one decision of the lower court to the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia.

It is difficult for Dr. Reed to avoid the implication that he was active in procuring a decree against the county manager plan, despite the fact that one of the two judges who decided in the city's favor commended the people of the county for "the fine modern form of government which they have adopted" and contrasted it with Richmond's "outmoded, fossilized, bicameral councilmanic form of city government." The court's action, however, speaks louder than kind words, and a flattering contrast will little aid the county as it tightens its belt and, after annexation, tries to take care of 80 per cent of its present school enrollment and 90 per cent of the public welfare and health problems with its drastically reduced revenues.

The decree which Dr. Reed worked for will not, if affirmed, destroy the county manager form in Henrico for its leaders in all sections seem determined to carry on, but it can hardly be said that a decree which will necessitate stiff increases in taxation or sharp reduction in the public services is not against the manager plan.

It is true, as was said by one of the Judges who decided in the city's favor, that, "Even the city's expert on municipal government, Dr. Reed, has no kind words for its form of government," but Dr. Reed did urge upon the court the consideration of the other factual matters to which he alludes in his letter as justifying annexation, despite the county's modern form of government and the city's fossilized form with its accompaniment of deficit financing. Whether these factual matters, which were of course controverted by the county's witnesses, justified Dr. Reed's contention that 15,000 people should be transferred against their wishes from a modern to an obsolete form of government or the decision of the majority of the court that this should be done is a matter which will not be settled until a final decision has been had on the appeal, and no good purpose could be served by my arguing with Dr. Reed about them at this time.

Sincerely yours,

WILLARD F. DAY
County Manager

March 23, 1940

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Land of Riches: Know Thyself

THE greatest statistical agency in the world, the United States Bureau of the Census, is currently going efficiently ahead (albeit in the face of some necessary and some unnecessary difficulties) with a study which should result in the most nearly complete, accurate, and informative census ever taken in this or any other country.

While the general public is most acutely aware of the counting of noses, there is even greater significance in the censuses of business, agriculture, manufactures, and housing, as well as in the tangent surveys covering unemployment, usual occupations, income, irrigation and drainage, mines and quarries, etc.

The principle of representative government is definitely involved in the official count of individuals living in the United States, including its outlying possessions. Representatives and direct taxes, says article I of the constitution are apportioned among the states according to population. Similarly, membership in the lower houses of the state legislatures is supposed to be apportioned each ten years in accordance with actual enumeration. Big cities everywhere will snicker a bit over this point, or perhaps grind their teeth in helpless rage, but they are sure to get more ammunition. Some day the cities will get and deserve the confidence of the rural regions—or perhaps the problem will be met finally by a complete and even dispersion of population from congested areas.

In many states it would be a matter of simple and straightforward honesty to amend constitutions to say that cities should have in the legislature only half, or one-third, or one-tenth the representation of the less populous regions.

While the basis for this essential process of democracy, regardless of its habitual perversion in the states after the federal government has done its work so well, is being reached by a nation-wide count, experience of such enumerations every ten years since 1790 has suggested the wisdom of obtaining a wide range of other statistics of a social nature having far-reaching significance to our people. There are immense and long-continuing possibilities for use of the statistics which will be gathered. Not only are age, sex, race, birthplace, education, and so on, recorded and tabulated by units from 2,500 population and up, and by rural areas, but also place of residence five years ago, whether employed, type of employment, amount of wage and salary income last year, and other important facts.

Data for seventy-one cities are to be compiled according to census tracts, the value of which, for social and governmental purposes, will be attested to freely by Chicago, Cincinnati, Detroit, Providence, Rochester, and other cities. Statistics of 140 metropolitan regions also will be reported separately.

The housing census is an innovation, directly concerned with that major problem. The ownership, age, type of construction, physical condition, number of rooms, occupancy, monthly rental value, kinds of utilities, and similar questions are projected.

This census is no "sampling" survey; it is the real thing. It will develop a mass of figures and facts which, with the growing passion for analysis and fact-finding, should give the "experts" much challenging and useful work to do.

Difficult and unwieldy as the task seems, and considering the temporary status of many of those who are doing the work, the results are amazingly accurate and dependable. We can use more, not less, information about this country. In another ten years it is to be hoped that additional and more penetrating questions will be asked, utilizing some such technique as has been suggested by Secretary Hopkins to safeguard the right of the individual to keep confidential certain information about his personal affairs. It should be generally appreciated that the information which John Smith would not want Sam Jones to know is information which, gathered in the mass and separated from the identity of the individual, may be of vital importance to John Smith as a citizen in a great commonwealth.

The Compliment Supreme

"For practical purposes," says the February issue of *The Civic Searchlight,* published by the Detroit Citizens League, "Mayor Jeffries is virtually the city manager of Detroit. A fair study of the record, including his eight years in the city council, supports the belief that the nonpartisan independence of the average city manager is in no important respect different from the position now held by Mayor Jeffries."

Well, the world does move when, to pay a mayor a high compliment, you tell him he acts more like a city manager every day.

LEAGUE'S BUSINESS

(Continued from Page 224)

Hon. Murray Seasongood, past president of the League and former mayor of Cincinnati, has also made several interesting addresses in the east. In Baltimore he addressed the Citizens League of that city, and in Boston he spoke before the Boston Real Estate Exchange. Earlier Mr. Seasongood spoke at Kenyon College, Ohio.

Howard P. Jones, *Secretary*

It Won't Be Long Now!

The worm turns in Louisiana as voters overthrow the most complete dictatorship in America.

By S. S. SHEPPARD
Bureau of Governmental Research of New Orleans

ALWAYS the five-star theatre of American politics, the historic old state of Louisiana has just staged a new production—one packed with thrills, upsets, and potentialities. A breathless audience now awaits a new four-year engagement starring Governor-elect Sam Jones.

It won't be Long now!

Just one year ago all was peaceful in the Pelican State. From the Sabine to the Pearl River, and from the Arkansas border to the Gulf bayous, no breath of opposition stirred the most complete dictatorship of any American state.

Political machines of the state and New Orleans had for three years been as one. Legislative pliability belied any necessity for the electric voting system installed in the statehouse. Complete affinity appeared to exist between the courts and the other two branches of the state government.

And over the whole scene shone a warm and enervating sun of a cooperative and benevolent federal government.

ONE EVENTFUL YEAR

The twelve months intervening have been thrill-packed with exposures, indictments, convictions, and a popular uprising that was nowhere apparent in the cards last April.

One by one, heads have toppled, lofty heads that once graced the Huey Long inner circle. The President of Louisiana State University is now serving a term arising from several of many indictments. Former Governor Leche resigned and now faces a full quota of charges. Abe Shushan, whose acquittal on income tax charges presaged the abandonment of a number of similar suits in 1935, and Seymour Weiss, who brazenly defied a Senatorial investigating committee—both are appealing recent sentences to Atlanta.

Many others who once bore names to conjure with are scattered along an almost routine path of indictment, trial, and conviction.

And then in February came the climax—the simultaneous defeat of combined city and state machines by various neophyte citizen groups pushing the candidacy of a Lake Charles attorney named Sam Jones.

In one blow this final stroke removed the brother of Huey Long from political effectiveness, sent crumbling the old Huey Long machine, and threatened the hitherto undisputed supremacy in state and city affairs of Robert S. Maestri, Mayor of New Orleans.

What forces could have brought about so lightning-like a change and so explosive a reaction?

Foremost of course is the fact that dictatorship breeds its own destruction. Any government is most unstable when no opposition is blowing through the safety valve.

The state government for a number of years has lacked legislative criticism, the check of the courts, and the customary rivalry of the city machine. Louisiana did not have the tradition of accurate public reporting by officials; in addition to public records arbitrarily closed, many important records were by law shielded from public view. In the background was the ever present handicap of a one-party system.

The safety valve of public expression was held down too long.

Excesses in corruption and graft thrive in any too secure situation like this. In addition Louisiana's credit improved in an easy money market, the New Deal poured in millions for public works and relief, the sales tax proved a real money-maker, the extension of oil fields has brought in extra millions through leases and severance taxes, and the state suddenly found itself blessed with oil beyond any previous expectation. The combination was too much for many to resist after the lean years of 1931 to 1934.

Then too the anschluss of state and city machines in 1935 was at best an artificial union attempted after decades of rivalry and in spite of dissimilarities in background, interests, and objectives. One partner prospered while the other wore a lean and hungry look.

A fourth factor was the collapse of the legislative branch achieved by Huey Long and continued by his heirs. An ill-paid set of legislators were unable to assert independence particularly when multiple officeholding ("double dipping" and "triple dipping") was encouraged despite the obvious intent of the law. Recent sessions were not idly termed "the sack of potatoes legislature."

Perhaps the most ominous backdrop of the stage one year ago was the degree of politicalization of the state courts dating back, of course, to the days of the Kingfish. One of the most amusing and pathetic sights in the aftermath of the February election is the sudden virtue and almost crusading fervor of courts hitherto supine.

OF WASHINGTON ORIGIN

By the summer of 1939 the situation required only a catalytic agent to set off the explosion, a force supplied in this case by the Federal Department of Justice.

Hardly had the former President of the State University bestowed academic honors on Attorney General Murphy, when his generosity backfired in one of the most extensive attacks on local corruption undertaken by the federal government. The part played by Washington in the earlier stages would be difficult to overestimate.

Throughout 1939 the heavy artillery was all federal. An exceptional grand jury pried into innumerable cases of law violation and found in the mail fraud statutes a flexibility overlooked by many of the politically new rich. While the crimes involved were essentially the local ones of theft, bribery, obtaining money under false pretenses, etc., almost all of them involved the use of the mails if only for the clearance of checks.

Exposure after exposure followed.

Federal grand jurors forged ahead while local grand juries struggled vainly at times against antagonistic district attorneys and even judges. The findings were widely circulated by newspapers throughout the state, particularly in New Orleans; the newspapers now led the fight for repudiation of the political machines and were a major factor in the ensuing upset.

The elections of 1940 brought the Department of Justice into still another field since under the law election returns had to be mailed to Baton Rouge. Election methods in Louisiana are still somewhat in the "rough and tumble" stage of 1890, but for the first time the mail fraud statutes and several obscure civil rights laws made vote-stealing a little precarious.

Sincere students of government will find a real cause for contemplation in the extension of federal powers involved in the campaigns against political corruption in Louisiana, Missouri, New Jersey, and elsewhere. The effects in the cases mentioned are undoubtedly helpful, though some may look with misgivings on possible future abuse and the further spread of central authority.

AT THE CROSSROADS

Such questions in Louisiana are buried under the more pressing one as to what the new administration will be able to accomplish by way of improving state and local government.

The Governor-elect goes into office after a real popular upheaval; because of "shortcomings" in election administration and other factors, his victory by 20,000 votes is as impressive as a landslide in some localities.

Chief state elective officials will be Jones men. The new attorney-general is a fearless and capable prosecutor. The legislature, although somewhat an unknown factor, will be amenable at first and perhaps throughout the term of the new governor. The courts are now behaving themselves.

Most important of all, the state political machine appears thoroughly demoralized with no powerful leadership apparent. Governor Earl Long promises to "sit on the lid" until Jones comes in but even in this task he has little help from his erstwhile partners.

On the other hand there are many unknown or adverse factors.

The state cupboard is nearly bare, its debt high. In April the electorate will sweep away the sales tax. Last-minute appropriations by the old legislature and some very expensive promises by Candidate Jones will be embarrassing.

Then too the future of the city machine is uncertain. Its liberation from a not too profitable partnership with the state machine may give it a new lease on life. On the other hand, anything can happen once state prosecutors, grand juries, and courts are freed from a repressive political atmosphere.

The new governor's pledges include a merit system, revision of the tax system, reorganization of state government, an improved election system, greater "home rule," open records and full audits, conservation of natural resources, a better administration of social security activities, and the elimination of graft and favoritism.

These are, of course, traditional planks, but are of urgent necessity in Louisiana. To accomplish them or even a major part of them in a single administration is a Herculean task.

Finally there is the question of cleaning up the debris left by the scandals of the past year and others impending. Several hundred indictments still stand, numerous trials and major civil suits are scheduled, and there is every evidence of many charges yet to come.

Whether the present overturn is but a virtuous intermission or an entirely new production is by no means clear at this time.

The actors are new and the stage is changed; but the audience, which eventually dictates the plot, remains the same. Whether that audience now has a permanent conviction for good government or whether it will soon tire of the new theme is still uncertain.

In any event Louisiana has turned over another new leaf in its most impressive drive for better government in a generation.

Why They Shelved the Manager Plan

When citizens vote to abandon the council-manager form of government, they do it because:

1. The manager plan is being blamed for economic depression;
2. The manager plan is working poorly on account of a defective charter;
3. Selfish political interests have stolen a march on napping citizens.

These are the three chief reasons which Arthur W. Bromage of the University of Michigan assigns for manager plan abandonments as a result of a study of the twenty-five municipalities where the plan has been abandoned by popular vote. Professor Bromage found only five communities which, because of peculiar local circumstances, do not fit into one of the three categories.

The study brings up to date earlier researches on the same subject made by Mr. Bromage and published in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW. The new work is published this month by the National Municipal League in a 48-page pamphlet titled *Manager Plan Abandonments*.

City Management vs. Partisan Politics

Experience of New London, Connecticut, with both partisan and nonpartisan ballot bears out contention that manager plan thrives best with nonpartisan elections bolstered by citizen organization.

By JULIUS ARTHUR OFFSTEIN
Yale University

TO SURVIVE and prosper in this increasingly complex world, social organizations must adjust themselves to life conditions. In recent years, among experts in American municipal government, there has risen to prominence the contention that the council-manager plan provides the necessary framework for such satisfactory adjustment. Just how valid is this belief in the light of realistic practice? The long-term experience of a New England community of 30,000 with a city manager, appointed by and responsible to a small elective council, may indicate whether such a form of government offers a better adjustment to local needs than the form which it displaced eighteen years ago.[1]

New London, Connecticut, is an old New England community located on Long Island Sound at the broad mouth of the sluggish Thames River. Its size is six square miles, its shape irregular, its population in 1930 numbered 29,640. It lies midway between New York and Boston. The city's economic life is diversified in character. There are several kinds of factories. The city is the shopping center for more than 50,000 persons as well as the seat of two institutions of higher learning—fashionable Connecticut College for Women and the United States Coast Guard Academy—and residents derive income from all these sources.

Like many another New England city, New London's population is heterogeneous. According to the 1930 census returns, almost one-fifth of the total residents are foreign-born. New London is also the navy's North Atlantic submarine base; and its fine harbor bristles with yachts and pleasure-going craft when the Harvard-Yale boat races are held each June on the Thames.

After almost three centuries of experience with local government, New London stepped into the vanguard of municipal progress by adopting a council-manager charter in the summer of 1921.

AUTHOR'S NOTE.—Acknowledgment is made to Professor Harvey C. Mansfield of the Department of Government, Yale University. Thanks are given to Miss Barbara Thrall and Samuel Ziskind, Yale University, for aid in diction. The author takes full credit, of course, for errors herein contained.

[1] *Council-Manager Government in New London, Connecticut, 1921-1938* was the title of a monograph written by the author of this article for the Social Science Research Council in 1937-38, as well as the title of his Master of Arts essay on Government at Yale University.

The inception of the manager form introduces a governmental variation which involves interaction and adjustment with long standing traditions and practices in the community. The most serious problem for many municipalities is the degree of participation and control exercised by old line political parties within the new framework of government. In New London this problem has been especially acute.

For the first twelve years—from 1921 to 1933—New London operated under a nonpartisan system, and administration during this period was praiseworthy. To install the new system James E. Barlow was imported from the managership of Dayton, Ohio. When Mr. Barlow was replaced two years later by a local man, it was Harvard-trained William A. Holt who got the job. Manager Holt endeavored to carry out the long range administrative program outlined by his predecessor with regard to personnel, public works, and cognate problems.

PARTISAN ELECTIONS

While no party bearing a national label appeared during the first few years of manager government, a local Good Government Club, sponsored by friends of the manager plan, successfully campaigned during the first elections for competent candidates for the council. The GGC passed out of existence within a few years, however, and a combination of factors resulted in a decline in the calibre of the council.

In 1933, by charter amendment, national party labels were reintroduced in strictly local elections. Within three years candidates who rallied under the symbols of national parties had gained a majority in the council, and in 1936 efficient Manager Holt was turned out of office for purely partisan reasons. After months of partisan squabble, during which time the administration was placed in the hands of the town attorney, council appointed John W. Sheedy, unemployed local business executive, as manager. The appointment was described in the local press "as the climax to what was undoubtedly the most uproarious meeting the city council ever held. Pent-up feeling, obvious disappointment over election results, a stampede of Democrats determined to see Mr. Sheedy appointed, frayed nerves, steamroller tactics, the indulgence of personalities, vituperative outbursts of oratory, all contributed to making the meeting one which was openly described as a disgrace to the city."

Since 1936 the manager's office—hitherto dominant and primarily administrative—has been submerged. Immediately following the appointment of Mr. Sheedy the mayor began paying afternoon calls on the manager to discuss the daily affairs of the city—an action smacking of political interference which is hardly envisioned in manager theory.

New London's experience under both partisan and nonpartisan government has tended to widely held opinion in favor of the latter. As is to be expected, the success of the new plan rests upon the willingness of actors on the political stage to play the roles assigned to them by the impressarios of manager theory. Unless the party in a partisan system accepts the fundamentals of manager government and abides by the rules of the game, manager theory will remain theory or be deformed in practice. The party must, for example, agree to appoint as manager a competent administrator who is not himself involved in party councils. To these conditions the party must gracefully bow, knowing, too, that the manager will oppose patronage, lax law enforcement, and the scores of other things which have been the very heart and soul, not to mention bread and butter, of political parties.

To expect a local party to sacrifice its spoils of office merely to abide by idealistic rules of self-abnegation is to wish for the improbable. Even when political parties agree to the external forms of manager government, powerful forces are at work behind the scenes seeking to use the manager's office as a patronage dispensing machine. Manager Holt's forced resignation may be explained only on partisan grounds.

CITIZEN ORGANIZATION ESSENTIAL

Manager government has a better chance for successful operation if national party symbols are carefully avoided on the ballot. Otherwise, antagonisms from unthinking allegiance to traditional political alignments may have a deleterious effect in the local political arena.

Opposing interests of party and manager systems must somehow be reconciled. On the one hand we have the problem of curtailing the influence of old-style political parties. On the other hand is the very practical problem of finding a substitute for this basic institution in community life, something that will look, taste, and smell like a party, that will provide the bands, smoke, speeches, and associational activities, and yet yield wholesome results.

Experience has shown that an alert, public-spirited, nonpartisan Good Government Club may furnish the necessary substitute. The highly successful Cincinnati plan centers around permanent organization—extending down to wards and precincts. Here the associational and recreational services that have long been the foundation of local political parties are channeled into loyalty for good government. Had the Good Government Club continued its existence in New London, party politics might never have enjoyed a resurgence, and the partisan dismissal of Manager Holt might have been prevented.

But why was it that parties displaced the Good Government Club in New London? It must have been because the GGC started out and remained a blue stocking affair—large taxpayers primarily. To be successful as a party, a good government organization must lose its silk stocking character, broaden its base, and furnish the needs which a party supplies. In supplying these needs, it may be organized around churches, leagues of women voters, or similar groups, but at least it must lose the connotation of large taxpayers.

The idea that good government will result from a spontaneous annual rising of the omniscient and omnicompetent elector is an illusion of nineteenth century democrats—a fallacy which has been contradicted time and time again by experience.

"Organization, leadership, and discipline are indispensable to any beneficial action by masses of men."[2] To make democracy work, in New London or elsewhere, it is desirable that a permanent organization exist to inquire into the results of government, to guard over the rules of the game, whenever necessary bringing stalwart forces of public opinion to bear on those who violate the canons of political honesty.

In summarizing the relationship of party to the manager system, it is my belief that manager government will work best in a small city when partisan labels are excluded from the ballot; also when there exists as guide and checkrein a permanent community organization commanding prestige and allegiance, whose interest lies not with a clique or faction but with the principles of manager government itself.

MANAGER FORM SUPERIOR

That manager government in New London is demonstrably a form of adjustment superior to the regulative institutions it displaced is attested by its achievements in (1) simplifying the task of the voter, (2) improving administrative machinery, and (3) helping create a favorable community attitude through efficiency and economy in government.

More than a dozen candidates on a ballot makes it manifestly difficult for most voters to form an intelligent opinion on their respective merits. Previous to the installation of the manager system there were eighty-seven elective officers in New London, or almost one-third of all city employees, exclusive of the school system. Today the voter merely needs to acquaint himself with seven councilors—four of whom are elected one year and three the next. The remaining three of the ten elective officers, the selectmen, are historic survivals having the unimportant function of examining electoral lists at registration time.

With the simplification of electoral problems has come a more efficient organization of administrative machinery. Previously, administrative authority was distributed at random between eighty-seven electives possessing ballot independence of one another. Two hundred appointees were supervised by various boards, commissions, and committees of the council. Thus the mayor, designated "chief executive officer" in one section of the charter, was in other sections bereft of much supervisory authority; and the insidious wiles of politics further operated to reduce his office to administrative impotence. Only a rude sort of coördination existed between the several departments of government. Finance functions, for example, were shared by half a dozen treasurers, none of whom held superior coördinating authority.

Under the council-manager plan, a loose aggregate of offices and institutions has been coördinated in such a manner as to allow the several departments to exercise their special functions unimpeded, while sharing in mutual dependence upon a manager who specializes in direction and control. Lines of authority and responsibility are clarified in the new charter. The manager functions as chief directive center for subordinate heads of the four principal departments—finance, public works, fire, and police. How quickly this mechanism can be mobilized and adjusted to meet contingencies was demonstrated by the efficiency with which the hurricane crisis was met in New London in the fall of 1938.[3]

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[2] William Graham Sumner, *Folkways* (1906), p. 48.

Economy and efficiency have provided a tangible basis for improved public attitude and confidence in local government. Under the old system it was taken for granted that graft, corruption, and peanut politics were inherent features of local government. Today these practices have been sharply curtailed; and current opinion tends to the notion that, as one citizen expressed it, "There is no graft in New London." For in terms of practical business efficiency, the citizen is cognizant of certain improvements instituted as early as 1922. Briefly, the benefits innovated by the manager system include:

ACCOMPLISHMENTS

1. A complete change in the city accounting system, from a mere cash income and cash expenditure basis to a modern double-entry bookkeeping system.
2. A detailed budget and a uniform classification of accounts for each department.
3. A centralized purchasing system under a full-time purchasing agent.
4. Abolition of park, ferry, water, and sewer boards, and the consolidation of their functions under the city manager.
5. A city treasurer's office to replace independent offices operated by school, park, ferry, and water boards.
6. Finally, the new government inherited a burden of indebtedness accumulated by the old regime. A non-serial bonded debt of $951,000 had caused an increase of the tax rate to 33.75 mills. Outstanding "bills" were paid off within a year after the manager plan went into effect. The non-serial debt had been reduced to $325,000 in 1938 without curtailment of vital services. The tax rate now hovers around 27 mills, and on occasion has been as low as 22.5 mills.

Cities, like every organism and social institution, must constantly adapt themselves, directly or indirectly, to conditions of existence. Obviously that community will progress most which looks to the times and adopts increasingly specialized agencies for subdividing community effort, provided at the same time there exists efficient means to synchronize the several interdependent agencies. In the political life of most communities, this integration can be successfully accomplished by adoption of council-manager government. Certainly in New London the manager plan has markedly improved the political situation, has solved many basic problems of administration, and has quickened the pride of the citizens in their government. One cannot but conclude that manager government in New London is a better adjustment to the need for regulative institutions than the outmoded system which it replaced.

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[3] See also "New London, Connecticut, Fights a Hurricane," by author, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, December 1938.

Politics Without Patronage

Citizen organizations in this country might well profit by certain techniques and policies already tested by local patronageless political organizations in England.

By LEON WEAVER
University of Illinois

INCREASING attention is being devoted to the problems of citizen organization.[1] Developments in this field are of significance because this focus of interest may signify a new phase of evolution of the citizen organization. If such a process of cross-fertilization is continued, it might well provide a new stimulus to the organization and perfection of what is already a tool of great potentiality for the achievement of local democracy.

One logical implication of the fully developed citizen organization is the patronageless local party group—a militant "political machine" organized on a ward and precinct basis, but one relying on "volunteer" service for canvassing and election day activity. The Cincinnati Charter Committee is probably the best known example of such a group.[2]

There is a growing body of competent opinion that the development of the local patronageless political organization is a matter of crucial importance in the tests to which democracy is now being put.[3] The necessary condition for better government is the election of better politicians, which in turn necessitates the participation of a larger proportion of the citizenry in active politics—especially in canvassing and election day work, as distinguished from seeking office or merely casting a vote.

What is not so clear is the specific means for attaining this laudable objective. The problem, then, becomes one of pooling knowledge and focusing ingenuity on the perfection of a social invention whose outlines have already begun to take shape. The problem consists of determining the exact conditions and specific techniques whereby effective and active participation in local party affairs will supplant citizen ignorance and apathy. The problem is to devise a workable formula—or rather to improve on the formula already existing—and to inform the public of its existence.

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[1] At the last National Conference on Government sponsored by the National Municipal League a subcommittee was set up to draft and publish a campaign manual for use by citizens' organizations. According to a summary of the secretary's report on that organization, in the January 1940 NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, Dr. Roy V. Peel, the League's research director, is working with the University of Indiana on a coöperative research program centering around the relation of the citizen to his government.

[2] See *The Cincinnati Plan of Citizen Organization for Political Activity*, Report of the Committee on Citizens' Charter Organization, National Municipal League, 1934.

[3] For instance, see George O. Fairweather, *Wanted: Intelligent Local Self Government*, University of Chicago Press, 1935; W. E. Mosher, "Party and Government Control at the Grass Roots," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, January 1935; also, by the same author, "The Party Is the Crux," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, May 1939.

A study of the literature regarding English party organization and the publications of the English parties leads the writer to venture the suggestion that those interested in encouraging the development of patronageless political organizations might do well to borrow certain techniques and policies already tested in the English system. English parties do not have patronage—at least in the sense in which Americans use the term—with which to reward party workers; yet they maintain efficient vote-getting organizations.

PARTY SCHOOLS AND AGENTS

The two principal features of the English system which will be considered in this paper are: (a) certain techniques, especially the political school, for motivating and training party workers; and (b) the "profession" of party agents. Both features seem to hold certain implications for those interested in working out a blueprint for the local patronageless political organization.

The principal difficulty in building such an organization is in interesting the citizen in precinct work, in convincing him of its necessity and of the dividends that it will pay him in the form of better governmental service or lower taxes.

Or, if he is convinced on these points, he may not know how to translate his good intentions into action. The English parties attempt to surmount these difficulties by means of the week-end or summer political schools. In these political schools the prospective workers are shown how to conduct polls and organize election day efforts. In addition to putting into his hands specific tools for political work, the schools perform a valuable function by interesting the heretofore apathetic or lukewarm citizen in party work. One writer's evaluation of the effectiveness of political schools is indicated by the following language:

> At the schools are people of all ages, but mainly those in the twenties and thirties. For them this spiritual experience is tremendous: they have never known anything like it. The students are avid for the knowledge that they have been prevented by circumstances from obtaining. These few days of speeches by experts and by the great men of the party, discussion on the floor and with fellow students, in beautiful surroundings, cause the growth of party solidarity and centralization, through gratitude, belief that the information is the correct answer to doubts, and sheer fellow-feeling. This holds good for the large majority of students, and their descent upon their constituencies after the experience may easily be imagined. . . .[4]

The English political school suggests that here is a device which those interested in encouraging the formation of patronageless local political organizations might use to help solve the key problem of motivating volunteer precinct workers.[5] This in turn suggests that close students of the problems of citizen organizations might do well to study the English political school to see what features can profitably be borrowed and to work out a publication for the use of local groups.[6]

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[4] Herman Finer, *Theory and Practice of Modern Government*, London, 1931, p. 486, footnote.

[5] There is some indication that local committees of the major parties are experimenting with the political school. See *Fort Wayne Republican Conference (1935)* and *Fort Wayne Republican Forum News* (especially the July 1939 issue), Mayor's Office, Fort Wayne, Ind.

CAREERS FOR POLITICIANS

All three of the major English parties employ paid agents in as many constituencies as they can afford them. The English party agent may be said to be a "career politician." His calling is recognized as a profession with rather high standards. He is recruited strictly on a merit basis, after an examination and inservice training analogous to the procedures in His Majesty's civil service.[7] He enjoys comparative security of tenure and receives a pension on retirement. The agents in each party have their own society which publishes a magazine devoted to professional problems. The agent's duties include serving as executive secretary of the local party organization, recruiting and motivating volunteer workers, and coördinating and directing their efforts.

There are already in this country a few men who have had considerable experience in serving as the executives for local patronageless organizations. It is suggested that the existence of such a body of men, and the informing of local citizens' groups that they exist, might give a considerable impetus to the formation of local patronageless political organizations. It may be further suggested that the as yet comparatively few such political executives in this country might further that cause by a study of the program of training the English party agent and by exploring the feasibility of an analogous program for this country, whereby selected college graduates could be given training, on an apprenticeship basis, in organizing patronageless precinct politics in one of the local patronageless political organizations now in existence.

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[6] For brief discussions of the political education activities of English parties, see Joseph R. Starr, "The Summer Schools and Other Educational Activities of the British Conservative Party," *American Political Science Review,* August 1939; "The Summer Schools and Other Educational Activities of the British Liberal Party," *Ibid.,* August 1937; and "The Summer Schools and Other Educational Activities of the British Socialist Groups," *Ibid.,* October 1936.

[7] For a more detailed description, see Joseph R. Starr, "Summer Schools and Other Educational Activities of the British Conservative Party," cited above, and A. L. Lowell, *The Government of England,* New York, 1912, pp. 496-7.

Research by Master Plan

New Virginia Council on Public Administration acts as coördinator for research agencies; pooling of resources available for research facilitates effective exploration of public problems with minimum expenditure of time and money.

By **RAYMOND UHL**
Bureau of Public Administration, University of Virginia

THE foundations for a coöperative research undertaking in Virginia were already well laid in 1936. There were no less than seven official and semi-official agencies engaged in the study of problems of Virginia government—state and local—not to mention the activities of individual researchers in educational institutions. These were the Advisory Legislative Council, Virginia State Planning Board, Virginia Commission on County Government, Tax Economist, Bureau of Public Administration at the University of Virginia, League of Virginia Municipalities, and Virginia State Chamber of Commerce.

The programs of these agencies overlapped at many points and at times two or more of them were studying identical projects without knowledge of the others. Practically no effort was being made to coördinate the several programs.

The Bureau of Public Administration had become keenly aware of this situation and proposed that a central clearing house be created to bring about a maximum coördination of the programs of these agencies which would eliminate unnecessary duplication and at the same time secure the coöperation of academic researchers in the solution of Virginia's problems. It was felt that such a development would bring about closer coöperation: first, between the official research agencies themselves; second, between the academic researchers; and third, between official agencies and educational institutions. A pooling of resources available for research would facilitate the effective exploration of public problems with a minimum expenditure of both time and money.

The creation of new official planning and advisory agencies as well as extension of the activities of existing agencies and growing interest in public administration in institutions of higher learning emphasized the importance of making this step. Consequently, the bureau with the assistance of the Rockefeller Foundation sought to secure the coöperation of official, semi-official, and academic researchers in the development of a coördinated program of research for the commonwealth.

It was apparent at once that a body should be created in which all of the agencies concerned would be represented. Governor Peery was sympathetic to the undertaking and as an initial step created the Advisory Council to the Bureau of Public Administration, composed of the Governor, the President of the University of Virginia, the Director of the Bureau, the Director of the State Planning Board, the Director of the

Division of Statutory Research and Drafting, the Executive Secretary of the League of Virginia Municipalities, the Chairman of the Advisory Legislative Council, and the Chairman of the Virginia Commission on County Government. The advisory council did not view its function to be policy-forming but to advise the bureau on ways and means of securing the coöperation necessary to a future program of coöperative research. While it was essentially a planning agency, it did bring together the official groups most immediately concerned and its informal discussions resulted almost at once in a reduction of duplication.

During the year and a half in which the advisory council functioned the bureau succeeded in obtaining the coöperation of academic researchers in many of the institutions of higher learning and the groundwork was prepared for the next step. Up to this point the bureau was the core around which the plan evolved. It was the only link between official groups and academic researchers.

In June 1938 Governor Price was convinced that the steps taken had produced valuable results. He therefore created the Virginia Council on Public Administration which superseded the Advisory Council to the Bureau of Public Administration. This council was designed to bring together in one body official, semi-official, and academic research groups.

COUNCIL ON PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

The entire coöperative research experiment is centered around two organizations, the Virginia Council on Public Administration and the Bureau of Public Administration. The council stands at the apex of this structure. It is composed of the following members: James Hubert Price, *chairman*, Governor of Virginia; Robert Henry Tucker, *vice chairman*, Dean of Washington and Lee University; Rowland Andrews Egger, *secretary*, Director of the Budget; John Stewart Battle, State Senator and Chairman of the Virginia Advisory Legislative Council; John Stewart Bryan, President of the College of William and Mary; Julian Ashby Burruss, President of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute; LeRoy Hodges, State Comptroller; John Lloyd Newcomb, President of the University of Virginia; Raymond Bennett Pinchbeck, Dean of the University of Richmond and Chairman of the Virginia Commission on County Government; Hugh Pomeroy, Director of the Virginia State Planning Board; William Ridley Shands, Director of the Division of Statutory Research and Drafting; Morton Ludwig Wallerstein, Executive Secretary of the League of Virginia Municipalities.

At its organization meeting the council adopted the following statement of basic objectives:

I. This council was organized: first, to provide the machinery for conference and consultation among the advisory, research, planning, and educational agencies dealing with problems of public administration in Virginia; second, to encourage, promote, and give the most useful direction to coöperative efforts among researchers and educators working in the general field of public administration in the state.

II. The object of this conference and consultation is to implement and assist in providing an integrated, continuing effort to bring to bear, to the greatest practicable extent, the total intelligence and educational resources of the state upon outstanding governmental and administrative problems of Virginia, in order that duplication of effort may be avoided, more intensive and extensive research and educational programs in the field of public administration developed through effective and economical division of labor, and interest and activity in the field of public administration research and education stimulated in every segment of the political, social, and cultural life of the commonwealth.

III. This coöperation may be assisted and implemented in several ways:

(1) Personal contact

(a) By meetings of the council of such frequency as the Governor may deem desirable for the discussion of research and educational problems, programs, and developments in the work of the agencies represented in the council or in the work of individuals and agencies with which the council is in contact;

(b) By the establishment of *ad hoc* committees, after careful consideration shall have demonstrated the need for and usefulness of such, composed of council members and such other officials, researchers, and educators throughout the state as may be qualified by interests and attainments, and who shall be designated by the Governor, for the investigation of particular problems or promotion of particular programs concerning which action through *ad hoc* committees may be deemed advisable, such committees to be assigned secretarial and technical advisory personnel from, or on the responsibility of, the staff of the Bureau of Public Administration;

(c) By convening small conferences, or round tables, composed of council members and such other officials, researchers, and educators throughout the state as shall be qualified by interests and attainments, and who shall be designated by the Governor, for the purpose of discussing research or educational problems or programs in connection with specified subjects in the field of public administration;

(d) By the encouragement and assistance of professional and other associations of officials, researchers, educators, and public employees dealing with problems of public administration;

(e) By the promotion and assistance of local councils of public administration, after careful consideration shall have demonstrated the usefulness of such, at the several centers of research and educational activity in the state.

(2) Systematic clearing of information

(a) By the expansion and frequent revision of the directory of specialists working in the field of public administration and allied fields which has been published by the Bureau of Public Administration;

(b) By the publication of an informal news bulletin at frequent intervals dealing with governmental or administrative problems requiring research or the development of programs of education for their popularization, and indicating the nature and state of progress of current research and educational projects in public administration throughout the state;

(c) By such other methods of disseminating information concerning public administration research and educational problems and developments in the state as the council may, from time to time, approve.

(3) Organization of specific cooperative programs of research and education in the field of public administration where and when it appears that the requisite talent and enthusiasm for the successful execution of such projects are available or may be developed.

COMMITTEES APPOINTED

In simplifying this structure the council has created an executive committee composed of Dean Tucker, *chairman,* Dr. Egger, Mr. Pomeroy, Colonel Hodges, and Dr. Uhl. This committee is empowered to act for the council in the interim between council meetings. At the suggestion of the bureau staff the executive committee recommended to the council that three *ad hoc* committees be created by the Governor. This recommendation was accepted and the Governor created:

(1) A Committee on a Master Plan of Public Administration Research

The Governor appointed this committee early in June 1939. In his letter of appointment the Governor defined the committee's purpose as follows: "To suggest a broad outline of needed researchers and studies which should be undertaken as long-term projects by our official and semi-official planning and research agencies, and by our research men in the colleges and universities of the state." The committee has undertaken to carry out this mandate by (1) starting the preparation of a complete bibliography of all research done by both official and unofficial agencies and individuals on problems of Virginia's government in the past and at present; (2) the preparation of a directory of all private and public research organizations making studies at present; and (3) a directory of all individuals now engaged in public administration research in the state. With these data in hand the committee is of the opinion that it will be in a position to outline the master plan.

(2) A Committee on Popularization of Public Administration Research

This committee was set up by the Governor on the recommendation of the council and has as its purpose a long-term effort in the direction of systematic public enlightenment on outstanding governmental and social problems of the commonwealth. It was felt that there were vast riches of materials in the reports of many governmental agencies which could be made available in useful and interesting form for the teachers of social science subjects in the new curriculum, as well as for use in college and university social science courses.

(3) A Committee on Public Service Training

This committee was created for the purpose of taking definite steps toward promoting an effective and integrated program of public service training throughout the state.

BUREAU A LIAISON AGENCY

While the council is the central clearing house for all coöperative research endeavors, the Bureau of Public Administration is the liaison agency between the administrative and academic researchers. Chronologically, the bureau is older than the council. It was created as a research agency in 1931 and was primarily concerned with the study of municipal problems. In 1936 there were certain factors present, as previously mentioned, which dictated a change both in policy and method. These factors were: first, the very considerable increase in public administration research, brought about by the creation of new official planning and advisory agencies and the extension of the activities of existing agencies, as well as the growth in interest in public administration in the institutions of higher learning; second, the conviction in the minds of many serious thinkers that more could be done to bring together the research accomplished by the staffs of the planning and advisory agencies and by researchers in academic and other organizations throughout the state; third, the desire on the part of official and semi-official planning and advisory agencies and of leaders in the academic public administration research movement to correlate their activities in a manner which would avoid duplicated effort, which would facilitate the effective exploration of public problems, and which would in general increase the usefulness of all their efforts to the people of Virginia; fourth, the growing realization that the results of research and planning efforts must be incorporated into the educational processes of the state at all levels—primary, secondary, collegiate, and adult—if their implications are to be generally understood and supported, and their recommendations translated into legislative or administrative policies.

Change in method and policy necessitated a reorganization in the structure of the bureau. The staff was enlarged to include a director, assistant director, statistician and economist, a secretary, and a stenographer. Research by members of the staff has become secondary to the promotional aspects of the coöperative program although the bureau does continue to do some research.

The bureau is the secretariat of the Virginia Council on Public Administration. In this capacity it is the agency for carrying out the aims and objectives of the council and the committees of the council when the council expresses its policies through resolutions and decisions. It is the chief coördinating agency for the council and performs this function by making recommendations, by submitting proposed projects to the council and by designating from its own staff or elsewhere the secretaries of all committees of the council. When research projects are undertaken under the auspices of the council, its committees, or coöperating researchers and agencies, it is the duty of the bureau to secure this coöperation and to make every effort in bringing the projects to completion within designated time periods. The bureau publishes in mimeographed form all studies receiving the approval of the council and the sponsorship of coöperating official and semi-official agencies.

This relationship, of course, does not end here. Often the bureau assists agencies represented on the council by securing researchers to make studies immediately under the directorship of those agencies. The bureau as secretariat of the council may promote a research project with the bureau in its capacity of a research agency in the same manner that it promotes a project with the League of Virginia Municipalities, the Virginia State Planning Board, or the Professor of Labor Problems at Washington and Lee University.

Finally, as secretariat of the council, the bureau publishes bi-monthly throughout the school year *Public Administration Notes* which is sent to all researchers in the commonwealth. This publication is designed to keep them informed on the progress of studies under way and of those being initiated.

SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS

Closely allied to the council development is the growing importance of the Committee on a Master Plan of Research in Public Administration. This committee, which has undertaken the task of preparing a master research program, is apparently destined to assume leadership in the coördination of research activities within the structure of government itself. Free of the formalities of a council meeting, its members assemble at frequent intervals for discussions of the major problems confronting the commonwealth. Through this committee the activities of the State Planning Board, the Section on Fiscal Planning and Research of the Division of the Budget, the Advisory Legislative Council, the League of Virginia Municipalities, and the Bureau of Public Administration are coördinated. This phase in the development of the research structure of the state cannot be overemphasized. Constant coöperation through this agency of the council is making continuous coördination of research efforts a reality. For research activities to have any appreciable effect on government itself, it is necessary to know what the state needs. The informal nature of the master plan committee brings about a first-hand consideration and discussion of these problems in the very center of the state's planning and advisory agencies, which is reflected in the success thus far achieved.

Another observation of considerable importance is the success achieved in securing the general coöperation of individual researchers in private as well as public institutions of higher learning. Many of these are interested in making direct contacts with public administrators and are keenly interested in undertaking projects of value to official agencies of government at all levels. A considerable number of projects are under way and there is no doubt that once the master program is drawn up there will be little difficulty in securing the services of researchers to do the work.

FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS

The Virginia Council on Public Administration as the central clearing house in the coöperative research structure has gradually evolved into an effective agency for bringing order out of the complicated field of governmental research. Through its influence the research work of the Virginia Advisory Legislative Council, the State Planning Board, and the Section of Fiscal Planning and Research of the Division of the Budget have been fitted into a frame of reference where friction and duplication are reduced to a minimum. The continuation of this work is essential to the development of the master program. Gradually, the research activities of the line departments and independent boards and commissions are being coördinated and the relationship between the academic researcher and the actual administrator is becoming clearly evident.

The creation of the new Fiscal Planning and Research Section in the Budget Office has given the Governor an effective research group for making continuous reorganization studies and for making surveys of immediate application in fiscal planning. This frees academic researchers for undertaking the long-range projects which must form the major portion of a master plan. This was one of the principal objectives for which the council was set up and it has been one of the chief endeavors of the bureau to make this objective more nearly a reality.

In the past the academicians have played an important role in assisting public administrators in Virginia. Many have given their time to survey commissions and others have become actual administrators. The constant interchange of ideas between the technical researcher and the administrator is an ideal worth striving for. Obviously, all the college researchers cannot be given actual administrative positions and all the administrators cannot be sent back to the colleges. The coöperative research undertaking in Virginia does give a basis for a relationship between the two which enables each to be mutually helpful to the other. The bureau as secretariat of the council has been bending every effort towards making this new relationship a normal procedure in the solution of Virginia problems. It is in this field that the bureau finds its greatest usefulness.

Experience of the last three years shows beyond doubt that forces have been released which are gaining increased momentum as they go. At the beginning of the experiment the bureau staff proceeded cautiously in preparing the groundwork for this development. Personal contacts were made, the aims and objectives of the enterprise were carefully explained, but no one was asked to commit himself to any line of action. Once the Virginia Council on Public Administration reached its stride the staff found that the foundation so carefully laid in the twenty-odd institutions of higher learning in the commonwealth was ready for its superstructure.

With the increased impetus given the program by the council the bureau staff has been securing the services of researchers for undertaking the projects requested by the official agencies acting through the council. Once a project is undertaken the bureau maintains constant contact with the researcher. Assistance in the form of materials, consultation, and the making of contacts between the parties concerned has become a normal function of the staff. Through the connections which the bureau staff maintains in the staff and line departments of the state government, much material and information are secured which probably could not readily be obtained, if at all, by an individual researcher. When studies are completed they are cleared through the bureau which accepts responsibility for checking data, editing, and often-times rewriting of large sections of them. Once the studies have been officially approved by the agencies of government requesting their preparation, the bureau publishes them in mimeographed form. While these duties are time-consuming it is still the hope of the staff that its members may themselves participate in some of the research projects. The development of the master plan will inevitably increase the administrative work of the bureau and its own research activities will of necessity be greatly curtailed and perhaps be reduced to providing the tools with which others may work. The bureau is at present engaged in compiling the new directory of researchers, the directory of research organizations, and the comprehensive research bibliography mentioned above.

The organizational structure for coöperative research in Virginia is apparently sound. The council as the keystone of the structure is working effectively. The avenues for coöperation are wide open. The master plan as the program of action is the order of the day.

It's 500, Now

A BUSINESS man who made hundreds of cities what they are today is now receiving congratulations from his 500th municipal god-child.

On April 2 voters of **Superior, Wisconsin,** approved a council-manager charter for their city, bringing the total of manager plan cities to 500, according to the official count maintained by the International City Managers' Association and the National Municipal League. In addition, there are six manager counties. Superior is a city of 36,113 population on the west end of Lake Superior, opposite Duluth, Minnesota.

Verification of manager plan adoptions at recent town meetings in Maine and Vermont will probably soon bring the total number of council-manager communities to 507.

The man responsible? Richard S. Childs, chairman of the council of the National Municipal League. Mr. Childs thought of the manager plan more than thirty years ago.

Newark Makes Labor Peace

Labor Relations Board in two years of service settles wide range of disputes touching a variety of trades and occupations.

By **WILLIAM L. NUNN**
University of Newark

IN ROOM 304, City Hall, Newark, New Jersey, sit Mr. L. Hamilton Garner, a rufous ex-minister, director since October 1937 of the Newark Labor Relations Board, and a staff of two persons. It is in Newark, center of the most diversified industrial area in the United States, that the approach of Edward F. McGrady[1] to labor settlements, as outlined in the March issue of the REVIEW, has reached its full development.

Prior to the creation of the Newark board the upsurge of labor organization had presented to the city problems not unlike those confronted in Toledo and elsewhere. Along with other executives, Mayor Meyer C. Ellenstein of Newark had heard Mr. McGrady tell of the Toledo plan at a meeting of the United States Conference of Mayors. An exchange of letters, both with the Mayor of Toledo and Mr. McGrady, was followed by a trip to Toledo by a Newark observer. Separate conferences with representatives of Newark industry and labor were held by the Mayor. Slowly an ordinance was drafted which, although based on the Toledo plan, went much beyond it in many particulars.

The Toledo ordinance merely took over in the name of the city a board that was already functioning and made no provision for clearly defining its powers, duties, and procedures. The Newark ordinance, on the contrary, is a lengthy document and provides for:

(1) The establishment of a Newark Labor Relations Board;

(2) The broad purposes of the board in seeking commercial and industrial expansions; harmonious relationships between employer and employees based on mutual understandings and satisfactory working conditions; peaceful negotiation and adjustment of difficulties; and the avoidance and rectification of industrial disputes, loss of wages and purchasing power, and bitter antagonisms;

(3) Appointment of a board of ten members to serve without compensation for a period of three years each; three to represent management, three to represent labor, and four, one of whom is to be elected as chairman, to represent the public;

(4) Appointment of a paid executive director who shall be "independent of political allegiances and affiliations";

(5) Mediation of disputes between management and labor;

(6) Voluntary composition and discontinuance by management and labor of wasteful practices;

(7) Gathering and interpretation of data in the field of labor relations including special industry studies, employment data, etc.;

(8) Coöperation with the Court of Chancery in the matter of litigation and labor injunctions;

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[1] Then assistant secretary of the United States Department of Labor.

(9) Protection to both employers and unions who may voluntarily withdraw from discussions at any time; also protection from any public conclusion by the board as to the merits of the controversy;

(10) Free arbitration services to both contestants when requested;

(11) The services, to industry and labor, of the director, the chairman, and the board members, either as a full board or in panels;

(12) Assistance to the board of appropriate state, federal, and private agencies and persons;

(13) Keeping of records of disputes, settlements, and procedures of the board.

LABOR ORDINANCE ADOPTED

The proposed ordinance was first submitted at two separate meetings to a total of seventy-five or a hundred leaders of labor and representative employers. With minor changes but with prolonged discussion the ordinance was accepted. It was adopted by the city commissioners on April 7, 1937, and the sum of $15,000 was appropriated to the board.

The members of the board, who may be either residents or taxpayers of the city, employed in the city, or employers of Newark labor, comprise a rabbi, a Y. M. C. A. secretary, a dentist, and a university professor as representatives of the public; the president of a leading department store, treasurer of a manufacturing concern, and president of a large scrap iron assembling and shipping yard as representatives of management; and the secretary-treasurer of the Allied Printing Trade Council (A. F. of L.), regional director of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and president of the local Newspaper Guild, as representatives of organized labor. When the latter appointment was made, the Newspaper Guild was a part of the A. F. of L. and the appointment was made primarily to secure on the board a representative of white collar workers. Somewhat similarly other appointments were determined in order to make the board as complete a cross section of Newark as possible, with the result that one member is a woman, one a Negro, one is of Italian origin, while another is Irish; Catholics, Protestants, and Jews are represented.

The board elected the university professor as chairman who served until the end of 1939, and after interviewing numerous candidates, it unanimously recommended to the Mayor the appointment of the present director. Board meetings are held once a month at which time the director renders a report and broad matters of policy are discussed and decisions reached. In about 95 per cent of the cases the director, without assistance from the board, is able to secure settlements satisfactory to both contesting parties. In the remaining cases he has the services of either the chairman or a three-member panel from the board, or both.

Mediation is preferred in reaching *initial* settlements, but arbitration is not frowned upon. If the latter is acceptable, the arbitration panel is drawn up by the chairman or the director in consultation with both contestants and is usually made up of board members. Both parties are encouraged to agree to arbitration provisions in all contracts which of course run only for the duration of the contract. In such cases the arbitration machinery and personnel is agreed upon in advance and becomes a part of the contract. In this way stoppages are avoided, if interpretations differ as to the terms of the settlement. No case has as yet arisen where any contract which the board has had anything to do with has been broken either by employers or by unions.

RECORD OF SETTLEMENT

About 30 per cent of all cases are brought to the board by employers, about 60 per cent by employees and union officials, while the remaining 10 per cent are referred to the board by interested citizens or by the director voluntarily offering the services of the board to both parties. In about 90 per cent of the cases the board has been able to effect a settlement satisfactory to both parties. The remaining 10 per cent of the controversies were either referred to other agencies or became moot with the passage of time or by Chancery Court action.

In the first year of operation, from October 1937 to October 1938, a total of seventy-two disputes was handled by the board. These involved about 5,000 employees directly and approximately 15,500 indirectly. Only eighteen of these were strike situations when brought to the board. In no instance did a serious dispute that had all the elements of an incipient strike in it, reach strike proportions after the case was brought to the board.

It is interesting to note that comparisons with A. F. of L. and C. I. O. disputes and strikes in Newark are conducive to no conclusions. Up to October 1938, 59.3 per cent of the disputes not involving strikes were with the A. F. of L. unions, while 33.3 per cent were with C. I. O. unions. However, 72.3 per cent of the strikes during the same period were with C. I. O. unions while 27.7 per cent were with A. F. of L. unions. In the latter case 64.5 per cent of the workers involved in strikes were A. F. of L. members while 35.5 per cent were affiliated with the C. I. O.

The office records from October 1938 to July 1939, when added to those of the first year, show a total of 106 disputes and forty-nine strikes mediated by the Newark board. The A. F. of L., with sixty-nine disputes and twenty-eight strikes, as compared with C. I. O., which had twenty-eight disputes and twenty-one strikes, had taken the lead, but only as a result of an epidemic of relatively small disputes in retail stores and restaurants.

Disputes have involved a wide variety of trades and occupations, and include nurses, chorus girls, musicians, department store clerks, cleaners and dyers, garment workers, iron and steel workers, cooks, bartenders, bakers, waiters, newsboys, milk drivers, truckers, laundry workers including diaper washers, domestic servants, building maintenance employees, and factory workers of many types.

The periodic disputes in retail stores, laundries, cleaning and dyeing establishments, and trucking concerns, caused the board to appoint special panels from the board to deal with these cases and to secure competent research services for special industry studies with a view to eliminating causes of perpetual friction. Periodic conferences between management and union officials have resulted in the partial elimination of some of these causes; permanent joint committees of labor and management have been formed under the auspices of the board and progress is being made with basic problems.

BOARD PROVES EFFECTIVE

The chief gain, however, is that an agency, hitherto unknown, has demonstrated its effectiveness at one of the most significant tension-creating points in the welfare of the community. At the first suspicion or hint of a conflict in a given plant the machinery of the board begins to function. Existing data is culled for any information dealing with the particular industry and company concerned which might be of assistance to the board in settling the controversy. Telephone calls and visits to the union office and the industrial plant place the board at the disposal of both parties and furnish day-to-day information as to the progress of negotiations.

If a satisfactory solution is not forthcoming, the parties are persuaded to move the conferences to the offices of the board. Here joint discussions as well as separate conferences with the two groups continue, with the director, and sometimes members of the board, sitting in.

Charges, countercharges, demands, counter-demands, and now and then even more tangible things, fly back and forth. "Let them get it out of their systems," seems to be the motto of the mediator, who has turned into a good listener. Sometimes, as the ashtrays overflow and the air gets thicker, the mediator begins to see the probability of a compromise here, a dropped demand there, the need for a permanent management-union committee to settle infant conflicts before they grow to Paul Bunyon proportions. Ideas of acceptable seniority rights, uniform personnel policies, a preferential shop, wage and hour adjustments begin to take shape. Now it is the mediator's turn to carry the ball. The sole interest is a solution satisfactory to both parties. He proposes possible settlements. Provisions are juggled, alternatives are offered. A proposed contract is written and submitted.

The parties break up, reconvene, changes are suggested and agreed upon. The conference comes to an end; tired men go to present the suggested agreement to union members and company officials.

Another conference is held amid banter and good fellowship. Signatures are affixed. No violence, no arrests, no scare headlines, no loss of payrolls, no disrupted community mores—the citizen is not aware of either the problem or the solution. The board turns to another case.

More and more the Newark board has been called upon to hold elections among employees and to certify collective bargaining agencies. This continues to occur even with companies engaged in interstate commerce, where the National Labor Relations Board has legal jurisdiction.

In such cases generally the speed with which the local board can work is given as the reason for such requests.

The board has at all times maintained cordial relations with the Conciliation Service of the United States Department of Labor and with the National Labor Relations Board. In the latter case the activities of the board begin where the work of the National Labor Relations Board ends. Thus, as soon as a given union has been certified by the federal agency as the collective bargaining agent the Newark board begins to mediate the dispute and effect a working agreement between the employer and the certified union.

Any evaluation of such municipal boards must take into consideration the personnel of the board itself. It must be obvious that the board's influence is directly conditioned on the degree to which it can render speedy, impartial assistance to all concerned. Granted that influence, the total cost to the taxpayer is slight in light of the savings in payrolls and purchasing power without which the entire community tightens its belt a few notches.

A substantial gain is to be noted in the degree of good faith and mutual understanding which such a board is able to impart to a community. Bitterness and suspicion tend to give way around a conference table presided over by less partial persons who have a genuine desire to effect a settlement. More intelligible contracts come into existence, the terms of which, because of shop-conference provisions and arbitration clauses as well as general clarity, last for the duration of the contract. Where such contracts provide for direct negotiation between the union and the employer thirty to sixty days before expiration, and where the union and the employer have learned to "live together," the assistance of the board is not needed during renewal discussions.

In this way the board does what it is supposed to do, i.e., work itself out of a job as management and labor carry on without appeals to city hall.

Editor's Note.—This is the second article on municipal industrial peace boards. The first, on Toledo's Industrial Peace Board, appeared in the March issue of the Review. A third article, dealing with efforts of other cities toward solving labor problems, will appear shortly.

Planners Discover Diplomacy

The "World of Tomorrow" cannot be achieved by today's plans without the concurrence of the citizens of today.

By **LAWRENCE H. WENDRICH**
Indiana University

WHAT is planning?[1] The planning expert, in his own mind, feels that he cannot give a wholly satisfactory definition of the scope of planning. Shall it be limited to physical planning, or shall it include economic planning? Governmental jurisdictions partially supply the answer to this question. Detailed physical planning is usually administered within the sphere of local governments; economic planning and the broader aspects of physical planning are functions of the national government. States and regions act as coordinators for local plans and as administrative subdivisions for national plans.

Administrative areas, however, do not define the fields of planning. Within administrative jurisdictions are a wide variety of subjects which may be included in a plan. So varied are these subjects that little in our daily lives may be logically excluded from planned action. But the planners have no desire to expand over so wide a field. Despite past activities embracing a wide scope, planners are anxious to delimit their field. The most feasible method suggested is that certain pressing problems be given preferential attention. Thus, for the present, planning would confine itself to making provision for adequate and proper employment, shelter, health, recreation, and communication. Other problems may demand immediate attention in certain sections, but those listed usually represent the ones which are most provoking.

The scope of planning thus arbitrarily delimited, a more important problem confronts us. To what use have existing plans been put? And the plans that will be drawn—will they too be published only to gather dust on the shelves? Plans may be effected in two ways. The totalitarian state has frequently been referred to as "the planner's paradise." There, plans are formulated and vigorously administered, considering not the opinions of the populace but only the technical utility of the plan. Few American planners are more "planners" than they are "Americans." In other words, our planners think not only of utility but also of the democratic process. A democracy may plan—but execution is subject to the veto of the people. This situation frames the basic problem of planning in America.

Planning Strategy

The American planner must cater to this American way; he must, therefore, devise a means by which his plans will be realized without imposition upon the democratic process. Committed to these principles, but with an innate professional bias toward utility, the planner must educate his fellow citizens to a point of view in which the ideal is tempered by the practical. Planners have evolved a strategy which consists of the following forms of action: direct attempts to stimulate citizen interest, substitution of positive plans for those of a negative character, release of plans at opportune times, and emphasis upon the advisory status of planning agencies. One or more of these methods have been used by planning agencies for varying lengths of time. A fuller explanation of each will clarify the problems of the planner.

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[1] Among the sessions which were a part of the National Municipal League's program for its 1939 convention in Indianapolis, was one on planning. Participating were some of the nation's foremost practicing planning technicians. General objectives, basic principles, and methods of achieving the realization of plans provided the basis for discussion. The writer, who was present during the two-day session, has based this article largely on his interpretation of the opinions expressed by the planners themselves.

Planning can make its surest progress by stimulating citizen interest in the subject. This stimulation, and hoped for education, can probably be best achieved by allowing certain physical improvements, which are the result of planning, to speak for themselves. Charts, maps, and tables must be imbued with an additional ingredient—planning appeal—in the form of money savings, increased utility, or decreased urban ugliness. As plans are accepted and transformed into reality the citizen must be informed of the role that planning has played in the achievement of the physical improvement. A conditioned reaction must be created; the citizen must be taught to think of physical changes or improvements only with consideration of plans and planning experts.

Positive vs. Negative Plans

Public support may also be won by the substitution of positive plans for those of a negative character. Zoning is the most frequent form of negative planning. As one planner expressed it, it is "thou-shalt-not legislation." There is need for greater stress on the protective rather than the restrictive effects of a well drafted zoning ordinance. Presentation of plans as "what to do" rather than "what not to do" will be accepted with more grace by citizens. Planning, to be effective, must be affirmative.

An important phase of planning strategy is the release of plans at opportune times. Plans are more likely to gain public support if submitted for approval when citizens have been awakened to the desirability of solving some pressing problem. Planning projects should be undertaken in those fields where the public is most likely to recognize an inefficient or undesirable situation. Ideally this approach would result in the following situation: the planning board, having studied outstanding problems, will have had plans prepared. Then, when public sentiment for change becomes overt, the board will be in a position to offer a plan to the community, or its legislative body, for consideration. The planning board would not attempt to coerce any group. It would merely submit its proposal as expert opinion on the best method of attaining what the public desires and meriting, therefore, acceptance by the legislative or citizen body.

Of the greatest importance is the status which planners wish to gain. The planning authority must stress its advisory nature when acquainting administrative officials with its work. It is through coöperation with local officials, in an advisory and research capacity, that planning will advance and planners will be recognized. Aid to local

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Comments in Brief

Democracy and the Individual

AS A positive philosophy democracy asks that the common man be given his chance to come to his own best self; it aspires to keep open to all the way of individual opportunity and development—to guarantee all a chance in spite of differences in physical vigor, mental equipment, and social background. C. A. DYKSTRA, President of the University of Wisconsin.

Needed: An Alert Citizenship

THE greatest danger to government, either state or national, is when the indifference of the people permits those holding elective or appointive offices to function without the keen and ever alert participation of the people themselves. GOVERNOR HARLAN J. BUSHFIELD of North Dakota.

A Lesson Still to be Learned

WHEREAS, in simple matters—like shoemaking—we think only a specially trained person will serve our purpose, in politics we presume that everyone who knows how to get votes knows how to administer a city or state. When we are ill we call for a trained physician whose degree is a guarantee of specific preparation and technical competence—we do not ask for the handsomest physician or the most eloquent one. Well then, when the whole state is ill, should we not look for the service and guidance of the wisest and best? PLATO (quoted in *The* [*Wisconsin*] *Municipality*).

Reporting to the Citizen

THE annual municipal report is only one method of reaching the citizen. A definite year-round program of public reporting might also include an attractive leaflet sent out with tax bills or handed out with tax receipts, a movie of municipal activities, regular and special radio broadcasts, a municipal open house and exhibits, and talks before local civic groups. It is well for all public officials to recall the statement by James Madison back when it was much less necessary to report governmental activities than it is today, "A popular government without popular information or a means of acquiring it is but a prologue to a farce or a tragedy." *Public Management,* Editorial.

Hanover Finds Manager Plan Efficient

NOW in its twelfth year under Borough Manager Chester A. Eckbert, Hanover has become one of the most efficiently run small municipalities in the state [Pennsylvania], according to the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin* in a special article.

The borough owns its own waterworks, sewage plant, market, fire department, parks, and ambulance. It has an assessed valuation of $5,325,310, a fourteen-mill tax rate, and a bonded debt of only $204,500.

Commenting on the progress of his administration, Manager Eckbert says, "what we try to do here is never to ask for anything until we know just where the money is going to come from." [Pennsylvania] *Borough Bulletin.*

Home Rule for Pittsburgh?

FIRST of all, Pittsburgh must have home rule, the right to reorganize its government as its citizens see fit. As matters now stand, it requires an act of legislature to transfer janitor service or garbage disposal from one department to another, and coördinated with this is our problem of a governmental unit which is not in any way coterminous with our economic unit. The government of the city of Pittsburgh simply does not represent or control the actual economic and social limits of this city. MAYOR C. D. SCULLY of Pittsburgh.

Public Relations and Local Government

IN PRINCIPLE, in theory, as well as in practice, all local government (in its servicings and in its administrations) is, in its last and final analysis, a mutual partnership.

The producer of services is the municipality or the city, and the consumer of these services is the citizen. *Municipal Review of Canada.*

A Uniform System of Taxation

I STRONGLY urge a system of taxation that will bring uniformity throughout every state of the union, that will avoid duplication and overlapping, that will increase the efficiency of the tax-collecting system, decrease the cost of collection, and thereby reduce the tax burden. MAYOR F. H. LAGUARDIA of New York City.

PLANNERS DISCOVER DIPLOMACY

(Continued from Page 254)

authorities may take such form as drafting model zoning legislation, suggesting standards for health and recreational facilities, traffic facilitation, subdivision control, and serving as a general clearing house for planning information. These functions can best be realized if the planner is recognized as an expert technician. Planners desire to gain the standing of an administrative profession in government to whom the public and its representatives will turn for technical formulation of their wishes.

Thus, we find another phase of government emerging as a professionalized field. It offers its aid to both citizen and official. But the "world of tomorrow" cannot be achieved by today's plans without the concurrence of the citizens of today. Plans have been made and will be made—stimulating, practical, and constructive. The planner is waiting for the public to take the initiative so that he may aid in the improvement of our physical surroundings.

Contributors in Review

LAST month's issue of the REVIEW carried **William L. Nunn's** first article on municipal industrial peace boards. *Newark Makes Labor Peace* is the second. Mr. Nunn teaches economics at the University of Newark and was a member of the Newark Labor Relations Board until the end of 1939.

HOW New London got through the 1938 hurricane was described by **Julius Arthur Offstein** (*City Management vs. Partisan Politics*) in December 1938 in this magazine, and now he progresses to a description of how the same city stands political weather. Since 1937 Mr. Offstein has been a graduate student in government and sociology at Yale. New London government was the subject of his Master's dissertation as well as of a monograph written for the Social Science Research Council.

FROM the box seat on the governmental arena that a research bureau affords, **S. S. Sheppard** (*It Won't Be Long Now*) has been watching post-Long New Orleans since his appointment as executive secretary of the New Orleans bureau in 1937. Before that Mr. Sheppard was assistant executive secretary of the Boston Municipal Research Bureau. Hailing from Colorado, he came to municipal research via Colorado College and Syracuse University.

POLITICAL and administrative geography is a particular interest of **Raymond Uhl** (*Research by Master Plan*). Mr. Uhl came to the Bureau of Public Administration at the University of Virginia from undergraduate and graduate study at the University of Virginia, with a detour to Johns Hopkins University for a Ph.D. He began as secretary of the bureau and has since become acting director and assistant professor of political science. He has written widely for political science periodicals.

TWENTY-SEVEN and unmarried, **Leon Weaver** (*Politics Without Patronage*) has had plenty of varied experience. Mr. Weaver taught for three years in the public schools; worked in the county treasurer's office in Pike County, Illinois; served with the Federal Crop Insurance Corporation; worked as area supervisor with the Illinois Local Finance Survey. He is now a research assistant in the department of political science at the University of Illinois. An earlier article by Mr. Weaver in the *American Political Science Review* dealt with rural precinct committeemen.

PART of an experiment is **Lawrence H. Wendrich** (*Planners Discover Diplomacy*). He holds one of the six fellowships awarded by Indiana University for the Institute of Politics which it is sponsoring in conjunction with the National Municipal League. Sandwiched in with undergraduate study at the University of Newark and graduate study at New York University (Master's thesis—the Problems of Consolidation of the Governments in Essex County, New Jersey), Mr. Wendrich worked one year as a law clerk and five years in the home office of the Prudential Insurance Company.

The Researcher's Digest: April

GRA—Public Administration Committee controversy reviewed; South Dakota radio series; Schenectady pensions; new Massachusetts bureau.

A MIMEOGRAPHED report issued in January by the **Governmental Research Association,** containing memoranda by Frederick P. Gruenberg of the Philadelphia City Charter Committee, William Anderson of the University of Minnesota, Loren B. Miller of the Newark Bureau of Municipal Research, and W. E. Mosher of Syracuse University, chairman of the executive committee of the GRA, tells the story of the by now famous survey of local governmental research bureaus sponsored by the Committee on Public Administration of the Social Science Research Council which has stirred up controversy in the governmental field ever since its completion.

After about a year and a half of work, the Public Administration survey was completed in tentative form and circulated among the GRA members for criticism. It was the work of Frederick P. Gruenberg and Norman Gill. Mr. Gruenberg explains that he was in charge of the study during the first year of its progress, but that his connection was then terminated and the survey was continued by Mr. Gill, who had up to that time served as his assistant.

Mr. Miller's memorandum relates that "results . . . of the survey produced a large two-volume report which, when submitted to various members of GRA for comment, we are told drew response ranging from broad praise to heated dispute. Yet, at least among a number of responses I was privileged to see, not only was there general conformity in objecting to the report, but in fact remarkable uniformity."

One of the chief reasons for these objections, it appears from the memoranda, is that the study entered not only into the work of the private citizens bureaus of municipal research but also into institutional research bureaus, such as those maintained by universities. According to Mr. Miller: "The Public Administration Committee's purpose was to survey research in public administration in all its manifestations, of which local citizen research agencies were but one. This had far-reaching and direct implications with respect to our attitude toward the report. The report surveyed research in public administration. Without question local citizen research agencies have contributed notably to this cause, a fact substantiated by the findings of the survey. It also is true that since the advent of local citizen research agencies, other agencies also capable of research in public administration have emerged. In the minds of some, the report went so far as to imply that those other agencies are sufficiently established as to obviate the continuing need for local citizen research agencies as production media of research in public administration."

Such a conclusion, in the view of Mr. Miller, "is overshadowed by another fact of greater importance, a fact of fundamental difference between other public administration agencies and local citizen research agencies, and a fact which apparently had not been previously appreciated by the survey staff. Public administration research is the *purpose* of the other agencies. While research is still just as desirable a contribution when made by local citizen research agencies, the fact remains and must be recognized that research in public administration is a *tool* of local citizen research agencies and not their purpose. The primary purpose of citizen research agencies is citizen knowledge and control of government, using research as their particular tool or technique."

One result of the objections to the original report was the formulation of a new report by William Anderson and Joseph P. Harris which was presented to the Committee on Public Administration. This new shorter report was largely confined to definition, in an attempt to sort out the separate aims and methods of the various types of governmental research units. Mr. Anderson stresses that "it was not prepared primarily to propose any changes in the GRA, but rather to present a bird's-eye-view of the present situation with respect to research in public administration in the United States.

Neither the Gruenberg-Gill report nor the Anderson-Harris report has been or will be published but the mimeographed report by the Governmental Research Association (*Governmental Research—An Appraisal and a Reply*) is intended as a summary of the controversy which developed around them.

"You and Your Government"

Fitting, perhaps, into the category of those research units for whom research is a purpose, rather than a tool (as the two are distinguished by Mr. Miller), is the newly organized **Governmental Research Bureau of the University of South Dakota,** at Vermillion, which published on February 29 the first of its series on state, county, municipal, and school government and sources of public information in South Dakota. Volume I, No. 1, deals with *State Government,* a symposium of interviews with public officials on the bureau's "You and Your Government" radio series which began in January.

As described by the bureau's director, "The bureau has successfully completed its first experiment in civic education, a series of interviews with state officeholders broadcast over the leading South Dakota radio station. The interviews were wholly nonpartisan in character and contained such valuable material on state government that it was decided to make them available for distribution. The result was the bureau's first publication. Participating in the radio series were the Governor, Secretary of State, Director of Taxation, Supreme Court Justice, a circuit court judge, the Lieutenant Governor, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives."

Pension Pother

"After July first, nineteen hundred forty, membership in any pension or retirement system of the state or of a civil division thereof shall be a contractual relationship, the benefits of which shall not be diminished or impaired."

Nine propositions were submitted to the voters of New York State by the constitutional convention held in the summer of 1938. The first of the nine contained a miscellany of amendments, of which the amendment making existing pension systems a contractual relationship was one. When proposition one was approved by the voters, the pension amendment was automatically put into effect.

The results of such an amendment may well be imagined. Municipal pension and retirement systems are all too often nonactuarial in character, and the financial burden on a municipality forced to take over forever the obligations of existing systems could in some cases be ruinous. To the solution of the problem of transforming local pension systems before the July 1, 1940, deadline, the **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research** addressed itself. The results of its work are embodied in a sixty-four-page mimeographed report titled *Police and Fire Pension Systems of the City of Schenectady, New York.*

Warning that "unless some step is taken immediately, we may anticipate an annual tax cost reaching a maximum of approximately $150,000 shortly after 1960" as a result of pension obligations, the bureau recommends that policemen and firemen be transferred to the state pension system, thus permitting the city to spread the cost evenly over a period of about thirty years, with annual appropriations of about $40,000. An alternative, the bureau found, would be to prohibit any retirements on pension before age sixty except for disability, increase the contributions required from the men, and require periodic examination of all men hereafter retired for disability before age sixty and make continued payments of disability pensions discretionary with the trustees.

The bureau's study treats exhaustively the financial consequences if no change is made in the existing pension system before July 1, and the financial aspects of the methods of adjustment it suggests.

Research Bureau at Massachusetts State College

The Massachusetts State College announces the organization of a Bureau of Public Administration as a section in the Department of Economics. Dr. Charles J. Rohr, assistant professor of political economy, has been appointed executive secretary. The new bureau will make available to public officials, local and state, as well as to interested private citizens and organizations, results of research in various fields of government and public administration.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Assessments

Assessed Valuations. Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc., *Municipal Research,* February 1940. 1 p.

Automobiles

City and County Automobiles. Kansas City Civic Research Institute, *Kansas City Public Affairs,* March 7, 1940. 6 pp.

Debt

The Total Community Debt. Dayton Research Association, *Facts,* March 4, 1940. 2 pp.

Finance

Cost of Government in Canada—Dominion Government. Citizens' Research Institute of Canada, *Canadian Taxation,* March 12, 1940. 4 pp.

How Provincial Revenues are Spent—Ontario. Citizens' Research Institute of Canada, *Canadian Taxation,* February 29, 1940. 4 pp.

Governmental Research

Governmental Research — An Appraisal and a Reply. Detroit, Governmental Research Association, January 1940. 20 pp. mimeo.

Pari-Mutuels

The Taxpayers' Stake in the Pari-Mutuels. Citizens Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., of New York State, *Bulletin,* February 24, 1940. 2 pp.

Pensions

Police and Fire Pension Systems of the City of Schenectady, New York. Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc. January 10, 1940. 64 pp. mimeo.

Public Welfare

Expenditures for Public Assistance. Providence Governmental Research Bureau. February 1940. 4 pp.

We Hope This Jars You. Des Moines Bureau of Municipal Research. *Subscribers' Bulletin No. 86.* March 6, 1940. 1 p. mimeo.

Schools

School Pay Rates and State-Aid Requirements. Citizens Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., of New York State. *Bulletin.* February 16, 1940. 2 pp.

State Government

State Government. The Governmental Research Bureau, University of South Dakota, Vermillion, South Dakota, February 29, 1940. 46 pp.

Tax Delinquency

Automobile Tax Delinquency Costs General Taxpayer Two Cents on Current City Tax Rate. Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency & Economy, Inc., *Your Tax Dollar,* March 6, 1940. 2 pp. mimeo.

News in Review

City, County, State Progress in Brief

New England Towns Adopt Manager Plan

Indiana Study Commission to Recommend Manager Amendment

Interstate Barriers Discussed

Edited by

H. M. OLMSTED

Bridgton, Jay, Linneus, Hodgdon, and **Norridgewock, Maine,** all voted at their annual meetings in March to adopt manager government.

Bar Harbor, Maine, voted on March 5 in favor of the manager plan but the state legislature must approve the charter before it becomes effective.

Millinocket, Maine, voted at its town meeting to have a manager charter drawn up for submission at a special election.

Vergennes, Vermont, at its annual council meeting March 5, adopted the city manager plan for the ensuing year, by a vote of 247 to 240. **Randolph, Vermont,** also adopted the plan on the same day by a vote of 196 to 68.

Fair Haven, Vermont, is considering adoption of the town manager plan. A committee has been appointed to study the plan. **Castleton,** in the same state, approved continuation of the manager plan adopted a year ago.

Panama City, Florida, began operation under its new manager charter on March 8.

In **Chicopee, Massachusetts,** the chance for a vote this year on the city manager—proportional representation form of government (Plan E under Massachusetts statutes) has been furthered by a decision of the State Ballot Law Commission against the submission to a referendum this year of the alternative Plan B, which is generally regarded as having been proposed in order to delay consideration of Plan E for another two years. Efforts will be made by the supporters of Plan E to bring it to a referendum vote this fall.

The **Worcester, Massachusetts,** Good Government Association has approved Plan E. A committee that had studied various types of charters for eight months reported that Plan E was the "only one that has merit."

The **Brookline, Massachusetts,** Citizens' Committee recently sponsored a meeting to consider adoption of the town manager form of government. Several of the present town officials were among the speakers. One of the present selectmen favored the plan as eliminating the present absence of administrative responsibility and control.

In **Leominster, Massachusetts,** Councilor Paul R. Nettel, who proposed a Plan E charter for that city three years ago, has asked the Chamber of Commerce and the Taxpayers Association to sponsor a petition to have the plan placed on the ballot at the fall election.

Winnsboro, South Carolina, has voted 298 to 259 in favor of the manager plan. The referendum was to determine popular sentiment only; the results are not binding.

In **Nutley, New Jersey,** two civic organizations are giving careful consideration to the city manager plan. The Civic Affairs League invited a representative of the town commission, Manager Paul Volker of the town of Teaneck, and Mayor Newell of Bloomfield, to present the case for the commission, city manager, and mayor-council forms of government respectively. The Nutley League of Women Voters arranged a public meeting to discuss city manager government.

The City Charter Commission of **Dunkirk, New York,** passed a resolution on March 6 providing for the completion of a city manager charter and submission thereof to the voters of the city at a special election.

The council of **Ottawa Hills, Ohio,** plans to submit a manager charter to the voters.

The city of **Monroe, Michigan,** has recently adopted charter amendments centralizing administration under a modified manager form.

A charter commission of nine members in **Pontiac, Michigan,** is drafting a new charter as a result of a vote to incorporate as a home rule city. The commission has agreed upon the manager form with a commission of four members and a mayor, elected biennially in the fall of odd-numbered years. Office of the clerk and treasurer will be filled by appointment for indefinite terms. The manager could hold the office either of treasurer or of clerk. A municipal court judge will be elected for a four-year term and a constable for a two-year term.

Huron, South Dakota, abandoned the manager plan on March 21.

Mayor Maury Maverick of **San Antonio, Texas,** has appointed a commission to draft a city manager charter.

In **Helena, Montana,** a Civic League has recently been organized to study city government and sponsor reforms from time to time which the membership feels will be beneficial to Helena. Membership in the league is open to anyone interested in civic development. As its first activity the league voted to sponsor petitions now being circulated for the city manager form of government.

In **Lakeview, Oregon,** the town council has adopted a resolution instructing the town attorney to prepare an ordinance, to be submitted to the voters next May, authorizing the council to expend the needed funds to prepare a new town charter calling for a manager type of government.

A manager charter for **Central Falls, Rhode Island,** is pending before the state legislature.

Other cities interested in the manager plan include **Dumont, New Jersey,** and **Odessa, Texas.**

City Manager Enabling Amendment for Indiana?

A constitutional amendment will probably be recommended by the Indiana City Manager Plan Study Commission to effectuate the optional adoption of the manager plan by cities of the state. Although the submission of a constitutional amendment will delay the actual adoption of the manager plan by any Indiana city, the commission believes that in the long run the amendment procedure is much more certain and much more acceptable than an enabling act, which would not only be subject to change from time to time by the legislature but would meet with judicial difficulties, as did a previously enacted act.

The commission is now confronted with the task of determining the content of the constitutional amendment, more particularly in the following respects:

1. In addition to the power to determine its structure of government, what other home rule powers should be given to cities?
2. Should each home rule power be expressly set forth in the amendment, or should there be a general statement of such powers?
3. Should the language of the amendment insure to cities the right, without any question of doubt, to adopt proportional representation for election of councilmen?
4. Should the amendment be self-executing or should there be subsequent mandatory action of the legis-

lature to formulate machinery for making the amendment effective?

The National Municipal League and the Proportional Representation League are assisting the commission in its study.

The legislative resolution establishing the commission requires a report by October 1, 1940. If a constitutional amendment is acted upon favorably by the 1941 session of the General Assembly, it must be favorably acted upon by another general session of the Assembly before it can be submitted to the electorate. Therefore, the earliest possible date of submission would be 1943 and since there will be no statewide election in that year, the referendum will probably not take place until 1944.

VIRGIL SHEPPARD, *Member*
Indiana City Manager Plan
Study Commission

Managers Meet

The International City Managers' Association announces that its twenty-seventh annual conference will be held in Colorado Springs, September 23-26.

California managers held their mid-year conference at Stockton, February 22-24, with a new record of twenty-five city managers in attendance. Features were timely topics such as public relations, discussed by Richard S. Graves, executive secretary of the League of California Cities; in-service training at the management level, by City Manager James S. Dean of Sacramento; a critical analysis of council-manager cities, by Joseph P. Harris, University of California; and a paper by Herbert A. Simon, research associate, Bureau of Public Administration, University of California.

The South Carolina managers met at Columbia on February 8 in connection with the Municipal Association of South Carolina. All five managers were present. Among the subjects discussed were licenses, finance, and alcoholic beverage control.

City managers of Texas held a series of three sectional meetings of one day each in Big Spring, Austin, and Dallas. In-service management training, office interviews, and other public relations items, methods of sustaining civic interest, etc., were discussed.

Town Government in Massachusetts

On March 4 the town of Methuen, Massachusetts, turned down a referendum proposal to petition the state legislature for incorporation as a city. The vote was 4,252 to 1,517. Methuen was a city from 1917 to 1921, but in the latter year the Supreme Court of Massachusetts declared the incorporation void because of the omission of certain procedural details. Methuen thereupon adopted a representative town meeting form of government, and has operated under it ever since.

On March 6 the town of Marblehead overwhelmingly turned down a proposal to petition the legislature for an act authorizing a representative town meeting. The vote was only four for such a petition out of over a thousand present.

LAURENCE L. BARBER, JR.
Harvard University

Municipal Mergers Urged

A report of a seven-month study by the Princeton Local Government Survey and the Governmental Research Department of the New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce points out the advantages of consolidation of the industrial cities of Passaic and Clifton, New Jersey, with populations of 63,000 and 57,000, respectively. Better police, fire, and health services, improved transportation, and an absence of costly rivalries and duplicated capital investments are urged as advantages. Passaic is now governed by a board of commissioners and Clifton has council-manager government. No form of government for the consolidated city is suggested.

In Illinois the city council of Granite City, of 23,000 population, has voted to invite the adjacent village of Nameoki, with 2,300 inhabitants, to merge with it.

Better municipal services without higher costs are proposed.

Voting Machines in Massachusetts Town

The town of Brookline was the first town in Massachusetts to use voting machines, when nine machines went into service in one precinct at the town election this March. Town Clerk Arthur J. Shinners went on the air the night before the election to explain the workings of the machines, in what was announced as "the first time in the history of radio that a voting machine has been used in a broadcast."

Laurence L. Barber, Jr.
Harvard University

Interstate Trade Barriers Attacked Regionally

One of a number of regional meetings to work out solutions of interstate trade barrier problems was a conference in Chicago, on March 1, of representatives of Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin. The meeting, to consider methods of untangling conflicting state regulations on liquor traffic, was called by the Illinois Commission on Intergovernmental Cooperation and the Council of State Governments. As a result, the Illinois Liquor Control Commission took steps to check the bootlegging of Illinois liquor in neighboring states. A similar meeting, held recently in Buffalo, drew representatives from seven states.

Several other meetings have been held in recent months to solve trade barrier problems. One was an informal conference of motor vehicle administrators and cooperation commissions from ten midwestern states. The results were reciprocal agreements on various phases of the problem between Iowa and Nebraska, Iowa and Minnesota, and Nebraska and Minnesota. A recent reciprocal agreement between New York and Michigan removed one interstate trade barrier when Michigan waived the mileage tax and registration requirements formerly imposed on truck operators from New York, and New York waived fees of $55 for trucks and $30 for trailers imposed on Michigan operators. Now trucks from either state have free use of the other's highways.

The Council of State Governments launched the drive against trade barriers in April 1939, at the National Conference on Interstate Trade Barriers in Chicago. Although the immediate result was the repeal of many state trade barrier laws, and the rejection of proposals designed to raise trade barriers, there were many problems which could be solved only through conference to adjust relations of one state to another.

The Illinois Chamber of Commerce and the Wisconsin Chamber of Commerce are taking active part in the campaign against trade barriers in the region comprising those two states and Minnesota, Michigan, Indiana, Kentucky, and Iowa. A conference on the problem as affecting that area is contemplated for the near future.

The Tax Policy League is making the question of "Tax Barriers to Trade" the central theme of its next national tax conference to be held in Chicago early in 1941.

South Carolina to Investigate Santee-Cooper Project

Governor Burnet R. Maybank has requested the General Assembly of South Carolina to order a "full, impartial, and fair investigation" of the South Carolina Public Service Authority, of which he was formerly chairman. The request resulted from charges of waste and incompetence against the authority in connection with the $40,000,000 Santee-Cooper power and navigation development. An investigation has been predicted for many weeks, because of legislators' protests that not enough persons from their counties had received jobs; the state Santee-Cooper act calls for a pro rata distribution of employment among the unemployed in all the counties.

James K. Coleman

The Citadel

Colorado to Vote on Civil Service Amendment

An initiative measure amending state constitutional provisions for civil service recently filed in Colorado will be placed before the voters of that state at the general election next November, according to the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada.

An unusual provision of the initiative proposal is a requirement that members of the three-man civil service commission be appointed by the State Supreme Court. They will serve six-year overlapping terms, and may be removed by a majority vote of the court.

The measure also provides for appointment of a state personnel director, to be chosen by the Civil Service Commission from among the three persons ranking highest in an open competitive examination administered by a special committee of public personnel officials.

Iowa to Vote on Constitutional Convention

As provided by the state constitution of Iowa, the following question will be submitted to the voters at the regular 1940 election, this having been required every ten years since 1870: "Shall there be a convention to revise the constitution and amend the same?" Thus far the vote has been negative each time. If a majority of the votes cast favor a convention the following legislature must provide for the election of delegates.

Administrative Reorganization for Virginia

Reorganization of state departments dealing with finance, highway patrol, public welfare, prisons and parole, and mental hygiene and hospitals is provided for in Senate Bill No. 205 before the legislature of Virginia. It calls for a commissioner of finance, appointed by the governor subject to confirmation by the general assembly, to head a department comprising various divisions, the directors of which would be appointed by the commissioner subject to confirmation by the governor, except for the division of the treasury headed by the constitutional state treasurer.

A division of highway patrol, headed by a director appointed by the governor, would supplant the present division of motor vehicles.

Most of the present powers and duties of the board of public welfare and certain other agencies are transferred to the commissioner of public welfare, the board being continued in an advisory capacity.

A department of corrections, and a department of mental hygiene and hospitals, each headed by a commissioner, are established as regular administrative departments.

Merit System Progress for Teachers

Reports to the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada indicate a growing interest in placing school teachers under local merit systems. Three Connecticut cities—Bridgeport, New Britain, and Norwalk—are the most recent to report action toward setting up a merit system for their school teachers, and the Chicago Federation of Teachers has gone on record as favoring competitive written examinations for promotions in the Chicago school system.

Municipal Sanitation Schools in Minnesota

The League of Minnesota Municipalities, in coöperation with the University of Minnesota Center for Continuation Study, conducted short courses for water works and sewage plant operators and plumbing inspectors during the week of March 25.

Pennsylvania School for Traffic Officers

The fourth annual Pennsylvania Traffic Officers Training School will be held May 13 to 24, 1940, at the Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania. Former training schools have provided an admirable opportunity for more than a hundred officers to get the latest and most effective information on solving traffic problems by means of both classwork and field work. This year the general field of public safety will receive special emphasis. A one-week advanced course will also be given, May 20 to 24, for those officers who have satisfactorily completed the basic course in previous years or who have had equivalent training.

Funds Refused for Personnel Council, Cut for Planning Board

At a joint Congressional conference March 14 the Council of Personnel Administration, charged with coördinating the better-management program in government offices, was dropped from the appropriations list in the independent offices bill. Officials said that some of its important functions will be taken over by the national Civil Service Commission.

The conference committee retained the $710,000 fund for the National Resources Planning Board, which the Senate had restored after the House eliminated the entire $1,060,000 that had been asked.

National Board Surveys Local Planning

The National Resources Planning Board is undertaking a comprehensive survey of all local planning agencies in connection with a revision of its circular of May 15, 1937, entitled *Status of City and County Planning in the United States.* The survey will cover not only city, town, and county planning and zoning agencies but also district and metropolitan planning agencies, county agricultural land-use committees, soil conservation districts, and local housing authorities. Reports on the last three types of agencies will be prepared in Washington; a field survey will be made to secure current data as to the others. It is to be hoped that all local agencies will be encouraged to coöperate fully in furnishing the desired information, to give as comprehensive a result as possible.

Annual Public Health Conference

The sixty-ninth annual meeting of the American Public Health Association will be held in Detroit, Michigan, October 8-11, with the Book-Cadillac Hotel as headquarters. The Michigan Public Health Association, the American School Health Association, the International Society of Medical Health Officers, the Association of Women in Public Health, and a number of other allied and related organizations will meet in conjunction with the association. It is expected that 3,500 health officials will gather for a series of scientific meetings covering all phases of health protection and promotion.

League of Women Voters Convention

The National League of Women Voters has announced that its biennial convention will be held in New York City April 29 to May 3, at the Commodore Hotel. Delegates from thirty-one states and 550 local leagues are expected. Three days of symposia are on the program, all relating to the general theme of "Principles Behind the Issues." On April 30 the discussion will be concerned with "Economic Society, Planned and Unplanned"; on May 1 it will be "Minerals, Trade, and Peace," and on May 2, "Fiscal Policies." Open sessions following the symposia are expected to develop debates of considerable value.

Wellesley Summer Institute

The central theme of the 1940 Summer Institute for Social Progress, at Wellesley College, Wellesley, Massachusetts, July 6-20, will be "Building Democracy." Twelve morning lectures will be given on topics in two general groupings—the individual voter and power politics and the individual voter and the campaign issues of "prosperity," "economy," and "war and peace." These will be followed by group discussions.

Counties Enter Public Housing Field

Two counties may vote on manager plan

Edited by

ELWYN A. MAUCK

The United States Housing Authority has announced that six county housing authorities, located in various parts of the United States, have been approved to build homes for farm families of low income. The total cost of the 1300 projected homes will be $2,805,000, 90 per cent of which will be financed by loans from the USHA bearing 2.75 per cent interest.

The local units that will construct and operate the projects with the assistance of the USHA are authorities established by Lonoke County, Arkansas; Thomas County, Georgia; Alexander County, Illinois; Vigo County, Indiana; Lee County, Mississippi; and Darlington County, South Carolina.

Although municipal housing authorities have become well known, county authorities are a comparatively recent development. Thirty-eight states have enacted legislation in regard to public housing for persons of low income. Such legislation usually (1) authorizes public housing agencies to issue bonds and acquire property by eminent domain or otherwise, (2) provides that the property and bonds of the agencies are exempt from taxation, (3) authorizes public bodies and private persons to invest in such bonds, and (4) authorizes state public bodies to cooperate with public housing agencies or the federal government with regard to housing. Many states permit municipal housing authorities to build up to five or ten miles beyond the municipal boundaries, while a Florida statute provides that the Jacksonville Housing Authority shall embrace the whole of Duval County.

Sixteen states authorize county housing authorities. In addition there should be included the District of Columbia which has created an Alley Dwelling Authority and the three New England states of Vermont, Massachusetts, and Connecticut which have given similar powers to their towns (townships). Ohio permits such an authority to be established in an area comprising two or more subdivisions of a county but less than the entire county. Delaware makes permissive an authority embracing less than the county. The sixteen states are Arkansas, California, Delaware, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Nebraska, New Jersey, North Dakota, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Virginia, and Washington. New York permitted county authorities but repealed the law as of July 1, 1939.

Sixty-four county authorities have been established in thirteen states, not including the housing authorities of the city-counties of Denver and San Francisco. They are:

ARKANSAS (10)
- Clark
- Cleveland
- Conway
- Drew
- Jefferson
- Johnson
- Lonoke
- Pope
- Washington
- White

CALIFORNIA (2)
- Kern
- Los Angeles

GEORGIA (1)
- Thomas

ILLINOIS (11)
- Alexander
- Champaign
- Coles
- Gallatin
- Henry
- LaSalle
- Madison
- Montgomery
- Rock Island
- St. Clair
- Tazewell

INDIANA (2)
- Delaware
- Vigo

MARYLAND (1)
- Montgomery

MISSISSIPPI (26)
- Alcorn
- Claiborne
- Coahoma
- Copiah
- Covington
- Forrest
- Franklin
- Hinds
- Jones
- Kemper
- Lamar
- Lauderdale
- Lee
- Madison
- Montgomery
- Neshoba
- Newton
- Oktibbeha
- Panola
- Perry
- Pontotoc
- Prentiss
- Scott
- Tishomingo
- Union
- Yalobusha

NEW JERSEY (1)
- Passaic

OREGON (1)
- Clackamas

PENNSYLVANIA (6)
- Allegheny
- Delaware
- McKean
- Mifflin
- Montgomery
- Schuylkill

S. CAROLINA (1)
- Darlington

VIRGINIA (1)
- Warren

WASHINGTON (1)
- King

The 1,300 houses to be built by the six county authorities are to be constructed at an average cost of $2,000 including land. An annual rental charge of $50 per dwelling, with annual contributions from the USHA to maintain low rents, will enable the amortization of the loan in sixty years. Only the very lowest income groups among farm families will be beneficiaries of the program. Maintenance and repair work by the tenants will be credited against the rentals charged them.

In design the dwellings will resemble those under the successive jurisdiction of the Subsistence Homesteads Corporation, the Rural Rehabilitation Program of the Resettlement Administration, and now under the Farm Security Administration. The houses will be of bungalow type, of clapboard construction, and composition shingle roofs. They will contain four to seven rooms and cost on an average $1,600. Four hundred dollars is allowed to purchase an acre of land for each house. The houses will not be grouped together in colonies as under other public housing programs, and all families seeking occupancy will be certified by the Department of Agriculture on the basis of ability to pay and disposition toward maintenance and repair work.

Los Angeles County to Vote on Manager Plan[1]

In response to increasing sentiment that the manager plan has proved itself a success and should be made permanent, the Board of Supervisors of Los Angeles County, California, has acted to put the question on the ballot, probably at the general election to be held November 5, 1940.

A modified manager plan was adopted by action of the Board of Supervisors in August 1938, and Colonel Wayne R. Allen was appointed and has filled the post of chief administrative officer since that time. No action by the people was required, it being thought that a trial period should precede any decisive action. The plan has been so successful that the Board of Supervisors decided further action should be taken to give the residents an opportunity to express their opinion as to whether they wished the plan to be made permanent. The question to be submitted will take the form of a proposed amendment to the Los Angeles County charter, a step that long has been advocated by civic groups in the county.

Another Virginia County May Vote on Manager

A law recently enacted by the Virginia legislature will open the way for residents of Elizabeth City County to vote on the adoption of one of the state's optional manager plans. The law was passed in an attempt to forestall annexation of the county to contiguous units through action of an annexation court. The county fears its extinction through action similar to the procedure whereby Henrico County lost some of its territory to Richmond as reported in this section in February 1940.

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[1] See John McDiarmid, *Streamlined County Government — Los Angeles Style*, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, November 1939, p. 757.

New York County Loses Parkway Tolls

The New York State Court of Appeals in a four-to-three decision has stopped Westchester County, New York, from collecting further tolls from motorists using its parkways. The practice was begun last August when the state refused the county financial assistance for parkway maintenance.

The tolls had been collected for use of the Hutchinson River Parkway and collection was to be extended to the Saw Mill River Parkway. It had been anticipated that the tolls would result in revenue amounting to more than $1,000,000 per year for the county with which it could amortize the debt on its $65,000,000 park and parkway system. Seventy-five per cent of the motorists using the parkways are non-residents of Westchester County. Thus the plan was intended to shift a large part of the burden from residents of the county to users of the parkways. The ruling will not affect the projected toll system of the new Fleetwood viaduct, financed by $1,800,000 in revenue bonds purchased by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

The judges of the high court of the state divided regarding their classification of a "parkway." The majority believed that it constituted a "public highway," and therefore no authority had been granted to the county to place any encumbrances upon the use of such parkways. The minority, on the other hand, held a parkway to be a "park facility," in which the county acted in a "proprietary" rather than "governmental" capacity. From this point of view, local regulations were fully within the scope of the county's powers.

Westchester County is now faced with the problem of refunding the tolls collected, of finding other methods of amortizing its parkway indebtedness, and perhaps of securing an amendment to the highway laws.

Hearst Papers Urge "Five Counties Plan" for California

Reiterating its position taken in 1934, the Hearst newspapers in California are once more proposing that the fifty-three counties of the state be reduced in number to five. The State Department of Finance is quoted as estimating that the proposed plan would save the taxpayers $31,000,000 annually. It is stated that each new county could contain an important center of population to which the remainder of the county would be naturally tributary. In short, county boundaries would be readjusted to meet new social and economic conditions.

Toledo Manager League Renamed, Reorganized

Oakland Citizenship Day Planned

Edited by
ELWOOD N. THOMPSON

With a new name, a revised set of objectives, and a broadened program of activity, the former City Manager League of Toledo is preparing a threefold development which it hopes will make the organization the most potent force for good government in the community.

At the annual meeting late in February, the league membership voted to change the name of the four-and-a-half-year-old citizen group to the Municipal League of Toledo. Principal reason for the change was the confusion existing in the public mind about the meaning of the former name, which caused many persons to believe that the league was a department of the city government or was chiefly interested in perpetuating in office some individual official.

The move was in no sense an indication of a slackening in enthusiasm for the city manager—small council charter, under which Toledo's municipal government has made remarkable strides in four years and in the establishment and preservation of which the league has played a major role. The Board of Directors, in recommending the change to the membership, emphasized the belief that more members could be attracted and the organization made more effective if the confusion as to the organization's purposes were cleared up.

Threefold Program

A new set of objectives and a threefold program of action—educational, governmental, and political—to attain them also were approved by the membership. The objectives are:

1. Maintaining a type of government that will serve all citizens efficiently and impartially;
2. Securing legislative and administrative leadership of integrity, courage, and ability;
3. Giving such leadership continuing and effective support;
4. Holding the entire council strictly responsible for prompt action on city problems and economical operation of the city government, in accordance with the charter;
5. Maintaining an educational and publicity program to inform the citizens about their government.

Here is the League's program for 1940-41:

1. Extend its educational program by:
   a. Issuing regular publications;
   b. Sponsoring a series of district town hall meetings throughout the year for discussion of all city problems;
   c. Using radio broadcasts for talks, discussions, and forums on city government;
   d. Conducting appropriate ceremonies for newly naturalized citizens;
   e. Sponsoring an annual Citizenship Day program for those reaching the age of twenty-one in the preceding year; holding district instruction meetings for young people to prepare them for citizenship;
   f. Organizing inspection tours of local governmental units for *all* high school students;
   g. Conducting an annual essay contest, with appropriate prizes, for *all* high school students on how local government operates.
2. Perform properly its governmental functions by:
   a. Studying the principal problems of city council;
   b. Making public recommendations regarding their solution;
   c. Consulting with councilmen to effect action;
   d. Maintaining constant observation at council meetings;
   e. Publishing statements of approval or disapproval of council actions.
3. Obtain effective political action by:
   a. Beginning a study of possible 1941 council candidates in November 1940;
   b. Organizing workers throughout the city, months before the 1941 campaign, by intensifying activities of the Women's Division and Junior Division with district meetings and parties;
   c. Endorsing a slate of the nine "best" candidates and conducting a vigorous campaign for their election;
   d. Publishing a "rating" of every council candidate after thorough survey, and distributing to *all* the voters.

Hodges at Annual Meeting

Principal speaker at the annual meeting was Professor Henry G. Hodges, of the graduate school of public service at the University of Cincinnati, who delivered an inspiring and comprehensive address on "The Citizen and His City."

Professor Hodges warned the league that failure to keep democratic local administration in harmony with changing conditions eventually will bring a reckoning. Observing that democracy both begins and decays in our cities, he said that successful local government must be elastic enough to adjust its administration to the dynamics of modern society.

"The process of improvement in local government must be accompanied by a program of civic education," Professor Hodges said. "Changes enforced from the top, lacking in public understanding and acceptance, are not likely to endure. Reform bolts from the blue do not always denote civic progress. When the citizen becomes vocally incensed, graft disappears; when he understands the processes of his city management, positive progress begins."

History proves that man acquires democratic institutions on all layers of government only through struggle, he declared. The future will prove that those institutions can be preserved only through education in the rights and duties of citizenship.

City Manager George N. Schoonmaker and Mayor John Q. Carey spoke briefly on progress of the administration. Three other city councilmen were introduced.

Eight members of the league's Board of Directors were elected at the meeting. These eight, with twelve holdovers, met later and elected ten more directors. The thirty elected, together with the president of the league's Junior Division, will comprise the new board, which will meet later this month to elect officers.

Richard P. Overmyer,
Executive Secretary
Municipal League of Toledo

Detroit Citizens Get Budget Facts

Taxpayers of Detroit report complete success this year in achieving coöperation with city authorities in the annual budget process. Expert budget analysis has been furnished by the Bureau of Governmental Research and by the Board of Commerce through Willis H. Hall, director of tax research.

Fifteen years ago the Governmental Committee was organized by a few civic leaders, with secretariat in the Board of Commerce. A score of business and civic groups are members. Each year subcommittees have dug into departmental budget problems, submitting reports with criticisms to the mayor and council of nine.

Mayor Edward J. Jeffries this year has made possible complete teamwork in this research and critical process. His economy program has commanded community respect. Apparently, his final budget decisions will not be materially changed by the city council. A powerful factor in this process has been the annual increase of interest and efficiency on the part of the Governmental Committee.

This experience has revealed to the Detroit groups that citizen attacks on alleged high taxes generally are futile unless accompanied by expert budget analysis with specific recommendations for budget changes. It also now appears that city officials of average competence will take seriously citizen recommendations provided they are based on real knowledge of facts, are not inspired by selfish motives, and are followed with practical support of the responsible official who adopts the citizen recommendations.

Civic and business organizations of Detroit have been virtually unanimous in their cordial support extended to the new administration of Mayor Edward J. Jeffries, who was installed January 2. His ambition, he states, is to be a mayor for the entire city and to be free of favoritism in all so-called political action. In this endeavor he is well supported by the three daily newspapers and by civic and business organizations generally.

This action-program is being followed consistently by members of the Detroit Citizens League and other civic agencies. At a recent league meeting two hundred citizens spent a session defining the problem of zoning in relation to housing and planning. It is expected that the new zoning ordinance, which results from long experience and investigation, soon will be passed by the city council. Prior to final passage the council and city plan commission have scheduled a score of public meetings, so arranged as to give all Detroit citizens reasonable opportunity to know the facts in the case and to support passage of the ordinance. Detroit is one of the few major cities which have delayed this kind of action far too long. The proposed ordinance is a belated fulfillment of the requirement in the city charter adopted June 25, 1918.

W. P. Lovett, *Executive Secretary.*
Detroit Citizens League

Citizenship Day Sponsored by Oakland Citizens League

On the third Sunday in May, Oakland County (Pontiac), Michigan, will hold its first Citizenship Day, reports the Oakland Citizens League, initial sponsor of the event.

S. V. Norton, a director of the league, attended last year the Citizenship Day ceremonies at Manitowoc, Wisconsin, where the plan originated, and was so much impressed that he reported to his own organization, which decided to invite all patriotic, civic, religious, and other organizations of the county to join with the Citizens League in sponsoring such a plan in Oakland County.

In coöperation with the Extension Division of the University of Michigan the sponsoring organizations will offer the twenty-one-year-olds of the area instruction in the organization of local, state, and federal government and the part that the individual voter plays in the democratic system of government. The new voters are organized in local groups arranged geographically for convenience. In the weeks preceding May 19, they meet with discussion leaders for instruction and discussion.

Voters of **Ann Arbor,** a town of 27,000 and seat of the University of Michigan, need not go to the polls blindly when candidates are to be chosen for municipal office. Well in advance of each primary and general election the Citizens' Council questions candidates on leading municipal issues and publishes their views for the information of the voters. Unlike organizations in many other cities, endorsements are withheld and the voter is ureged to make up his mind for himself.

Tax Collections Return to Normal

Collections for 1939 best in decade but total collections barely exceed levy in average city

Edited by
WADE S. SMITH

Municipal property tax delinquency in 1939 was the lowest in a decade, according to the 1930-39 survey of tax delinquency prepared by Dr. Frederick L. Bird and just published.[1] After six successive years of improving current collections and four years of abnormally high back tax collections, however, total current and delinquent collections have reached normalcy, the study shows, with the backlog of accumulated uncollected taxes sharply reduced in the average city.

Year-end current tax delinquency for 150 cities of over 50,000 population as summarized in the survey follows. The left-hand column contains the median figures for twenty cities showing the greatest stability of collections; the center column the median delinquency for the entire group of cities; and the right-hand column the median figures for twenty cities showing greatest instability of current collections.

Median Percentages of Year-end Tax Delinquency

	20 Stable Records	*150 Cities*	*20 Unstable Records*
1930	4.05	10.15	11.85
1931	5.55	14.60	18.55
1932	7.90	19.95	27.20
1933	10.15	26.35	39.05
1934	8.60	23.05	34.55
1935	7.55	18.00	28.55
1936	6.15	13.90	21.15
1937	5.35	11.30	14.00

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[1] *Trend of Tax Delinquency 1930-39, Cities Over 50,000 Population,* by Frederick L. Bird, New York City, Municipal Service Department, Dun & Bradstreet, Inc., 1940.

1938	5.10	10.70	13.10
1939	4.85	9.25	11.60

Even more important than the fact that current collections have improved to better than the 1930 level is the fact that the lush back tax collections experienced by many cities during the 1935-38 period are about over. As Dr. Bird succinctly points out in an extended discussion of this phase of tax collections, many cities which experienced very poor current collections during the early depression years found themselves with bonanza collections, such as they had never experienced before, as taxpayers began to pay up arrears. Many of these cities had their total collections pushed up to 120, 130, and even 140 per cent of the levy by the large volume of delinquent collections—and many used the funds so received to lower current tax levies or support greatly expanded expenditures. As the backlog of accumulated delinquent taxes is exhausted by repayment collections, these cities are returning—declining is perhaps the better word—to normal, and increased current tax levies or reduced expenditures will be necessary. The following table summarizes the total current and delinquent tax collection experience of one hundred of the cities for which comparable data are available:

Median Percentages of Total Tax Collections

		Range		*Above*	*Below*
	Median	*Low*	*High*	*105%*	*95%*
1935	100.9	74.6	122.4	29	12
1936	102.5	82.1	131.5	34	11
1937	102.8	77.0	141.7	34	8
1938	99.8	80.3	121.9	19	12
1939	100.8	80.5	110.8	18	11

Findings of the survey as to the extent and distribution of delinquent taxes will be summarized in this column next month.

Date Set for MFOA Convention

The 1940 conference of the Municipal Finance Officers Association will be held in Detroit, June 17 to 19, at the Hotel Statler. Features of the conference will include the round tables where various procedural matters will be discussed in small groups under capable leadership. At the general sessions there will be discussions of the broad, unusual problems facing local governments at this time. The complete program will be announced at a later date.

Kentucky Bank Deposit Tax Upheld

The United States Supreme Court (*Madden* v. *Ky.*, 60 S. Ct. 406, Adv. Sheets) has sustained the decision by the Kentucky Court of Appeals that the state legislature did not violate the due process, equal protection, or privileges and immunities clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment by classifying bank deposits in Kentucky for taxation at one rate and those maintained outside the state by Kentuckians at a higher rate. The court, following the doctrine of the Watson case (254 U. S. 122, 4 S. Ct. 43, 65 L. Ed. 170) and of the case of *Carmichael* v. *Southern Coal and Coke Co*. (30 U. S. 495, 57 S. Ct. 868, 81 L. Ed. 1245), held that administrative feasibility was a valid basis for classification.

Both counsel and the court itself seemed to take a more serious view of the alleged violation of the privileges and immunities clause. The Court of Appeals of Kentucky (265 Ky. 684, 692) had distinguished this case from that of *Colgate* v. *Harvey* (296 U. S. 404, 56 S. Ct. 252, 80 L. Ed. 299) relied on by the taxpayer's counsel in the Madden appeal. However, the Supreme Court re-examined the doctrine of the Harvey case and expressly overruled that case. The decision involved adherence to the traditional view that the privileges and immunities assured by the constitution were those of national citizenship.

From the majority opinion by Mr. Justice Reed, Mr. Justice Roberts dissents on the ground that *Colgate* v. *Harvey* correctly expressed the law. Mr. Justice McReynolds concurred in the dissent.

JAMES W. MARTIN
University of Kentucky

States Integrate Tax Administration

State tax department reorganization, resulting in a reduction in agencies or a single agency, is reported for six states in a survey recently made by the Federation of Tax Administrators covering the past twelve months.

The states working toward coördination include Minnesota, Kansas, North Dakota, Iowa, Idaho, and Texas. A check on eight major taxes for the entire forty-eight states shows that the 135 agencies administering them were reduced to 131 during the twelve months, although the total number of taxes increased from 305 to 308. "Major" taxes included general property, income, sales, gasoline, inheritance and estate, motor vehicle registration, tobacco, and liquor levies.

As part of a general financial reorganization, Minnesota reconstructed its tax-administering agencies, reducing the number from five to three. Kansas replaced its Department of Inspection and Registration and its Tax Commission with a new office headed by a director of revenue under supervision of the commissioner of revenue and taxation. North Dakota transferred liquor taxes from the "regulatory department" to the Tax Commission.

Iowa created a Tax Commission to take charge of six of the major taxes formerly under two other agencies, in addition to other tax functions which had been scattered among other agencies. In Idaho the existing tax commissioner took over administration of eight taxes formerly distributed among three agencies. Texas abolished the office of state tax commissioner, allocating his duties to other agencies.

Changes with some coördinating effect were reported also for Alabama, Colorado, Oklahoma, and Ohio. Rhode Island's state reorganization act revised the tax-administering agencies, which were already integrated under one head.

Wisconsin was the only state to go counter to consolidation. Early in 1939 administration of its gasoline and liquor taxes was transferred from the Tax Commission to the Treasury Department, which was also given charge of the tobacco tax enacted later. The Department of Taxation, which replaced the Tax Commission, was left in charge of general property, income and inheritance, chain store, and utility taxes.

Eight states administer their major taxes through one agency, according to the survey. They are Georgia, Kentucky, New York, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Utah. At the other end of the list, one state has six agencies and one has five. The most common number of tax agencies in a state is three—fourteen have this number; eleven states utilize four agencies.

Mayor LaGuardia on P.R.

An Answer to the Post
Dr. Finley of the Times
P.R. for a Union of Nations

Edited by
GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.

During the campaign for P. R. and the city manager plan in Waterbury, Connecticut, last fall Chandler W. Johnson of Cambridge asked Mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia of New York City for a statement on the principles of the Waterbury proposal and received the following answer, dated October 2, 1939:

"Opposition to the proportional representation form of election of city councilmen is no surprise to me. Whether in New York City, Cincinnati, or Waterbury, the opposition will be found to come from professional clubhouse politicians. The only difference between proportional representation and the old system of election is that it gives every minority of voters within the city proper representation in the legislative branch of its local government. The matter seemingly cannot be discussed on its merits. Therefore, the opposition resorts to ridicule, exaggeration of facts, and misstatements.

"It is said that it takes a long time to count the ballots. This is true. Is it not better to take a long time to count the ballots in the light of day where everybody can see the ballots and get an honest count and thereby carry out the wishes of the people than it is to get a quick and dishonest count only to carry out the orders of a political boss? The expense involved in a city the size of Waterbury is negligible.

"It is said that Labor and other interested and recognized groups do not have a fair chance. In New York City and elsewhere where it has been tried, it has been found that such groups do have a fair proportion of representation. In New York City, five of twenty-six councilmen were elected from Labor groups. Five independents without any clubhouse affiliations were likewise elected. Therefore, it will be seen that in so far as representation is concerned, everyone gets an equal chance and actual representation.

"I may be asked, and properly, 'Has the city council been annoying and exasperating to the Mayor?' Surely, it has, but is that not our system of government? Is not every executive subjected to criticism, or even, if you please, to be harassed by the legislative body? I am glad that I am living under a system of government that permits an executive to be criticized, even if that criticism extends to the point of unjustifiable abuse. Otherwise, we would soon arrive at the individual dictator. We want no such system in this country.

"If it is asked, 'Has the proportional-representation-elected city council been as effective as it might be?' the answer is no. But, that is not the fault of the method of election. Rather, may I say that is just why it is complimentary to my administration. The function of a local administrative (legislative) body is to be alert, to watch the executive and administrators, and perhaps where there is an honest and efficient administration, there is little in both respects for the council to do. Therefore, when the council set out to criticize and find fault with the administration, there was nothing that they could successfully attack. Therefore, there has been a great deal of discussion and a great deal of criticism and fault-finding that could not be justified. That is not a fault of the council, but is to the credit of the administration. The council under an inefficient and dishonest administration would have brought to light its faults, dishonesty, and inefficiency, and would have crystallized public opinion against such an administration to bring about corrective action.

"I have been asked as to the city manager. On that, I will say that Waterbury is an ideal city for the city manager form of government. Of course, that again depends upon the men who select the city manager and the ability and character of the city manager himself. Once accepting the city manager form of government, it is necessary to give that city manager the moral and actual support necessary and to give him the power to successfully administer the city honestly and efficiently. To have the proper selection of a proper city manager, it is necessary of course to have the proportional representation system of electing the councilmen, in order to make certain that he will not be politically picked and that the best available person will be selected."

F. H. LaGuardia, *Mayor*

The Post *Was Misled*

As already indicated editorially in the National Municipal Review for February, the *Saturday Evening Post,* on January 27, 1940, printed one of the most completely erroneous and groundless attacks that has ever appeared in a reputable American periodical. The editor who wrote the *Post's* leader, "P. R.—Meaning Power

Racket," was badly misled himself and has misled many thousands of others.

Since the *Post* has so far declined to print any public retraction in response to the many protests sent to it by informed people and since it is evident that for some time to come its editorial will be used by the forces of spoils politics wherever good citizens try to rid themselves of political bondage by securing a more complete representation of the voting public, it seems desirable to summarize for the use of such citizens the *Post's* misstatements and the true facts.

The following statements in the *Post* editorial can be proved to the satisfaction of any open-minded investigator to be utterly false:

1. "They [the civic leaders of Cincinnati] were troubled over the obvious fact that minorities were not being represented on the city council, even though a city manager form of government was working well. They looked about for a remedy. Professional enthusiasts came along and sold them on the idea that a new system of voting, proportional representation, something that had been introduced in the Irish Free State, would give the overlooked minorities representation."

P. R. was adopted in Cincinnati simultaneously with the city manager plan. The civic leaders there, including Murray Seasongood, Charles P. Taft, and the late Henry Bentley, have given their opinion that the city manager plan never would have worked well in Cincinnati without P. R., any more than it has in Kansas City.

2. "This [the election of a 4-4-1 council under P. R. in Cincinnati in 1939] gave Ham-and-Egger Bigelow the balance of power in the council, and he's been using it to keep Cincinnati in bewildered turmoil ever since."

This statement was printed on January 27, 1940. On January 3, 1940, three days after the new council assumed office, Mr. Bigelow's plan to deadlock the election of a mayor (president of council), by refusal to cast a ballot until he could drive a bargain with one side or the other, met with complete failure. Charles P. Taft, son of the late President and Chief Justice, and mayoralty candidate for the charter forces, voted for the Republican organization candidate, James G. Stewart, who had led the poll in the popular vote for councilmen. Mr. Stewart was thus elected by five votes out of eight. A Charter Committee vice-mayor, Edward N. Waldvogel, was then elected immediately by five votes to four, Mr. Bigelow making no attempt this time to secure any compensation for his vote. The business of the city has continued to run smoothly as usual.

3. "Bigelow won because his strictly personal following of 14,233—out of a total of 146,174—cast their ballots for him, and voted for few, if any, other candidates."

Bigelow's first-choice following was 8,661. The other 5,572 whose votes helped elect him voted first for some other candidate and for Bigelow as a later choice. Their votes were transferred to him because their earlier choices were either defeated or elected without their help, so that Bigelow was the first of their choices who could be helped by their votes. No one knows whether the Bigelow voters voted for few, if any, other candidates after voting for Bigelow, for the fact was not recorded and is entirely immaterial. The *Post* editor goes on to indicate further that he has a misconception of P. R. in this regard.

4. "If there had been eight other demagogues with personal followings as large as Bigelow's in Cincinnati, then there would be nine Bigelows running the city of Cincinnati today, and the citizenry at large would not be represented at all."

Since each ballot counts for the election of only one candidate under P. R., the nine hypothetical Bigelows would be elected by at least nine times the Bigelow vote of 14,233, or 128,097 of the 146,319 valid votes. The unrepresented "citizenry at large" would be the 18,222 or less who were left. (And of course if more than 14,233 of these voted for one man, they would defeat one of the nine Bigelows at that.) The *Post* writer simply doesn't understand P. R.

5. "They [the Tammany mathematicians in New York] discovered that P. R. was a sheep in wolf's clothing. They butchered the sheep to make a merry political barbecue the first time P. R. was tried at the polls in 1937."

Tammany and its allies elected thirteen councilmen out of twenty-six.[1] Two others, elected as insurgent Democrats, became part of the Democratic organization delegation when their group ousted the Queens regulars from control during their term of office. Never before since 1919, even in the first LaGuardia election, had Tammany and its allies failed to elect at least 75 per cent of the city's legislative body to which the new council corresponded. The same day that the Democratic organizations elected 50 per cent of the first council under P. R., they elected 80 per cent of the city's state assemblymen and 87 per cent of the city's delegation to the constitutional convention under the old plurality system.

6. "Last fall . . . Tammany won full control of New York's City Council, by the simple trick of having their well trained voters cast ballots for only a few candidates."

Tammany and its allies[2] won control by casting a majority of the votes, which entitled them to control. There was no "trick" about it. The independent voters stayed home in droves, considering it an "off-year," and the Democratic organization swept every office in the city except the P. R. council. On the new council the opposition elements are ably represented by seven members out of twenty-one, enough to sustain Mayor LaGuardia on a budget veto. But for P. R. it is practically certain that the Democrats would have swept the entire council as they did the judicial and county offices throughout the city.

Obviously a statement based on so much misinformation and misunderstanding is deserving of no credence whatever.

Dr. Finley's Death a Loss to P.R.

One of the many good causes to lose a beloved and powerful friend in the death of John H. Finley on March 7 was the cause of true representative government. The editor-emeritus of the *New York Times*, formerly president of Knox College and the College of the City of New York, professor of politics at Princeton University, commissioner of education of the State of New York, author, scholar, and community leader, had been a member of the national advisory council of the Proportional Representation League continuously since 1915. He was one of the distinguished Americans who gave early encouragement to Clarence and William Hoag in their pioneer efforts to establish P. R. in the first small American cities to adopt it and continued his support as this instrument of democracy won its way to adoption in his own great city of New York.

Elections in a Federal Union of Nations

In Great Britain much attention is being given to the problem of international organization after the war. A considerable body of opinion favors a federal union of the leading democracies, as urged by Clarence K. Streit in his *Union Now* and hinted at in public statements recently by both Prime Minister Chamberlain of Great Britain and former Prime Minister Daladier of France.

John H. Humphreys, secretary of the British Proportional Representation Society, has contributed two articles on "Problems of Federal Union" to the *Federal Union News*.[1] In the first of these he analyzes the problem of elections and favors the proportional over the "majority" systems not only from the viewpoint of abstract justice but from that of making the new organization work.

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[1] See also "New York's First Use of P. R.," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, January 1938, p. 52.

[2] Tammany itself, the Manhattan Democratic organization, elected only two out of five in that borough. It failed to elect three out of five because P. R. gave representation to the minority within the Democratic ranks which supported Alfred E. Smith, Jr., running as an independent. See also "The Second Use of P. R. in New York City," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, December 1939, p. 880.

"In a federal union," he writes, "stress will probably be laid at election time upon national interests, needs, and points of view. The majority system may give to these an exaggerated expression, depriving the internationally minded of their due share of influence in the common parliament. We cannot foresee what issues may arise to cause dissension, but exaggeration of dissension tends toward war. Federal union principles have been criticised on the ground that federalism did not prevent the American civil war. Was the majority system of election a factor? A committee of the United States Senate of 1869 reported upon the effects of a 'vicious electoral system' in suppressing the elements in the southern states favorable to the union. The free vote system (a form of proportional representation) would, they said, 'have held the union men of those states together and have given them voices in the electoral colleges. . . . Unrepresented, without due voice and power, they could interpose no effectual resistance to secession and to civil war.' The 'solid' south was a product of the majority system. Federal union should reject all possibility of totalitarianism in representation in any area within the union."

The difficulties of federation in India due to the suppression of minorities by the majority system of election are contrasted with the smooth functioning of federated democracy under proportional representation in Switzerland, where "the cantons of Zurich, of Vaud, of Ticino—German, French, and Italian speaking respectively—each elect to the federal parliament Socialists, Conservatives, and Liberals, who, coming from different cantons, coöperate in the work of federal government."

Mr. Humphreys points out that some form of P. R. "is the law today in no less than eight of the fifteen democracies named in Mr. Streit's *Union Now*. Proportional systems are used in electing the Houses of Parliament of Finland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, and Ireland. In five of the remaining seven democracies, proportional representation is in use, although at present only for special purposes,[2] whilst in France the Chamber of Deputies in 1939 passed a P. R. bill."

The single transferable vote or Hare system of P. R. used in Ireland, the United States and the other English-speaking democracies is preferred to the party list systems of continental Europe because "it confers freedom upon electors and candidates," while the list systems restrict the voters' choice.

In his second article Mr. Humphreys discusses the problem of government in a federal union. The forms of executive used in Britain, the United States, and Switzerland are discussed in turn, with a preference for the Swiss form, a coöperative government of seven members elected by the assembly and not confined to one party or state. The Swiss custom of rotation in the presidency among the different members of the government is particularly recommended. The plan of a separately elected executive, as in the United States, is disapproved for a federal union of nations because of the possibility of a disastrous conflict of policy between the executive and the legislature.

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[1] These articles have been reprinted in a single leaflet by the British P. R. Society and may be obtained for one penny (two cents American money) plus postage from the society at 82 Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.1, London.

[2] The five are the United States (for the New York, Cincinnati, Toledo, and other city councils), Canada (for parts of the provincial legislatures of Manitoba and Alberta and several municipal councils), Great Britain (for university members of parliament), Australia (for the legislative assembly of Tasmania and the upper house of New South Wales), and New Zealand (for the Christchurch city council and certain other local bodies).

Books in Review

Edited by ELSIE S. PARKER

The New Democracy and the New Despotism. By Charles E. Merriam. New York, Whittlesey House, 1939. viii, 278 pp. $3.00.

Prologue to Politics. By Charles E. Merriam. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1939. x, 118 pp. $1.50.

The struggle between two forms of government—democratic and dictatorial—attracted much comment during the past decade and gave rise to many studies that were descriptive and expository. As this struggle approached its catastrophic climax, readers began to be bored with the repetition of gossip and irrelevant facts on democracies and dictatorships, and to demand a clear statement of alternatives. The first of Professor Merriam's books listed above, published before the outbreak of the war last September, provided for the first time a satisfactory philosophical comparison of the two systems of government.

Merriam defines democracy in terms of the dignity of man, the perfectibility of mankind, the diffusion of social gain through the masses, the consent of the governed, and the possibility of consciously desired and peaceful change. A prolific writer and an authority in many fields, he has examined each of these assumptions, particularly the consent of the governed, and presented what must be regarded as a final statement of the validity of the democratic dogma.

His discussion of despotism is based on studies that were begun many years ago. He draws heavily on the new information made available by the cognate social sciences, indicating that the anti-democratic movement is but a recrudescence of primitive ideas of the superman, the noble few, and individual selfishness; and in his analysis of the doctrines of the New Despotism, he scathingly rebukes the fraudulent misuse of terms by the defenders of despotism, the exaggeration of nationalism, the irrational reliance upon violence, and the desperate reaction against international anarchy which has made despots.

One cannot summarize in a brief review the opinions which Professor Merriam entertains, but in the mind of the reviewer it seems that the burden of the author's argument is that mankind should progress humanely, benignly, and intelligently through creative evolution to that kind of world order which allows individual men to realize their capacities to the optimum degree and which at the same time provides an ever increasing measure of stability in international relationships.

Professor Merriam's *Prologue to Politics* is a preface to a more formal and extensive discussion of political science which he has long had in preparation and which he hopes some time to conclude with an *Epilogue to Politics.* In a sense, this work is a condensation of much that he has previously written, but in a new and striking manner the author has discussed the alternate principles of violence and consent in the formation of the state.

In broad outline he sketches the characteristics of the ideal state and analyzes the tasks of politics in a comprehensive manner which departs from the usual practice of making politics coördinate with administration and recreates the term in its classical meaning as the sum of social behavior which is concerned with the understanding of the political animal. Though calm and judicious, the *Prologue to Politics* bears in its few pages the impact of a noble determination to make scholarship forthright, brave, and tough. Professor Merriam says: "Some say, 'Let us take the Oxford oath and turn the other cheek.' Not for me. Perhaps the most peaceful person in the world, I find myself from time to time engaged in controversy—obliged to defend myself in youth, to defend my country in war, to defend myself in politics, to defend my university's freedom of inquiry. . . . We, too, can will; we, too, can act; we, too, can endure; we, too, can trust, obey, and fight—but in the light of reason and in the spirit of good will."

R. V. P.

The Government and Misgovernment of London. By William A. Robson. London, George Allen and Unwin. 484 pp. 15/-.

In the back of this book is a copy of a map which hangs in the County Hall of the London County Council. That hall is one of the finest public buildings in Europe. It is a great pity that its symmetry, efficiency, and beauty are not to be found also in the government of the great area depicted on the map. For that map shows the large number of Londons there are and all but a few perform a governmental service for more people than any other "conurbation" on earth. This term is better than "metropolitan area" for it gives the picture of many cities associated together. "Would that they were!", is the impassioned cry of this book, written by a distinguished professor of the London School of Economics who is no stranger to these shores. He expresses the hope that "friends and colleagues across the Atlantic . . . will find this study useful to them." They will find it very useful in such conurbations as the New York, Chicago, San Francisco, and similar areas. If its lessons are heeded they will not flounder in such a maze and mess of *ad hoc* bodies, jealous, separately incorporated new cities, and ignorant, reactionary old ones as Londoners have to endure.

An ever greater percentage of the population tends to gather in conurbations. There, applied science appears to offer great blessings but much of this is and will be negated if we repeat in any measure the shameful picture of London's government as presented by this book; for that city, where there is supposed to be gathered together the greatest of the British Empire, with a population greater than that of any one of fifteen European nations, is so badly arranged physically that "one Londoner in ten lives by carting his fellows around."

Governmental planning, if such a word dare be used, is a veritable nightmare. Because there is no room within its own borders, the London County Council must buy land in adjoining areas for its housing program. Therefore its plans and equipment must conform to the standards of the local governments. A scheme that provides living space for over one hundred thousand people was planned as a single physical unit, but it has become "a wilderness of puzzled and discontented persons" because the three municipal local governments that service it refuse to allow it to have a government of its own.

We may be warned in time of the practical impossibility of ever achieving a unified government in a huge urbanized area if we follow London's history. There an *ad hoc* body has been set up from time to time to relieve a particularly pressing problem. The metropolitan police system, admittedly good within its own field, "relieved the pressure on a vital spot"—and by that very fact prevented the solution of the entire administrative problem.

The root cause of most of this misgovernment was summed up in a conversation this reviewer had with Alderman A. Emil Davies, for twenty years Vice Chairman of the London County Council. He bitterly complained of the unwillingness of small but autonomous local governments of the London area to coöperate with the central but not very powerful government. This book is a documented study of that situation. Let its lessons be heeded here before too late. What we should strive for, says Professor Robson, is that "areas of political organization should comprehend the areas of the diurnal movement made by the people." Helicopters will put a strain on the genius of Americans to accomplish that, a type of genius of which Londoners (and the British Parliament where London has been concerned) for one hundred years have hardly shown a trace. We can only hope the spark of genius which Professor Robson displays will fan to a flame which will enlighten city dwellers everywhere. Or will it take the balefire from Nazi bombs to do what argument has so far seemed powerless to achieve?

W. J. M.

You Are a Taxpayer. By Mabel Newcomer. Poughkeepsie, New York, Vassar College, 1939. 37 pp. Thirty-five cents.

A simple, comprehensive, sane, unbiased presentation of the facts about taxes has been needed for so long that it is a little hard to believe that someone has done it at last. The table of contents of this pamphlet compliments it better than any descriptive review could do: You Are a Taxpayer; What You Get for Your Taxes; How Can Taxes Be Justified?; Benefit Taxes—Motor Vehicle Taxes, Payroll Taxes; Ability Taxes—Personal Income Tax, Death Taxes, Property Tax, Business Taxes; Taxation for Social Control, Not Revenue—Customs Duties, Liquor and Opium Taxes, Chain Store and Margarine Taxes; Not Justice, But Money—General Sales Tax; Tax Consciousness; Your Tax Burden; The Unbalanced Budget; More Taxes Ahead?; Do You Want to Keep Up with Taxes?

The gabbling hordes who swept New York's state capitol last month to talk around and about the budget, the persons who "sound off" at "taxpayer" meetings and on street corners, should all have a copy of this pamphlet to read. The beauty of it is that it lacks that hortatory, propagandistic tone which might make its readers withdraw further into their own prejudices in sheer self-defense. Obviously, Miss Newcomer had no ax to grind other than that of simple common sense.

M. R.

Municipal Finance. By Frank A. Neff. Wichita, Kansas, McGuin Publishing Company, xii, 330 pp. $3.00.

The phrase appended to the title is, "With emphasis on trends." The author goes a long way back to trace the origin of some of the factors that have done some strange "trending" recently. But "the cities of Egypt, Assyria, and Greece" are not visited very long and the book soon comes down to date with a picture both detailed and dynamic of current practices. The last chapter, "Summary and Conclusion," might better have been termed "Summary and Forecast," because of its spirit. An excellent bibliography completes a book which is much more readable than its title indicates, and one which achieves this quality without sacrifice of thoroughness.

W. J. M.

Theory and Practice in Politics. The Godkin Lectures 1939. By Robert Moses. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1939. vi, 78 pp. $1.00.

Quoting copiously from his own past correspondence with a variety of individuals on a variety of subjects, Mr. Moses undertook, in these two Harvard Godkin lectures, to dispose of a great many political "theories" which he believes in his breezy self-confident way to be utter nonsense. He calls himself the "thoughtful conservative." In seventy-eight small pages he speaks his mind on freedom of the press, speech and assembly, proportional representation, the council-manager plan, women in public life, the merit system, unemployment relief, Ogden Mills, and a number of other matters of weight and scope. Most of those, except Mr. Mills, he considers greatly over-rated. He says so by frequently using such terms as "agitator," "communist," and "crackpot." Mr. Moses is an excellent park commissioner.

M. R.

Civil Service in Relation to Housing Management Personnel. By Beatrice Greenfield Rosahn, in coöperation with the Subcommittee on Civil Service, Committee on Housing Management. New York, Citizens' Housing Council, 1940. 52 pp. mimeo. $1.00.

Although this report is primarily concerned with public housing developments in New York City, it contains numerous suggestions concerning housing management personnel which should prove useful in other communities where public projects are under way or contemplated. Emphasizing that "once a housing project has been built the most important single factor making for its success or failure is the management under which it is placed," the report states that men and women of exceptional administrative ability, personal integrity, and social outlook must be found to assume the responsibilities of public housing management. As an aid in securing individuals of this calibre the report suggests the applicability of the merit system.

Additional Books and Reports Received

Civil Service

Preliminary Report of the Committee on Training of Personnel Workers. By Louis J. Kroeger. Chicago, Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, 1939. 33 pp. mimeo. Fifty cents.

County Government

Fifth Annual Report, County of Henrico, Virginia, year ended June 30, 1939. Richmond, Virginia, 1940. 61 pp. mimeo.

Recent Experiments Affecting County Government in North Carolina and Virginia. By William L. Bradshaw. Apply to author at University of Missouri. 23 pp. mimeo.

Education

Personnel Administration in Three Non-Teaching Services of the Public Schools. By Hazel Davis. New York City, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1939. x, 323 pp. $2.50.

Political Science in American Colleges and Universities, 1636-1900. By Anna Haddow. Edited with an introduction and concluding chapter by William Anderson. New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1939. xiv, 308 pp. $2.50.

The Problem of School Costs. As viewed by Educational Research. Report of the Committee on School Costs. Albany, Educational Research Association of New York State, 1940. 16 pp.

Safety

Standard Highway Safety Program for States. A working program to increase traffic efficiency and reduce accidents. New York City, Automotive Safety Foundation, 1939. 23 pp.

Traffic Safety: Today's Gains—Tomorrow's Goal. By Paul G. Hoffman. New York City, Automotive Safety Foundation, 1939. 12 pp. Illus.

You Must Protect the Thoughtless Driver! New York City, Lumber Mutual Casualty Insurance Company, 1940. 40 pp. illus.

Social Security

Outline of Employer's Duties under the Social Security Act and the Internal Revenue Code as amended August 1939. Washington, D. C., Social Security Board, Federal Security Agency, 1939. 14 pp.

Number One Municipal Problem: The Unsound Pension Funds. By Harold Reigelman. (Address before the Metropolitan Conference of Real Estate Boards.) New York City, Citizens Budget Commission, Inc., 1940. 20 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Minnesota Tax Calendar of 1940 Taxes and Reports Due. Minneapolis, Minneapolis Taxpayers Association, 1940. 16 pp.

Revenue Bonds and the Investor. By Laurence S. Knappen. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., xiii, 329 pp. $3.50.

State Auditor and Fiscal Control in Missouri Counties. By Victor D. Brannon. Columbia, Univerity of Missouri, 1939. 110 pp. $1.25.

The Taxpayers Dollar. Louisville, Kentucky, Department of Research and Service, 1940. 8 pp.

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A Date in History

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Virgil Sheppard

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Robert Cornell

Mississippi Leads South in Rural Housing

M. H. Satterfield

Manager Cities Outstanding in Intercity Contests

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National Municipal Review

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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

News in Review

City, County, State Progress in Brief

Manager Cities Lead in Intercity Contests

Stand high among cities with low tax rates and good tax collection records.

Merit system extended in New York; bill defeated in Virginia legislature.

Edited by
H. M. OLMSTED

CITIES operating under the council-manager plan of government won high places and made a notable showing in recent intercity contests in the fields of fire prevention, traffic safety, and health, as well as in regard to the perennial competition for relatively low tax rates and good tax collections.

In the Inter-Chamber Fire Waste Contest, sponsored by the National Fire Waste Council in coöperation with the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Cincinnati, Ohio, administered by Manager C. O. Sherrill, won the grand prize in competition with some three hundred other cities. In the various population groups seventeen manager cities won honorable mention: Rochester, Schenectady, New Rochelle, and Newburgh, New York; Oakland, Long Beach, and Pasadena, California; Wichita, Kansas; Roanoke, Virginia; Portland and Camden, Maine; Asheville, Rocky Mount, and Salisbury, North Carolina; Albany, Georgia; Lubbock, Texas; and Bozeman, Montana.

Cities with council-manager governments won first places in three out of five population groups in the 1939 National Traffic Safety Contest conducted by the National Safety Council. Eleven cities in all with manager governments in 1939 received awards; this was 29 per cent of all thirty-eight winning cities, whereas manager cities comprise slightly less than 20 per cent of all cities of 10,000 population or over. Here is the manager city record: The grand prize for all groups, and first place in the group of 250,000 to 500,000 population was won by Kansas City, Missouri. In the group of 50,000-100,000 population Pontiac, Michigan, was first, with Beaumont, Texas, second, and Jackson, Michigan, receiving honorable mention. In the 25,000-50,000 group the winner was Clarksburg, West Virginia, with Dubuque, Iowa, second. In the 100,000-250,000 group Oklahoma City and Dayton, Ohio, received honorable mention. In the smallest group (10,000-25,000) Wilmette, Illinois, won third place, while Ames, Iowa, and Ironwood, Michigan, received honorable mention. Thus manager cities showed up substantially better than other cities, on the average, and strikingly better as to rankings, winning seven out of fourteen places (including the grand prize) other than honorable mention.

In the recent city health conservation contest, conducted annually by the United States Chamber of Commerce and the American Public Health Association, awards of merit went to the following manager cities: In the 250,000-500,000 population group, Dallas, Texas, and Toledo, Ohio; 100,000-250,000, Grand Rapids, Michigan, and Yonkers, New York; 50,000-100,000, Schenectady, New York, Pasadena and Sacramento, California; 20,000-50,000, Hackensack, New Jersey; under 20,000, Asbury Park, New Jersey.

The International City Managers' Association, referring to the 287 cities with population over 30,000, the assessed valuations and tax rates of which were published in the December issue of the National Municipal Review, points out that although slightly less than 25 per cent have council-manager government, 50 per cent of the thirty cities with the lowest tax rates are council-manager cities.

Of the twenty-four cities of over 50,000 population having the lowest tax delinquency records for 1939,[1] ten, or 42 per cent, are under manager government; whereas only 24 per cent of the 190 cities in that population group have the manager plan.

Council-Manager Plan News

The Board of Aldermen of CHICOPEE, MASSACHUSETTS, at a meeting held April 17, ordered that the petition for a city-wide referendum on Plan E—the manager plan with proportional representation—be sent to the Secretary of State so that the question may be placed on the November ballot.

In JOHNSTOWN, NEW YORK, the manager plan was discussed at a meeting of representatives of various groups in the city on April 16, with about 250 persons present. The chief speaker was George H. Hallett, Jr., associate secretary of the National Municipal League, who outlined the plan and the advantages of the manager form with proportional representation, and conducted a model P.R. election. He was introduced by L. K. Maylender, Jr., who referred to a study of types of city government conducted by the Johnstown Business Men's Association, which reached the conclusion that the manager plan would be best for that city.

A campaign for city manager and proportional representation in WHITE PLAINS, NEW YORK, got under way early in April with the formation of the City Government League.

Petitions are being circulated in TRAVERSE CITY, MICHIGAN, to resubmit the manager question in the November election.

MANKATO, MINNESOTA, on April 8 defeated a proposed city manager charter by a vote of 1,823 to 1,565. The vote was less than half of total registrations. The charter commission will continue in office for three more years and it is expected that a manager charter will be submitted again. HOT SPRINGS, SOUTH DAKOTA, and ARCADIA and HERMOSA BEACH, CALIFORNIA, also defeated manager plan proposals, voting on April 16, April 9, and April 2 respectively.

SILVERTON, OREGON, will vote May 17 on adoption of council-manager government.

IRELAND is reported to have recently extended the county manager plan by providing for the appointment of twenty-one county managers. The functions of fifty-three urban councils, twenty-two towns, and twelve counties are to be placed under county councils and county managers with powers similar to those exercised by the city managers in Dublin, Cork, Limerick, and Waterford.

A bill authorizing cities to establish the manager plan, introduced by Representative Cook of Bremerton into the WASHINGTON legislature, failed to come out of committee during the recent legislative session.

Superior, Wisconsin, Begins Manager Regime in April 1941

Council-manager government, which was adopted on April 2 by the voters of Superior, Wisconsin, (36,000 population) will supplant the mayor-council form on April 2, 1941. The present ten-man council, elected by wards and receiving annual salaries of $500 per member, will be succeeded by a seven-man council elected at large and serving without pay.

The original study of city manager government was begun two years ago

(Continued on Page 328)

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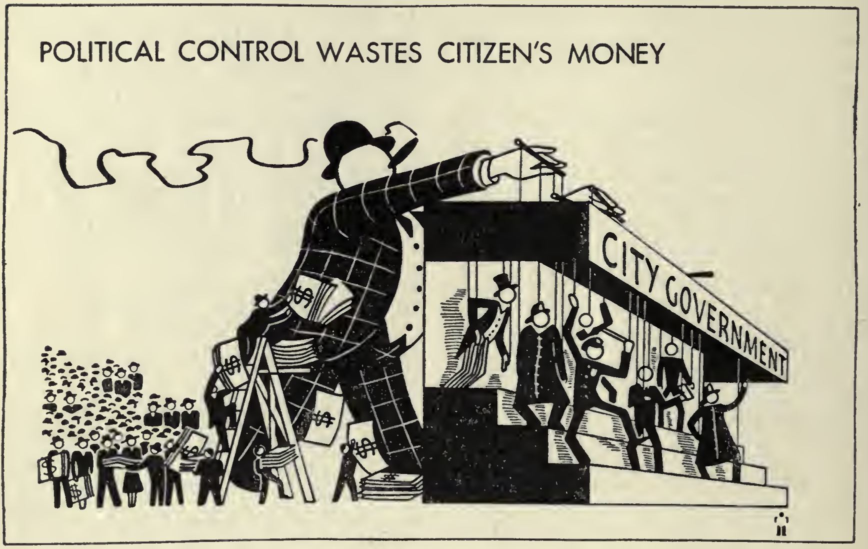
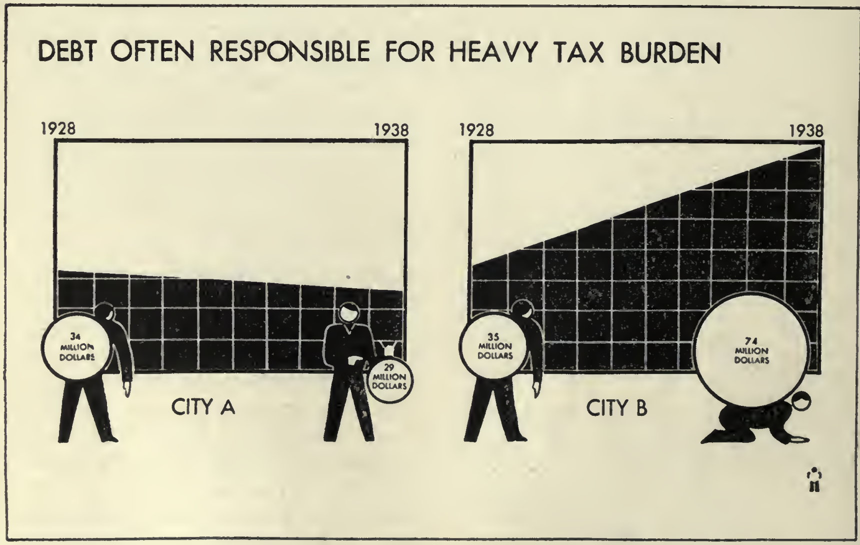
[1] See also "Best Tax Collections Reviewed," page 340 of this issue.

WHO'S

Here are four of the twenty illustrations from a pamphlet[1] *of*


POLITICAL CONTROL WASTES CITIZEN'S MONEY
CITY GOVERNMENT

The book describes the different forms of city government,



Explains the reasons for differences among cities in cost of government and quality of services,

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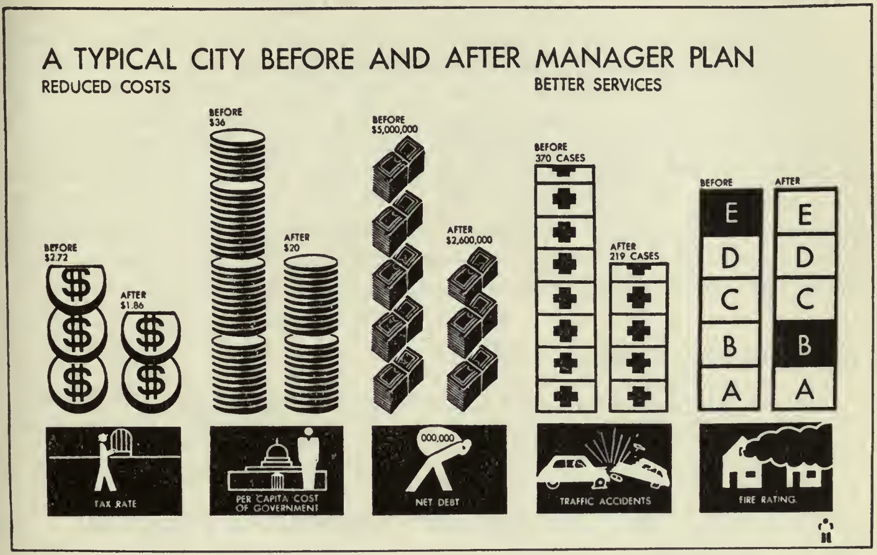
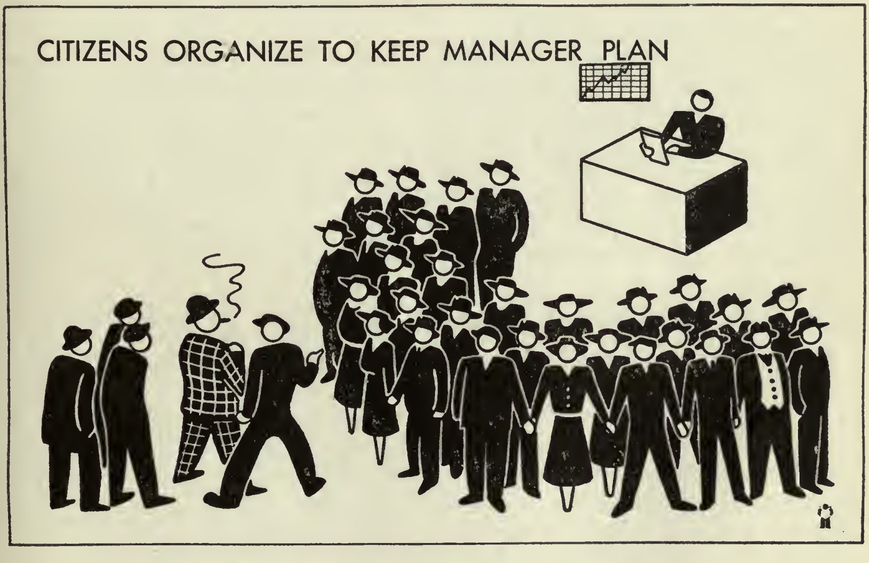
[1] **Published May 10 by the National Municipal League; Charts by Pictorial Statistics, Inc. (See also back cover.)**

BOSS?

pictorial statistics (with a sprinkling of text) titled WHO'S BOSS?



Illustrates the effect of good government,


CITIZENS ORGANIZE TO KEEP MANAGER PLAN

And shows how to keep good government.

The League's Business

Conference on American Self-Government

Two hundred universities and more than a score of national citizens organizations which have answered the call of the National Municipal League to participate in a coöperative program for increasing the effectiveness of American self-government were represented at a conference at Indiana University on May 13 and 14. The conferees, including college presidents, professors, and citizen leaders, discussed informally plans for implementing democracy in their localities by means of projects which may be jointly undertaken by citizen groups and the universities. President C. A. Dykstra, chairman of the conference, and S. Howard Evans, director, presented to the conference about forty sample projects which were submitted in advance by coöperating organizations and individuals.

What Is the League Doing?

More adequately to answer that question, the League is sending out this week to all its members an informal eight-page report on its activities since January 1, 1940. Comments will be welcome.

New York State Committee's Legislative Program Makes Progress

Three bills which give effect to items on the legislative program of the New York State Committee of the League passed both houses of the legislature this year and two of them became law.

One of the two bills which the Governor signed is a village home rule law which carries out the mandate of the new state constitution by granting villages of more than 5,000 population home rule powers generally similar to those now enjoyed by cities. The second bill to become law is the so-called "Little Hatch Act" which introduces for the state and its political subdivisions restrictions on the political use of relief and relief lists similar to those of the federal law. The third bill, which passed both houses but which the Governor vetoed, would have dispensed with primaries when they were uncontested.

League's Publications Editor Awarded Fellowship

Miss Miriam Roher, who has been publications editor of the National Municipal League and a member of the REVIEW's staff for the past two years, has been awarded the Public Service Fellowship given annually by Barnard College for graduate study. The fellowship was established in 1934 by a fund given by the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform, founded by Mrs. Dwight H. Davis, after repeal of the 18th amendment. Miss Roher was graduated from Barnard College in 1936 and received her master's degree from Northwestern the following year. She expects to study municipal and American government, working toward a Ph.D. Her dissertation will be on public relations of municipal government.

HOWARD P. JONES, *Secretary*

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

A Date in History

MAY 19, 1940, could be a date for historians to immortalize. And again it could pass into history's waste paper basket.

Much depends upon the vision and mature judgment of the leaders in dozens of communities which will celebrate on that date the first generally recognized citizenship day in the United States.

Congress and the President have formally designated May 19 as citizenship day. Communities throughout the country are planning to initiate young men and women, just turned twenty-one, into the responsibilities of citizenship.

Sincere patriotic oratory will fill the air—along with some that is not so sincere, or just misguided. There will be ready-made references to country, flag, and founding fathers, all of which is to the good.

But we hope there will be something more.

And there will be something more if those participating in the celebrations catch the vision unfolded in Manitowoc, Wisconsin, where citizenship day first became an institution in 1939.[1]

In Manitowoc, to be sure, there was a great day of parades, bands, marching, speaking. Enthusiastic crowds gathered to initiate new voters into the society of voting citizens.

But the day was not merely a celebration. It was an all-day graduation exercise for seven hundred twenty-one-year-olds who saw a dramatization of the frequently forgotten fact that the right to vote is a tremendous privilege and responsibility.

As Chief Justice Marvin B. Rosenberry of the Supreme Court of Wisconsin put it, "The young citizen should be impressed with the fact that his decisions are of importance; that they do affect the future of the state and nation, although he may not at the moment be able to perceive that fact."

To carve that impression on the consciousness of new voters, several months were spent on a thorough educational program. Between three and four hundred men and women—doctors, lawyers, school teachers, farmers, business leaders — volunteered for the discussion leader staff. Eighty were chosen.

An educator gathered material and prepared charts and explanations of town, village, city, and county government units. The twenty-one-year-olds met voluntarily in small groups to learn about their government and how they could become part of it. Round table discussions covered the place of local government in American democracy, the role of citizens in state and national affairs, relation of state and nation to local affairs, relation of government to everyday life, standards of public service, public service as a career, the great political parties—to outline only a part of the curriculum.

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[1] See also "Citizenship Day in Manitowoc," by S. V. Norton. NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, July 1939.

A new understanding of democratic organization sprang up in this group of new voters. They organized on a permanent basis—with a sense of leadership in their own right. And they assumed responsibility for helping to initiate next year's neophytes.

To this spirit of responsibility and leadership President Dykstra addressed a part of his celebration day address when he said:

"We must defend to the uttermost our ancient freedom—free speech and assembly and the right to worship as we will. We must defend life and liberty and what Jefferson called 'the pursuit of happiness'. In modern terms this last phrase means the right to make a living through access to opportunity, to work and care for a family. This is a difficult thing to do in the modern world, but it is incumbent upon *us* to work at it—to bring it to pass . . ." (Italics ours.)

With those words he passed on to this group of citizens their share of responsibility for leadership that will help solve democracy's problems.

In that spirit citizenship day renews, with each graduating class of new voters, democracy's threatened lease on life.

E. N. T.

Home Rule vs. State Aid

NEARLY thirteen years ago Indianapolis voted to adopt the council-manager form of government by a majority of more than five to one—the most overwhelming vote in favor of the manager plan ever cast in any city. Subsequently, on a technicality, the Supreme Court of Indiana declared the enabling act under which the vote was taken unconstitutional.

Voters of Indianapolis were knocked down but not out. It has taken time, however, for them to reform their lines, to come to conclusions regarding the method of attack, and to build state-wide sentiment in behalf of the plan. Last spring the Indiana legislature, yielding to the pressure of public opinion, authorized the creation of a commission to study the problem and draft legislation which will permit Indiana cities to adopt the manager plan. This commission is a good one: on it are P. S. Sikes, Indiana University; Clarence W. Efroymson, Butler University; J. W. Esterline and Eli Lilly of Indianapolis; Representative Roy Harrison, Attica; Senator Alfred Randall, Fort Wayne; and Virgil Sheppard, assistant administrator of the Indiana Welfare Department.

The commission has been holding conferences and hearings with a view to determining a specific course of action to pursue. Some of the questions it has considered are: (1) whether to take a chance on another enabling act; (2) whether to seek a constitutional amendment providing for municipal home rule (this procedure would postpone any possible

(Continued on Page 326)

Wayne Staffs Detroit

Public service training program of Wayne University a community undertaking; Bureau of Governmental Research, Civil Service Commission, heads of city departments, help plan courses offered in pre-entry and in-service fields.

By **LAURENCE MICHELMORE**
Wayne University

IN MANY respects the Wayne University public service training program is not a "Wayne" project but a community undertaking. So many individuals and agencies participate that it would be inaccurate to think of the program solely, or even principally, as a university activity. Some phases of the program are largely conducted by the university, but some are of such a coöperative nature that the university's function is principally that of unifying and integrating the efforts of others.

The coöperative relationships which have been developed are so numerous that they may be considered as a principal characteristic of the Wayne program. Much of the non-credit, in-service training of public employees is conducted in conjunction with the State Board of Control for Vocational Education. The Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research aids the program in many ways. The library of the bureau is available for student use. The bureau's contacts with local government departments greatly facilitate negotiations regarding training in those agencies. Of most importance, however, the bureau's twenty-four years' study of local government problems and agencies, and its equally long experience with the training of junior staff members in public administration, helps to guide the program in a way that would not otherwise be possible.

Needless to say, no in-service training program could be developed without the coöperation of the Civil Service Commission, other government departments, and public employees. The willingness of other educational institutions to permit members of their staffs to instruct certain courses has also been essential to training in some fields.

A second characteristic of the Wayne program in both the pre-entry and in-service fields, is emphasis primarily on training for local government service, and particularly for service with the governmental units of the Detroit metropolitan area. Training for the national and state service is not completely ignored. For example, two of last year's graduates entered the federal service as junior professional assistants. Others have been placed with various state agencies in Michigan and elsewhere. In-service training activities have also been developed to meet the needs of some state and federal employees in the Detroit area. Nevertheless, attention is primarily focused at the local level in both pre-entry and post-entry activities.

Another characteristic of the Wayne program is its flexibility. To as great an extent as seems possible, rigid rules are avoided in the various in-service training projects and experimentation is encouraged. Course length varies considerably, and examinations are given in some courses, not in others. Considerable flexibility is also preserved in the selection of courses in both undergraduate and graduate programs.

Variety of approach to the training problem is likewise emphasized. Both pre-entry and post-entry training projects are embraced. Some of the work is on an undergraduate level, some is on a graduate level, and some is on a "non-college" basis.[1] In some cases the university takes the initiative in "offering" courses, whereas in other instances its role is limited to advising on the planning and conduct of training projects by governmental agencies.

Principal elements in the Wayne training program at present are:

(1) Undergraduate offerings in government, sociology, economics, accounting, business administration, and engineering—some of the offerings designed to be "pre-professional" training.

(2) Graduate curricula in social case work and social group work.

(3) A graduate program in public administration.

(4) Special conferences and institutes on the social and governmental problems of the metropolitan area.

(5) A group of non-credit courses for in-service employees exclusively, offered in the late afternoon and evening.

(6) In coöperation with operating departments, the planning and offering of departmental programs for the training of new entrants, and the further training of older employees.

1. For undergraduate students, courses in government, other social studies, engineering, accounting, and business administration provide a background for some of the public services and pre-professional preparation for specialized graduate work. During the last few years, about one-third of the college-trained people entering the Detroit city service by competitive examinations have been Wayne students.

INTERNESHIP POSSIBILITIES

It is believed that a system of interneships for some of these students would be valuable as a transitional step toward permanent public employment. The possibility of establishing formal arrangements for such interneships is now being explored. Until a regular system can be established, special arrangements are made for individual students to use departmental records and files, or to make special studies or conduct other projects in conjunction with various governmental agencies.

2. Although the graduate programs in social work and group work are not designed exclusively for public employment, many of the students and graduates are so employed. Of 142 graduate students in these fields, seventy-one are at present employed

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[1] "Non-college" work may actually be above or below the usual college level.

by federal, state, or local agencies in the Detroit area and taking university courses in connection with their regular occupations. These curricula include twenty-eight hours of course work, a thesis, and 1,080 clock hours of supervised field training.

3. A graduate program, leading to the degree of Master of Public Administration, seeks to provide an opportunity for advanced study of administrative techniques, as well as an orientation of administrative processes to social, economic, and political life, particularly as found in the larger urban communities.

In addition to twenty-four hours of course work, a thesis and 420 clock hours of field work in a governmental or research agency are required for this degree. At present, twenty-five graduate students are enrolled in this program. The majority are employed in government offices, or in social or citizen agencies, and are studying on a part-time basis.

Theses, usually but not always dealing with the problems of the area, are required of all students taking graduate degrees in government, sociology, public administration, and social work. Through arrangements with the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, an avenue for publication is offered for all theses of merit that have a local application.

4. Another type of training project is provided in conferences and institutes. Last spring five two-hour meetings of city department and bureau heads were devoted to the informal discussion of public relations problems. More recently an all-day conference on governmental accounting was attended by two hundred financial officers, other public employees, and students. Juvenile delinquency statistics served as the basis of a recent all-day conference in which many officials from public as well as private agencies participated. The university coöperates with many other agencies in sponsoring other institutes and meetings which contribute to public service training more or less directly.

UNIQUE IN-SERVICE PROGRAM

5. The exclusively in-service activities are perhaps more unique than the degree programs. Financed largely from state and federal funds for vocational education, these projects are solely for persons already in the public service, and do not give university credit of any kind. Federal funds for this purpose were made available by the George-Deen act of 1936 which extended aid for vocational training in trade and industrial pursuits to include "public and other service occupations."

Projects which have been developed are of two principal types. A group of courses has been offered in the late afternoon and evening, with nominal fees charged to each person registering. In addition, projects have been undertaken with several Detroit city departments for special groups of their employees. In the latter case only employees of the department may enroll, and no fees are charged to the individuals. In most cases this training is on the department's time and attendance at the training sessions is compulsory.

In the late afternoon and evening program, thirty-seven different courses have been offered since September 1937, when this work was undertaken. Since several of these courses have been offered more than once the total number of classes has been fifty-six; the total enrollment, 1,600.

The "curriculum" has included courses in such staff or auxiliary functions as financial administration and personnel administration and in many line activities. Courses in the public works field have embraced street sanitation, sewage treatment, street construction, public works construction, refuse disposal, inspection of public works, and water purification. Seven courses dealing with public parks have ranged from park planning to plant pathology and entomology. Other fields touched by this program have been police, welfare, street railway transportation, building inspection, public employment offices, stenographic work, municipal law, and assessing.

Arrangements for these courses have varied so widely that it is difficult to generalize concerning them. In length, courses have been as short as eight hours and as long as forty hours. Most of the classes meet for a two-hour session one evening a week, but some meet earlier in the day or at more or less frequent intervals. The majority of the classes meet in university class rooms, but where it seems more convenient other meeting places have been arranged. Fees are as low as one dollar and as high as five dollars. Examinations are given in some cases but not in all. Instructors are usually department heads and other public officials, but regular Wayne faculty members and staff members from other universities have been in charge of a number of classes.

CITY DEPARTMENTS PLAN COURSES

6. Recently somewhat different arrangements have been made for training projects for groups of employees in the Detroit departments of public welfare, street railways, water supply, and police. No fees are charged the employees, the department paying that portion of the cost which is not reimbursable from vocational education funds. Except in the case of the street railway employees, this training is on department time, and employees are required to participate. Together, these programs will probably reach two thousand employees during the current year.

For welfare employees three projects are being given at present. About fifty hours of instruction in the psychiatric aspects of social work is being offered to each of nine groups of social workers and supervisors. In addition twelve hours are being devoted by the supervisors to the consideration of case work processes. Supervision, with emphasis on the supervision of recording, is the subject of another six-hour study by the same group.

Motor coach operators employed by the municipal street railway are being trained in coach mechanics, coach operation, departmental rules and regulations, schedules, fares, transfers, reports, claims, courtesy, and safety.

Since the department is rapidly replacing street cars with motor coaches, a large number of new employees or former street car operators must be trained. For these employees a compulsory ten-day training program is offered. For older employees, refresher training is given on a voluntary basis.

In the water department a customer relations training program has been established. Those employees having constant contacts with the public over the counter or by telephone are offered intensive training in departmental rules and regulations, organization, and operations; the techniques of planning for and conducting the more frequent recurring transactions, such as requests for new service, complaints about high bills, etc.; and appropriate attitudes and methods for conducting the less frequent transactions. Similar but less intensive training is also to be given for other departmental employees who have occasional contacts with the public.

An extensive retraining program for police officers was inaugurated last year but has been temporarily interrupted by departmental reorganization. Before this interruption full-time instruction for four weeks was offered to groups of twenty-five officers at a time, in criminal law, evidence, city ordinances, liquor law, the police manual, and personnel problems. It is hoped that a similar schedule can be resumed shortly.

In view of the fact that no academic credit is given for these in-service projects, their inclusion in a university program may be questioned. Indeed, it may be argued that in-service training does not belong in the educational system, but should be administered by the personnel agency. Strong arguments may be advanced for the latter course, especially if the personnel agency is equipped to administer a broad personnel program. On the other hand, the teaching techniques which should be at the command of the educator provide justification for placing some responsibility for public service training in the educational system.

If public service training is undertaken by educational authorities, why not entrust it to the agency engaged in other adult education efforts? A partial answer at least would seem to be that the university staff probably has a more intimate knowledge of governmental functions and their administration than the staff responsible for other adult training.

For a municipal university, the distinction between credit and noncredit work does not seem to be particularly important, provided the latter work is not rewarded with an academic degree. Until there is more complete agreement about what should be included in university curricula, it is appropriate for a university to offer whatever training opportunities seem likely to contribute to the making of a livelihood and the making of a life, both before the individual goes to work and after he is employed.

In the development of the Wayne program, an attempt has been made to avoid the necessity for fine distinctions between credit and noncredit work, and between the responsibilities of each agency and individual concerned. Attention has been concentrated on arranging training opportunities wherever there appears to be a need. If these distinctions must be made later, the experience which is now being gathered may make it easier to solve them than it would be if they were attempted in advance.

The Middle Way—American Plan

One of the new and outstanding movements in government today is the attempt to maintain local government autonomy at the same time that local control of finance is being surrendered to the state.

By VIRGIL SHEPPARD
Indiana Department of Public Welfare

IN MANY of the states of the union there has developed in recent years a system of government which has been called by some the "middle way," because it is halfway between centralization on one hand and decentralization on the other.

Not many years ago the three levels of government in this country were fairly well defined and limited. The federal government had its old-time constitutionally-restricted sphere of functions. At the state level, the back-home folk, suspicious of central authority, kept governmental responsibilities at a minimum. Government, circumscribed by environment and traditional patterns, remained largely with the local unit. The property tax was the primary source of local and state revenues.

Then came new governmental functions, ever widening as the newer and speedier methods of communication brought the courthouse a few man-hours away and a trip to the state capitol became at the most a half-day's journey. Social and governmental patterns rapidly outgrew the local boundaries by which they had been contained. New forms of taxation, state or nation-wide in incidence and administration, were demanded, and secured, in the constant effort to broaden the tax base to satisfy the ever increasing demand for public funds.

Theoretically, every citizen became a direct financial supporter of the government, a tax-conscious individual. The folk back home were willing enough to make the state and the country the collector of new taxes, but they jealously guarded their local autonomy in the spending of these new taxes. One of the new and outstanding movements in government in the twentieth century has been this attempt to maintain local autonomy over spending of the taxpayer's dollars in the local units at the same time that local control over tax-levying and collecting was being surrendered. The central government collects, the local unit spends. That characterizes the trend in government today. It is an aspect of what is here termed the "middle way."

In some states centralization has admittedly taken place, the state government having assumed a major role in the arena of governmental activity. Whereas in those states a few years ago the state capitols were scenes of leisurely administration of long-time functions of government, their former complacency has been abandoned and they have become centers of an active and ever-broadening panorama of new and old functions of government. Many of the services of government once administered locally are now in whole or in part a responsibility of state government. New services, many of which were not anticipated a few years ago, have been assumed by the state government. Unemployment compensation is one of these manifestations.

In a country as large as ours too much centralization may in the end defeat democracy. By and large, it seems to me that those of us who are interested in the preservation of democracy should attempt to stem the tide of state control and dictation to local units, and further usurpation of local functions. However, sentiment alone does not preserve democracy. We have recently had startling, concrete evidence of this fact. The final supremacy of centralization over home rule or home rule over centralization will be founded upon the basis of the demonstrable capacity or incapacity of each public jurisdiction to do well the task assigned to it; to think in terms of the remote local units in the case of centralization; and the performance of that part of the total program for which they are relatively best fitted.

Democratic local government in modern America does not mean merely the performance of the important functions of local government by locally elected officials. It has exceeded these bounds. With this expansion of the sphere of power over local affairs there should also have come a corollary, an effective accountability toward taxpayers by the officials of the more remote units wielding the power. The history of local government in America proves beyond reasonable doubt that absolute decentralization is not effective.

The "middle way" calls for a continuation of local administration, supplemented with state controls sufficiently effective to prevent local abuse, but without dictation in the internal affairs of communities. Beginning with the turn of the century, state controls in the field of local government appear. First, statutory restrictions were placed on accounting, budgeting, purchasing, borrowing. Later, these controls were amplified to include post-auditing, and in some cases current auditing and the supervision of financial transactions by state supervising and inspecting agencies.

HOW EFFECTIVE STATE CONTROLS?

These controls, as all students of public finance know, have not always been effective. One could almost say that they did not produce the results for which they were originally intended. Some of the blame, or perhaps most of it, rests largely upon the state units administering the controls. First, many state supervising agencies have not prescribed sound procedures for local units to follow in establishing expenditure and other fiscal controls. In many cases where good procedures were originally prescribed, they have not been changed to meet new conditions, maintaining inflexible and obsolete regulations which have impeded local action. Second, some states have not adequately staffed the supervising agencies so as to interpret properly and enforce local fiscal controls. Third, where there have been adequate staffs, the state has evaded its enforcement responsibility because of partisan politics, local resistance, and other reasons. Consequently, the mere existence of adequate statutory provisions for the formulation and prosecution of local budgets, for the keeping of accounts, for borrowings and related processes, and the establishment of state supervisory agencies to enforce statutory provisions, has been insufficient and has not always been successful.

This leads to a consideration of an aspect of the "middle way" of government which has come about largely through the conditional grants-in-aid to local government. Through conditional grants-in-aid, the remote state government found a new method of control over local units: establishment of minimum standards which govern not only the services for which the grant is given, but the basic, local financial processes surrounding the services as well. A conditional grant-in-aid for old-age assistance, for example, not only gives to the state government an opportunity to establish minimum standards of assistance to the needy aged, but also permits the regulation and enforcement locally of already existing financial controls together with establishment and enforcement of many new controls where these appear to the state government to be desirable and needed.

Through the conditional grant-in-aid, functions of government once traditionally administered locally are now subject to state and federal supervision and state established minimum standards. While decentralization for these functions continues in the operation of administrative detail and a species of synthetic home rule still exists, it is an exceedingly limited kind of home rule. For instance, the basic philosophy of the conditional grant-in-aid is that the entire state has a specific responsibility to see that money collected from a state-wide tax to be used for local governmental purposes, is spent efficiently. The capacity or incapacity of the state supervising agency in effectively administering its supervisory functions will determine the ultimate extent to which this new "middle way" process will be successful.

INCREASE IN STATE AID

Now, let us see if the momentum of the conditional grant-in-aid movement is of sufficient significance to recognize it in the field of expenditure control. A study just released by Editorial Research Reports indicates that state grants to local units rose from $773,000,000 in 1935 to $973,000,000 in 1938, an increase of 21 per cent in these years. In Indiana, while no figures are available showing the breakdown as between grants-in-aid and the distribution to local units of state-collected, locally-shared taxes, the total from both sources indicates definitely the trend. In 1928 there was distributed to local units of government $8,500,000. Ten years later this had increased to $42,500,000, an increase of 400 per cent. State aid for school operation increased 260 per cent, and for roads and streets 276 per cent, in this ten-year period. The grant-in-aid for old-age and dependent children assistance is new, but now totals from $14,000,000 to $15,000,000 annually from state and federal funds.

Not all of this aid to local units has constituted conditional grants-in-aid in the sense which we have been considering—where there is supervision by the state in the expenditure of the grants, especially through the establishment of minimum standards. The grant to poor school districts is conditional on the recognition and acceptance by the local school unit of state statutory and administrative regulatory standards. However, the grants to counties for aged and dependent children assistance are definitely conditional grants, expended under direct supervision of the state and under the terms of the national social security act.

There are those who believe that state aid for other purposes, particularly for local roads and streets, should be definitely made conditional, as is the case in some states. The drive for centralization is a persistent force. Doubtless in many cities in Indiana the destruction of city streets in the past few months, caused by one of the most severe winters in modern times, will lead many local taxpayers to call for more careful expenditure of street funds, which may easily lead in turn to the promulgation of conditions for control by the state, in the future plan of state financial aid to local units for roads and streets. Or the larger step, undesirable as it may be in most states, of complete centralization of highway and street functions may ensue.

Assuming that the conditional grant-in-aid is here to stay and that it will gain further ground, and assuming further that there will be minimum standards of administrative performance established generally, what significance does the movement have in the field of expenditure control? I can best make the prediction based upon our Indiana experience in the field of old-age and dependent children assistance, which, along with other welfare functions except direct poor relief, are administered by ninety-two county departments of public welfare although under state supervision.

We have had in Indiana state laws governing local budgeting, accounting, borrowing, and related fiscal problems, and certain state agencies which have supervised, inspected, and audited local financial processes and made final determination of local tax levies. Doubtless the members of the State Board of Accounts over the past several years will readily admit there was little more than minimum observance of budgetary laws, a failure to keep apace on sound accounting procedures, and an auditing system which at its best was too slow. Let it be said here that the examiners for the State Board of Accounts are bipartisan, always working in pairs, one Republican and one Democrat, so that partisan politics cannot be said to have had significant influence.

CHECKS ON WELFARE EXPENDITURES

Four years ago, with the establishment of new county departments of public welfare, the State Department of Public Welfare had to assure the federal government that county financial procedures involving the expenditure of county welfare funds were reasonably adequate to protect the public and insure the appropriation of funds for old-age and dependent children assistance. First of all, it became necessary to establish a check upon the county procedure as it touched county welfare funds. A simple but effective set of records maintained in the welfare department offices acted as a check upon the records of county auditor and treasurer. The fact that it was necessary to establish what in a sense is a duplicate set of records may appear to some to be wasteful, but it has resulted today in a strict accounting of expenditures.

STATE CHECKS MONTHLY

Second, what might be termed a continuous state review of county welfare functions was established through a monthly check by the State Welfare Department of all expenditures through a monthly summary statement of expenditures sent to the state office, which is self-balancing and can be checked from various angles at the state level to determine accuracy.

Third, a monthly allotment system was instituted. County directors of public welfare have forecast their expenditures on a month-to-month basis throughout the twelve-month period. This allotment is reviewed by the State Department of Public Welfare and the monthly expenditure is compared with it. This control has meant that in Indiana it has not been necessary in any of the ninety-two county departments to reduce the December check to an aged person or to a dependent child because the local unit failed to make a forecast of expenditures.

Fourth, a budgetary system based upon accurate supporting data was put into effect. A detailed work sheet was provided that permits proper comparisons between past experience and a good statistical forecast. No other agency of local government presents to the local tax reviewing board as much supporting data as does the county welfare department. These controls have reduced to a minimum the number of requests for supplemental appropriations, and have helped to produce conditions which have financed public welfare expenditures without resort to borrowings. They have resulted also in accounting practices so sound that the State Board of Accounts has not found in almost four years of examinations one penny of exception in any of the ninety-two local agencies.

The establishment of minimum standards of local administrative performance through the conditional grant-in-aid or through other means *does* offer an opportunity to improve upon expenditure control practices. There is an obligation on the part of any state agency which is supervising a conditional grant to enforce sound methods and techniques of expenditure control as a part of the minimum standards of performance. Unquestionably, local fiscal practices can be vastly improved through a proper functioning of this new "middle way" of government.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Address delivered at Dallas, Texas, March 22, 1940, before the Regional Conference on Citizenship and Government, sponsored by the National Municipal League and the Dallas Citizens' Council.

Kalamazoo Examines the Record

Integrity and ability of men in positions of public trust, guided by adequate manager charter and ably supported by civic-minded voters, responsible for success story.

By **ROBERT CORNELL**
Kalamazoo College

KALAMAZOO, Michigan, is entering its twenty-third year of city manager government. In the years since 1918, when its manager charter was adopted, the city has witnessed many and varied changes in its administration. It has passed through a period of great prosperity and one of deep depression. Today, without a dollar of debt in its general fund, with city officials continuing a "pay-as-you-go" policy, and with city services increasing at a rapid pace, the city may well boast of the continued prosperity that efficient, business-like administration inaugurated over twenty years ago.

What are the factors that stand out in an evaluation of so many years of manager government as one looks to the past and anticipates the future?[1]

A study of the records of the past plus observation during more recent years strongly emphasizes the fact that the human element stands out in Kalamazoo's story of success.

The city of Kalamazoo has always been fortunate in the type of men who have served in positions of public trust, whether as members of the directorate charged with the determination of policies, or as members of the staff charged with administration of those policies, or as public employees who accept personal responsibility for their assigned tasks. This sort of history speaks more clearly and more eloquently than words.

Credit must be given, too, to the voters of the city in the selection of policy-determining officers. This civic-minded group have at times accepted heavy burdens by reason of their informed confidence in the plan of government. They have disregarded every consideration other than their trust in the candidate's ability to function on the board of directors of the city. The candidate's interest in his city's government is the primary qualification.

A review of the men who have served as mayors and commissioners during the past twenty-one years indicates that these men have represented many and varied types of interest. Included among them were:

11 business executives	1 editor
	1 college professor

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[1] For much of the material in this article, the writer is indebted to a booklet published by the Bureau of Municipal Research of Kalamazoo in June 1939, *Your City and Its Government: A Twenty-Year Story of City Manager Government.* This book was prepared by a group of graduate students at Kalamazoo College working in the field of public administration. The students spent considerable time investigating records of former years; they were able also to secure an inside view of Kalamazoo's present governmental machinery through actual participation on the staff of the Bureau of Municipal Research.

9 manufacturers
3 lawyers
2 doctors
2 advertising managers
2 jewelers
2 store proprietors
2 bankers
1 factory foreman
1 railroad foreman
1 real estate broker
1 garage proprietor
1 sales manager
1 college business manager

The commissioner who receives the highest number of votes at each election is designated as mayor of the city. Among the mayors have been:

5 manufacturers
2 business executives
1 college professor
1 factory foreman
1 banker
1 real estate broker

This list represents men of vision who have enjoyed the confidence of the people to such an extent that it has been possible for them to translate their foresight into policies and to carry out those policies in spite of heavy immediate costs at times. Wisdom comes from the contribution of the members of the group who bring to their task the varying points of view which have been developed as a result of interests, training, and experience. Progress results when men of vision, who see a plan in terms of a long-time program, contribute their point of view but at the same time seek a common ground of action.

It would be impossible to leave the administrative staff of the city out of any story intended to give a true picture of the human factor in the city's government. It is this staff that is charged with the carrying out of policies at the point where the personal and property interest of a community becomes involved. The type of men who have accepted and filled these positions speaks again as to the ability of the directorate.

On the score of the human element as contributing to the success of manager government in Kalamazoo, many statements of commendation have been made by the city commission and the administrative staff upon the effectiveness, the faithfulness, and the wholehearted interest displayed by the average employee in the city service. These officials believe that the city's employees, as a group, have an unusual record for conserving the property and funds of the city and for the faithful performance of duty.

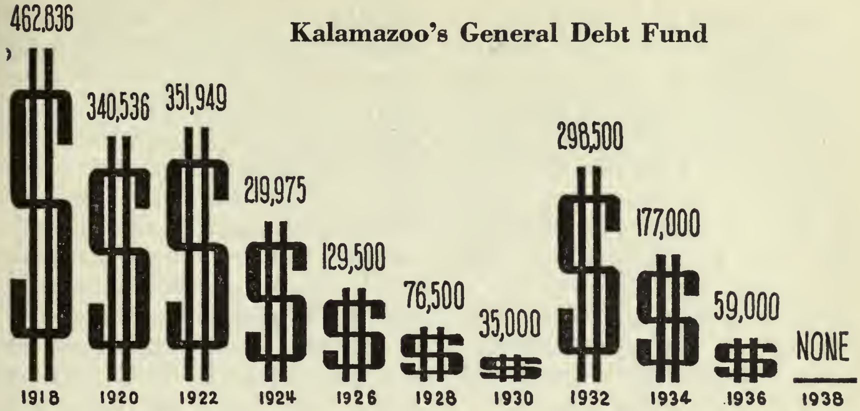
It is quite significant that the civil service clause of the manager charter of 1918 was not given expression by ordinance and rules until 1937. The reason is to be found in the constantly satisfactory conditions of city personnel relations. The civil service ordinance and rules, however, have put into written form the understanding which had guided personnel relations since the beginning of manager government. Today a department of personnel regulates and administers a formal up-to-date personnel program.

It is but natural to inquire if there has been any plan of action which might be called a master policy. The writer is convinced that there is such a controlling consideration which might well be expressed as it was in the introduction to the charter, "to set up and to maintain a businesslike government."

The outstanding program of Kalamazoo officials, judged by results, has been their determination to follow a "pay-as-you-go" policy. How far has the city been able to go under such a policy?

In the years preceding the adoption of manager government and in the first few years following it, be-

Kalamazoo's General Debt Fund



tween 15 and 20 per cent of each tax dollar was used to pay debt charges. When the first commission under the manager charter took office in 1918, the city's bonded indebtedness was about $681,000, more than the total city budget for that year. In 1937, however, the city burned its last bond in a public ceremony and became the only city of over 50,000 population in the country to be entirely free from bonded indebtedness in its general fund.[2]

Not only has all general bonded indebtedness been retired, but substantial progress has been made along all fronts:

A new city hall has been built and equipped at a cost of nearly half a million dollars.

The police department has undergone a thorough transformation. In 1918, shortly after manager government became effective, a detective bureau and an identification bureau were created and their services in the solution of crime have been constantly expanded. The detective bureau has cleared by arrest every case of murder in the city since 1929, and has recovered a good percentage of stolen property. Since 1929 the department has handled the regulation of traffic through a separate traffic bureau which has been especially active in the education of school children in safety measures. Since 1936 there have been no fatalities at school crossings.

In 1924 the city, together with the Board of Education, undertook a program of supervised recreation for the city. Playground space has been provided, especially in those sections where the juvenile delinquency rate was high; gymnasiums, tennis courts, golf courses, swimming pools have been installed; and symphony concerts, dances, dramatics, etc., have been arranged. Park development has been equally progressive. In 1918 there were less than a hundred acres of park land, 25 per cent of which was developed. In 1938 parks covered 394 acres, of which 75 per cent was developed. Municipal golf courses contain an additional 270 acres. Arrangement of parks is such that every house in the city is within one mile of some park or playground area.

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[2] See also "For Debt Service Nothing," by Douglas Doubleday, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, February 1938.

In 1918 there were 28½ miles of paved streets; in 1938 there were 77¾ miles, an increase of nearly 150 per cent. The public works department in 1923 began the paving of city streets itself rather than awarding jobs to private contractors. In that year it purchased its own asphalt plant and reduced the cost of paving by almost half. Sewer construction has also been undertaken by the city in place of letting contracts, at great reduction in cost.

But the record of the government of the city on review need not stop here. Witness the practice of centralized purchasing and the regularity with which the city is able to make a saving, in terms of discount, through prompt payment of its invoices. A budget, payroll procedure, and other financial controls are now operative. The record indicates that these controls are applied with splendid results because of the interest on the part of all concerned in carrying on the task of government on the basis of fullest possible information.

The desire to operate the city's government upon the basis of factual data, however, is not confined to fiscal transactions. Assessments are based on property appraisals made by competent experts and include separate valuations for land and improvements.

About a year ago a survey of the whole governmental setup was made by an expert concern in order to base action of importance to every citizen upon data determined by a disinterested authority.

Another evidence of the policy of making essential data available before a plan of action is decided upon, is found in the Bureau of Municipal Research, operated since 1934 as a branch of the office of the city manager. It was this service agency which undertook the preparation of *Your City and Its Government* a year ago. A list of the surveys made—a study of tax limitation laws, investigation of facilities at the city airport, a plan for the classification of positions in the municipal service, a study of incentives in city employment, an appraisal of relief trends over a period of ten years, and two surveys of refuse collection methods of Kalamazoo and other cities—is significant. Significant also is the interest of the city commission and administration in coöperating with the bureau in a program of training for the field of public service.

The annual examination of the reports of the city auditor, together with ample test checks to enable the outside auditor to certify to the correctness of such reports, is another indication of the policy of the city to avail itself of the services of impartial experts. Technical operations of the personnel department, such as classification, examination, procedure, etc., are cared for through an arrangement with the Municipal Personnel Service, a staff of experts made available by the Michigan Municipal League.

The city has utilized its own laboratories in the departments of health, police, and public works for the building up of new procedures and for original investigations, as well as the care of routine matters.

It is also significant to note the policy of the city with reference to

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Wangling Reapportionment for Michigan

So-called balanced legislature plan for House of Representatives "defective in emphasis" and only "partial in curative ability"; fails to settle numerous reapportionment problems.

By **CHARLES W. SHULL**
Wayne University

ONCE again the nine-lived problem of legislative reapportionment has appeared in Michigan. Following in the wake of efforts in 1928, 1930, and 1932 to bring about a reapportioning of the legislative chambers of the state, the proposal for which petitions are now being circulated is, in comparison with its predecessors, delightfully brief and understandably simple.

Avoiding the length of text and wealth of detail that characterized the so-called Michigan plan which was rejected by the voters in 1932, the present proposal seeks only the reduction of the size of the Michigan House of Representatives from one hundred to sixty-four. It is this attempt at reorganization and reapportionment by the indirect route through reduction of membership that has come to be called the proposed balanced legislature for Michigan.

Billed as a drive to reduce the House of Representatives, the proposal may seem to have some inherent merit and possess a fairly broad popular appeal. But to the observer this argument seems more specious than real. If it presumes the avoidance of reapportionment, by arguing that the issue as presented does not encompass such an eventuality but merely proposes to reduce the size of the House of Representatives by 36 per cent, then the scheme cannot be charged with intellectual honesty. It is equally unfair, however, to charge the proponents of the scheme with resort to subterfuge, for there is little in the recent legislative history of Michigan to encourage anyone to expect reapportionment unless it can be wangled by chicanery and skullduggery.

Fifteen years have elapsed since Michigan enacted measures providing for reapportionment of seats in her House of Representatives and Senate. These acts were based upon the census of 1920, and no succeeding legislation has been passed.

Within these decades, 1920-1930 and 1930-1940, has occurred the tremendous industrial development of Michigan. The national census of 1920 just preceded the great growth of urban centers in the state, and thus in 1925 could not have been an accurate measure of populational distribution at even that date. Joined to this evident discrimination by reason of the lateness of the apportionment and the failure to utilize in any way the 1930 census as a basis for reallocation, is the very deep and real antipathy between rural and urban sections of Michigan. This cleavage apparently was strong enough in 1925 to force Governor Groesbeck to resort to every known logrolling device to secure the passage of acts even as unsatisfactory as those of that year.

More recently the bitterness engendered because of the prohibition struggle and repeal, the controversy over sit-down strikes, the reaction to the Murphy administration, and the reliance of the Republican party organization upon the small-town or rural petty politician, have all served to make extremely painful the problem of reapportionment. In addition the fortuitous circumstance that practically all recent proposals seeking reapportionment have come from Wayne County, which to the average "outstater" signifies Detroit, has further complicated the search for a solution equitable and fair to all.

Harnessed to all these handicaps, it would seem that any suggested scheme for legislative reconstruction in Michigan is virtually foredoomed to failure. Whether this will be the case with the so-called scheme for a balanced legislature remains to be seen.

HOUSE MEMBERSHIP REDUCED

The balanced legislature plan calls for no change in the membership of the Senate, which will remain at thirty-two. It does provide for a reduction from one hundred to sixty-four in the House of Representatives. No other portion of the constitutional provisions relating to legislative apportionment would be altered in any way. The chief storm centers, the retention of the power to reapportion by the legislature itself and the continuation of the moiety clause, would still remain to dog and make troublesome any future shuffle of legislative seats. Furthermore, the proponents of the balanced legislature are vague as to the precise allocation of seats thereunder, and are equally ambiguous as to the way the legislature does become balanced. When the question is raised the answer invariably is a reference to the 1940 figures, which of course are not available as this is being written, or it is a point blank dictum to the effect that this matter will be left to the legislature in 1941, should the amendment pass.

In order to determine the validity of the arguments advanced in behalf of the balanced legislature, we must review the entire history of reapportionment in Michigan in recent years.

Under the acts of 1925 one hundred seats in all were allocated to the House of Representatives. Of these one hundred seats, fifty-two were awarded on the basis of attainment of the full ratio of representation. Included in this total are the twenty-one members apportioned to Wayne County. Upon the basis of the 1920 census the full ratio of representation was 36,684, and the moiety thereof 18,342. Forty-eight members thus held their seats by reason of less than the full quota of population requisite to the awarding of a member on the basis of the ratio of representation.

Of the fifty-two earned seats, the counties now commonly classed as urban or metropolitan accounted for approximately forty-two. These were distributed as follows: Wayne County, twenty-one; Kent, five; Genesee, three; Saginaw, two; Macomb, Ottawa, Washtenaw, Calhoun, Ingham, Jackson, Oakland, Bay, Berrien, Kalamazoo, and Muskegon, one each. Again, at least eight of these fifty-two seats represented those wherein the assumption is made that a combination of earned seat and moiety seat occurs, in which combination the precise quota of 36,684 can be claimed for the earned seat. We list here the counties in which this occurred, and omit them from the tabular presentation of the numerical variation in the number of persons actually represented by the earned member. Full quotas in earned-moiety combinations were found in Bay, Berrien, Houghton, Kalamazoo, Muskegon, Saginaw, and St. Clair—two seats in Saginaw.

TABLE I

ACTUAL NUMBER OF PERSONS PER EARNED SEAT

County	*Number of Persons*	*Deviation*
Wayne	56,078	+53%
Washtenaw	49,520	+35%
Lenawee	47,767	+30%
Ottawa	47,660	+29%
Marquette	45,787	+25%
Oakland	45,025	+25%
Genesee	41,889	+14%
Ingham	40,776	+11%
Macomb	38,103	+ 4%
Allegan	37,540	+ 2%
Monroe	37,115	+ 1%
Kent	36,608	— 1%
Calhoun	36,408	— 1%
Jackson	36,270	— 2%

Of the forty-eight seats allotted because of the moiety clause, a threefold separation and classification is possible. Seven of them occur in the earned-moiety combination of multiple seats. Twenty-seven moiety seats were given to single counties upon the basis of moiety. Fourteen seats were allotted to combinations of counties, multiple county districts in other words, in conformity with constitutional mandate.

Within the seven multiple-seat counties, the population served by each moiety member ranged from 21,325 in St. Clair County to 35,246 in Houghton. The twenty-seven members representing that number of moiety counties upon the 1925 apportionment started out by serving a population per member that ranged from 17,522 in Livingston County to 35,924 in Shiawassee. The fourteen multiple-county districts, compassing two to five counties each, showed a range in moiety served from 20,034 in the Cheboygan district to 32,979 in Newaygo district. Moiety, or a major fraction, was thus a figure ranging throughout the state as a whole from a numerical minimum of 17,522 to a maximum of 35,924, with a percentage range in terms of the ratio of representation from 47.8 per cent to 97.9 per cent. The median in terms of numerical population was 25,782, on a percentage basis 70.8 per cent of the quota. The range in number of persons represented by the individual member was 17,522 to 56,078, the median being 34,774.

A PROPOSED DISTRIBUTION

Enough evidence has probably been presented to indicate that the 1925 apportionment was far from an equitable allocation of the House of Representatives membership.

For the purposes of our analysis of the balanced legislature proposal we shall perforce have to deal in terms of the 1930 census, upon which basis there has been no apportionment and undoubtedly will be none. The census of 1930 revealed first a general population increase in the state of Michigan from 3,668,412 in 1920 to 4,842,325. Thirty-seven Michigan counties increased in population during that decade, such increases ranging from 0.9 per cent in Chippewa County to 134.5 per cent in Oakland. The median increase was 14.1 per cent. The remaining forty-six counties obviously lost population at various rates, the percentage range being 0.11 per cent in Bay County to 36.09 per cent in Houghton; the median here, 9.7 per cent.

Had there been an apportionment subsequent to the 1930 census, the ratio of representation would have been 48,423, with moiety set at 24,212. These figures compare with 36,684 and 18,342 respectively for the 1920 census. Thus there was an increase in the ratio of representation equal to 32 per cent of the previous quota. In turn, this increase in the ratio of representation must be compared with the rates of increase recorded in the thirty-seven enlarged counties to determine whether they gained representative memberships or not. Only a few counties could approach this norm of 32 per cent. Oakland, Macomb, Genesee, Wayne, Dickinson, Ingham, and Monroe ranged upward from 41.4 per cent to 134.5 per cent. Muskegon and Washtenaw also surpassed the increase in the quota, but less spectacularly.

METROPOLITAN AREA BUGABOO

Discounting the latter two, there appear to be seven counties where an increase of representatives might logically be expected. Dickinson County would have retained a member by a larger moiety, and Monroe would have advanced to an earned single seat. Increases in delegations would have been logically anticipated in only five counties—Oakland, Macomb, Genesee, Wayne, and Ingham. Consequently, those were the districts which should have profited following the census of 1930. In other words, the great bulk of the increase in population was centered in those areas; while other increases were recorded, a reapportionment following the census of 1930 would have failed to shift additional seats to thirty-two of the thirty-seven counties whose population grew between 1920 and 1930. Hence the growth of the fear of the metropolitan region of Detroit, and a pained resentment at the whole idea of reapportionment on the part of the average Michigander who saw himself slowly ground between two difficult choices—to retain moiety on the assumption that it protected the rural areas, or to abandon the cherished symbol because inexorably as population expanded it meant the legal, constitutional increase in urban representation. To do nothing became safer than action. The valor of supine slumber was more discreet.

We are now ready to present a specific allocation of the sixty-four seats proposed for the House of Representatives under the plan for a balanced legislature. Against the background sketched above will such a re-ordering of the Michigan House of Representatives have to occur, and with such handicaps will it have to contend.

Using the 1930 figures as the only ones available, we must first determine the representative quotient for a sixty-four-member House of Representatives. Thus the ratio of representation is 75,661. Applying this ratio, retaining moiety which becomes 37,831, let us now apportion the sixty-four seats in the House of Representatives under the plan for a balanced legislature. Such an application results in the tentative distribution of seats as shown in Table II:

TABLE II

Number of Seats	Area	Population	Earned	Moiety
14	Wayne	1,888,946	14	
3	Oakland	211,251	2	1
3	Kent	240,511	3	
3	Genesee	211,641	2	1
2	Kalamazoo—Van Buren	124,005	1	1
2	Ingham	116,587	1	1
2	Saginaw	120,717	1	1
1	Monroe	52,485		1
1	Lenawee	49,849		1
1	Berrien	81,066	1	
1	Calhoun	87,043	1	
1	Jackson	92,304	1	
1	Macomb	77,146	1	
1	Allegan	38,974		1
1	Ottawa	54,858		1
1	Shiawassee	39,517		1
1	St. Clair	67,563		1
1	Muskegon	84,630	1	
1	Bay	69,474		1
1	Marquette	44,076		1
1	Houghton	52,851		1
1	Hillsdale—Branch	51,367		1
1	St. Joseph—Cass	51,506		1
1	Washtenaw—Livingston	84,804	1	
1	Eaton—Barry	52,650		1
1	Ionia—Clinton	59,267		1
1	Lapeer—Sanilac	56,099		1
1	Huron—Tuscola	64,066		1
1	Gratiot—Montcalm	57,733		1
1	Isabella—Midland	40,276		1
1	Menominee—Dickinson	53,493		1
1	Gogebic—Ontonagon	42,691		1
1	Delta—Alger	41,607		1
1	Oceana—Newaygo—Mecosta	64,572		1
1	Mason—Lake—Manistee	40,231		1
1	Wexford—Benzie—Grand Traverse	43,425		1
1	Chippewa—Schoolcraft—Mackinac	42,281		1
1	Iron—Baraga—Keweenaw—Luce	41,577		1
1	Missaukee—Osceola—Clare—Gladwin—Arenac	42,261		1
1	Alpena—Iosco—Alcona—Ogemaw—Roscommon	39,730		1
1	Presque Isle—Emmet—Cheboygan—Otsego—Montmorency	46,309		1
1	Leelanau—Antrim—Charlevoix—Oscodo—Kalkaska—Crawford	38,789		1

A recapitulation of these results would show thirty earned seats and thirty-four moiety places in the sixty-four-member House of Representatives.

These earned seats fall into the following counties: Berrien, Kalamazoo-Van Buren district, Calhoun, Jackson, Washtenaw-Livingston district, Macomb, Oakland, Ingham, Kent, Genesee, Saginaw, Muskegon, and Wayne. However, on the basis of the previous classification, which was employed in connection with the 1925 act, a further breakdown is possible. Dividing these earned seats into the two categories, fully earned and earned-moiety combinations, the following result is obtained:

Berrien, Calhoun, Jackson, Washtenaw-Livingston, Macomb, Kent, Muskegon, and Wayne appear as the units with fully earned seats. But whereas these eight districts and counties would under the balanced legislature plan receive a total of twenty-three seats, these same counties have under the 1925 apportionment act a combined total of thirty-seven places in the House of Representatives. Fourteen of the thirty-six memberships to be abolished would appear here. Earned-moiety combinations would appear in Kalamazoo-Van Buren, Oakland, Ingham, Genesee, and Saginaw Counties. A total of twelve seats would be allotted to these counties under the new scheme. Under existing law these same governmental units hold thirteen seats, making a net loss of one under the balanced legislature plan. Out of these twelve seats, however, only seven are earned, the remainder being moiety seats. Actually fifteen of the thirty-six abolished seats will be found in the earned member and earned-moiety type of seats.

Of the thirty-four moiety seats, five falling within the earned-moiety type of membership have already been discussed. There remain twenty-nine more. Seven of these are allotted to single counties, while twenty-two multiple-county districts are necessary to complete the allocation under moiety.

Specifically, Wayne County would lose seven members of its present twenty-one; but with fourteen members under the new plan would actually possess 0.8 per cent more representation—not a great help toward achieving greater balance in terms of representation. Kent County would lose two members. Berrien, Calhoun, Jackson, St. Clair, Saginaw, Muskegon, Bay, and Houghton would lose one each; while the combination of Kalamazoo and Van Buren, of Hillsdale and Branch, of St. Joseph and Cass, of Washtenaw and Livingston, of Eaton and Barry, of Ionia and Clinton, of Lapeer and Sanilac, of Huron and Tuscola, of Gratiot and Montcalm, would cut the representation of these counties nine members below the present basis. Thus far, twenty-six of the thirty-six seats abolished by the balanced legislature plan lie in the lower portion of the state. Ingham, Genesee, Marquette, Monroe, Lenawee, Macomb, Allegan, Ottawa, Shiawassee, would retain their present number of seats. Only Oakland would gain, and this but one seat. A rearrangement of the remaining counties into multiple-county districts, ranging in size from two to six counties, would account for the rest.

IS BALANCE SECURED?

It is, one must confess, a bit difficult to see just how balance is achieved in the State House of Representatives by this device, unless the population of the state increases in 1940 to such an extent that the quota

(Continued on Page 314)

Mississippi Leads South in Rural Housing

Twenty-six county housing authorities lay plans for rehousing seven thousand families now living in substandard dwellings.

By **M. H. SATTERFIELD**
Tennessee Valley Authority

THE assumption of public responsibility for rural housing is a new and significant development in the United States. Although surveys and investigations have long revealed the unsatisfactory condition of housing in rural areas, it is only in the last year that steps have been taken to correct this condition. The United States housing act passed in 1937 provided federal funds for housing projects in "rural or urban communities," but the program as developed was primarily for urban areas. Since the United States Housing Authority can render assistance only upon the request of local agencies, first consideration, of course, is given to those local governments taking the initiative in establishing housing authorities, and practically all the local housing authorities in existence at the time of the passage of the act were municipal authorities. After the passage of the act cities and towns throughout the nation began to set up additional authorities and to request federal assistance in providing adequate housing facilities.[1]

Interest in rural housing, however, soon began to develop and during 1939 the United States Housing Authority formulated a rehousing plan applicable to rural areas. Furthermore, legislation now pending before the Congress would make $200,000,000 (one-fourth of the new loan authorization) "exclusively available" for rural housing projects.[2] By March 1, 1940, a program of public rural housing was well under way. Housing authorities had been established in sixty-four counties and six counties had made application to the United States Housing Authority for assistance in undertaking rural housing developments. Mississippi has taken the lead in the development of rural housing in the South.[3]

HOUSING LEGISLATION

In Mississippi both municipalities and counties are authorized to engage in public housing activities.[4] A rural housing program, however, offers greater promise because Mississippi is primarily a rural state. Only two of its cities had populations in 1930 of 25,000 or over. Most of the incorporated places are small towns and villages with fewer than 1,000 inhabitants. Of the 313 incorporated places in the state in 1930, only thirty-nine reported populations of 2,500 or more. These thirty-nine municipalities accounted for only 16.9 per cent of the total population. Thus it can be seen that any extensive housing program must of necessity be framed for rural areas.[5]

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[1] Federal Works Agency, *Annual Report of the United States Housing Authority*, 1939, pp. 25-26.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 25-29.

[3] Of the sixty-four county housing authorities as of March 1, 1940, twenty-six were in Mississippi. Four other southern states had county housing authorities as of this date: Arkansas had ten, and Georgia, South Carolina, and Virginia each had one.

[4] *Laws of Mississippi*, 1938, chap. 338.

County housing authorities in Mississippi can be established by action of the county board of supervisors. A resolution declaring that a need for the functioning of the authority exists may be passed by the board on its own motion or in response to a petition signed by twenty-five residents of the county. The county housing authority consists of five members appointed by the board of supervisors for five-year overlapping terms. Most of the counties that have established housing authorities have selected one member from each of the five districts of the county, although this distribution is not required by the act. Members of the housing authority receive no compensation other than necessary traveling expenses and may not hold any other county office.

The county housing authority is empowered to employ a secretary and such technical experts and other employees as it may require and to determine their qualifications, duties, and compensation. The authority has the right to sue and be sued, to enter into contractual relationships, and to acquire and hold property. It also has the power to issue bonds to finance any housing project undertaken. The bonds are not obligations of the county but are to be paid out of the revenue from the housing project or from grants or contributions of the federal government. The county, however, is empowered to donate and lend money to the county housing authority, and may invest in housing authority bonds.

CONDITION OF RURAL HOUSING

The percentage of farm tenancy is higher in Mississippi than in any other state in the union. Of the 311,683 farms reported in the state as of January 1, 1935, 217,564 or 69.8 per cent were operated by tenants. In only four counties in the state were less than 25 per cent of the farms operated by tenants. On the other hand, in eight counties more than 90 per cent of the farms were operated by tenants. One of these, with 94.7 per cent farm tenancy, had a tenancy rate twenty-one times that of the state of Maine.[6] Mississippi likewise has a large number of Negro tenants. In 1935, 67.9 per cent of the tenant farms were operated by Negroes.

The excessively large farm tenant population has contributed to the decadence of rural life in Mississippi. Conditions in rural areas of the state have been pointed out by the Mississippi State Planning Commission as follows: "An extended drive through rural sections of the state displays desolate conditions: poor housing, eroded hillsides, and tragic lack of home conveniences."[7] A survey of farm housing in Mississippi made in 1934 showed that approximately 40 per cent of all the farm houses were in poor structural condition because of defective foundations, floors, walls, or roofs; less than a fourth of the homes were considered in good structural condition. Rural dwellings have deteriorated since this survey, and a recent estimate by the Mississippi State Planning Commission indicates that approximately 70 per cent of the rural homes in the state are substandard on the basis of structural defects or essential rural home conveniences. Many of these are ramshackle old shanties that look unfit for human habitation. The substandard living conditions of rural families in Mississippi clearly indicate the need for a comprehensive program of rural housing.

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[5] There are, however, seven municipal housing authorities in Mississippi, five of which have received loans from the United States Housing Authority. See forthcoming study by M. H. Satterfield and Hugh W. Urban entitled *Municipal Government and Administration in Mississippi.*

[6] Mississippi State Planning Commission, *State Planning in Mississippi,* Progress Report, January 1938, pp. 52-53.

RURAL HOUSING PROGRAM

Although the rural housing program in Mississippi was slow in getting started, its growth in recent months has been phenomenal. The first Mississippi county housing authority was organized in November 1939. By February 14, 1940, housing authorities had been established in twenty-five other Mississippi counties.[8] A number of these authorities have already submitted applications to the United States Housing Authority for funds. Each authority proposes to construct from 150 to 400 dwellings at an estimated cost of approximately $2,000 per dwelling unit.[9] These units will be rented to rural families of low income at an annual net rental of approximately $50 per year. Negro and white families that are small farm owners, tenants, sharecroppers, and rural wage earners are eligible to participate in the program.

Unlike urban housing developments, the rural housing projects in Mississippi will be made up of single dwellings built on individual farms. Sites for the dwellings are to be acquired by the local housing authority through donation, particularly if the applicant is a small farm owner, or at a nominal cost. Each site is to be of sufficient size to provide space for a family garden, an orchard, and for poultry. No dwelling, however, can be constructed on any farm unless the farm has been approved as a desirable economic agricultural unit by the United States Department of Agriculture. Another factor considered in the selection of dwelling sites is the accessibility of the farms to highways, schools, markets, and agricultural processing plants.

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[7] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[8] The Mississippi State Planning Commission has been largely responsible for the development of a rural housing program in Mississippi. The commission not only sponsored legislation authorizing establishment of county housing authorities but has also worked with counties in organizing local authorities and in preparing applications for submittal to the United States Housing Authority. Mr. Owen Cooper, assistant state director of the Mississippi State Planning Commission, furnished much of the information on the rural housing program in Mississippi.

[9] The application of the Madison County Housing Authority, for example, calls for 300 dwelling units at an estimated development cost of $636,000, or a cost of $2,127 per dwelling unit.

After an applicant has been accepted by the local housing authority as an eligible and worthy tenant, a contract is executed in which the tenant agrees to tear down or effectively close as living quarters the dwelling vacated, to make the necessary rental payments for the new dwelling,[10] and to conform to a program of sound farm management consistent with accepted farm methods. In this connection, county housing authorities in Mississippi have indicated that they will designate as housing managers persons trained in agriculture so that a program of improved farming practices may be inaugurated on each farm where a dwelling is constructed by the authority.

The necessary framework for an extensive program of rural housing in Mississippi has been set up. Further progress, however, depends upon action of Congress. If funds for rural housing are provided and the proposals of the twenty-six county housing authorities in Mississippi are approved, it will mean that approximately seven thousand families now living in substandard dwellings will be provided with decent new homes. While the proposed program will replace only about 10 per cent of the substandard rural dwellings in the twenty-six counties concerned, it is nevertheless an important beginning and, if successful, will undoubtedly be expanded.

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[10] Under legislation now pending before Congress, local housing authorities would be authorized "to make long-term leases or purchase agreements or otherwise to rent or sell rural housing to families of low income."

WANGLING REAPPORTIONMENT

(Continued from Page 310)

rises above 80,000, and moiety above 40,000. However, an eventuality of this kind will merely strengthen outstate opposition to the measure.

More pertinently, the proposed balanced legislature plan is defective in emphasis and partial in curative ability. It does accomplish apportionment, but much in the same way as if a leg were amputated to get rid of a shin-splint. It leaves the execution of the new apportionment in the hands of the 1941 legislature, assumes that legislative bodies in the future will not put off the day of reapportionment as in the past, does not require a new reallocation of senatorial seats, still retains moiety but nips in the bud the possibility of its forced use on a larger number of seats. Finally, it is open to the fundamental charge that it does not cure the problem of reapportionment at all. It does assure one apportionment on the basis of sixty-four members, but does not make plain the need for regular, periodic apportionment without legislative intervention, through the medium of an apportionment commission such as is utilized in a few states. Herein lies the prime fault and defect of the scheme.

Official blessings have been poured upon the balanced legislature by the Wayne County Board of Auditors, by the Mayor and Council of Detroit. Mayhap salvation lies down that road, but one must fear lest the half a loaf be rank with mould and stale with age.

Buffalo Standardizes Jobs and Pay

New salary survey reclassifies the six thousand positions in the city's service and sets minimum and maximum salaries for each classification.

By SIDNEY DETMERS
Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau, Inc.

SALARY surveys are not new to Buffalo. Five or six have been made for the city or the county during the past ten years. But when a prominent city official characterizes the one just concluded as "a piece of work for which it would be difficult to find a parallel in the history of Buffalo," it may be presumed that this one is "different." In what respects, with some of the experiences of the committee having the survey and report in charge, is here related.

What initiated this survey were the salary cuts which the mayor made in formulating his recommended budget for the fiscal year 1938-39. Some of his reductions were extremely drastic and some, under civil service rules, were perhaps illegal. Widespread objection to the budget salaries by city employees impelled the common council, although it adopted the budget, to refer the dispute to a select committee for consideration and recommendation. This, however, was but the first phase of the work assigned to the committee. It was also to make a complete study of salaries and jobs and report its findings and recommendations to the council.

To settle the budget dispute the committee after much study and argument recommended a cut of 10 per cent from the salaries as they were at their high point several years before, but in no case was the cut to be below the minimum of the employee's civil service grade, with some exceptions. The solution was accepted by the mayor, the council, and the employees alike. This disposed of the committee's first assignment.

The committee was composed of twelve persons: three of them were councilmen, others were the director of the budget, the deputy comptroller, the mayor's personnel secretary, and six private citizens. Of the last named two were moderate labor leaders, one a prominent lawyer, one the president of a taxpayer's organization, one a Catholic priest, and one the present writer. In addition, an advisory group having no vote was appointed, numbering somewhat more than the authoritative committee. Both the council and the mayor participated in naming the committee.

The next duty of the committee was to recommend standard salaries for all the six thousand positions in the city's service, which would bring them into line one with another, and into line with what was being paid for like services in comparable cities and in local private employment. This, obviously, was first a matter of fact-finding, and here is one respect in which this survey was "different" from its predecessors, namely: to divorce the findings of fact from any taint of personal or political bias, a private professional firm was hired to obtain all the basic data needed for the committee's consideration. The firm worked on its task while the committee was engaged on the first phase of its assignment mentioned above.

SETTING UP JOB STANDARDS

The firm first had to determine the range and character of the duties being performed in every position in every city department, and to classify and define these duties. Each employee was personally interviewed, or, where like duties prevailed throughout a group, as in the department of police, a typical representative of the group was interviewed. The interviews were reduced to writing, signed by the employee, and then checked as to accuracy by the head of his department.

Based on this information, and without reference to the individual then holding the position, the jobs were classified, titled, defined, exemplified, minimum qualifications prescribed, and the principal lines of promotion indicated. Thus, as it were, pigeon-holes were provided into one or another of which any person then or in future in the city's employ would fit, according to the particular nature of his duties and responsibilities. It is to be noted that no attempt was made to say where any present employee would be placed. There was merely a catalogue of jobs.

The firm's next step was to attach to each of its classified jobs a minimum and maximum salary, as determined by its findings of what was being paid in comparable cities and in local private employment for like duties. Many difficulties, the solution of which required nice judgment, were experienced here. The range of salaries encountered in various cities often reflected special qualifications in the individuals receiving them, or, as may well be the case, there were salaries too low or too high due to personal or political influence or mere lack of knowledge by those who set the rates. The committee later found this to be the case in Buffalo, and it is reasonable to think that it prevailed elsewhere. In the end, however, a fair average was obtained and used to construct the tentative Buffalo schedule of rates.

THE COMMITTEE'S STRUGGLES

All this information was finally put before the committee of twelve in a printed volume of 243 pages. Up to this time the committee had adopted no rules for its procedure in spite of efforts by some members to have them formulated. There seemed to be a fear that unless everything was "in the open," something would be "put over" by somebody. So the committee sat around its table, surrounded by the advisory committee, reporters, and the public generally, to the capacity of the room. After struggling with the firm's report under such circumstances for two sessions with little or no progress, a subcommittee of five was appointed to go to work on it, and to report its findings and recommendations back to the main committee. Reporters, advisors, and the public were excluded from the subcommittee's sessions, and after a year of work it reported. Its report was approved by the main committee, adopted by the common council, and signed by the mayor.

The report provided rules to the effect that the new standard rates, titles, etc., would not apply to any present employee as long as he held his present position or when he was transferred to a like position in another department. It also provided that any then present employee who was receiving less than the standard minimum rate should have his salary increased to the standard minimum. Employees coming into the city service after adoption of the schedule were required to take the beginning rate, which thereafter normally was advanced $100 a year for three years to the maximum. As, of the six thousand employees, about one hundred drop out every year, in the course of time the whole force would be on the schedule. The great part were already within the schedule range.

Some objection developed to the rules as they were first reported by the subcommittee, which resulted in a withdrawal of the report for further consideration. The objectors were then brought in and after several discussions, in which the rules were explained or modified, full agreement was reached without sacrifice of any principle on which the report was based. The objectors were chiefly civil service employees, and their representatives appeared before the main committee when the report as modified was again submitted, and urged the adoption of the report as it was thus formulated.

RATES OF PRESENT EMPLOYEES

In not reducing the rates of present employees the committee was influenced by several considerations. The rates they were receiving had already been cut from a previous higher rate at which many had been hired. They had reasonable expectation of substantially that range of salary and on it had based their personal affairs. The city itself had been a party to fixing these rates. From the humanitarian, fair-play viewpoint, cuts in certain instances would have caused hardship and disturbance of morale. The number of over-payments involved was relatively few, and the cost to the city not great. Finally, this rule eliminated an element of protest which might have killed the whole project and all the benefit which both the city and the employees will in time enjoy from the uniformity of rates on a sound basis of relative duties and responsibilities.

PROVISION FOR CONTINUATION

Salaries of city employees, in the absence of scientifically constructed schedules, are fixed at the whim of the common council or the mayor. The exercise of this legal prerogative has become a habit which it is difficult to break. The committee therefore in its report, which the council adopted, provided for the continuation of the new arrangement by a special committee of three councilmen to which all questions of salaries, rules, etc., must be referred. The secretary of the standardization committee of twelve, who acted also for the subcommittee of five, is the secretary of this council committee, and insures as far as is possible that all this work shall not be in vain, but will be utilized by this and future councils.

THE THIRD PHASE

The third and final phase of the report of the committee of twelve was the application of the increases to present employees who are paid less than the standard rates. By any rule of fair dealing they are entitled to the advance, although the city happens at this time to be close to its taxing limit under the state constitution. Every effort is being made to keep faith with the employees of whom some five hundred are underpaid.

In its financial aspect, these five hundred increases will cost nominally $85,000 this coming year. But, with the normal annual dropping out of one hundred and one hundred new employees going in at the minimum standard the actual increase will probably not exceed $45,000. In the following year a further dropping out should approximately wipe out any increase in the total pay roll compared with pre-standardized years. Thereafter for some years there should be an actual saving each year.

With a pay roll of $11,000,000 a year, the largest of the net increases, $45,000 for one year, is a small price to pay to secure the improved morale resulting from the knowledge that employees' salaries are fixed, not by "pull" or whim but by a fairly determined schedule. Furthermore the schedules offer a bar against higher salaries which without the schedule the councils might fix in the future.

The second phase of the work, the construction of a standard schedule of initial and final rates for each job, is, of course, the principal one. We summarize the unusual features of this Buffalo survey which seem tc us to have secured its adoption, although in the past all such attempts to standardize have failed:

SUMMARY

1. A governing committee of councilmen, executive city employees, and private citizens, representing various types of thought, to deal with the matter;
2. A working subcommittee of those most familiar with the subject and willing to devote much time to it;
3. A professional firm competent to obtain and formulate the basic data for the committees' study;
4. An able secretary to the committees, preferably secured on loan from the professional firm;
5. Conference, and coöperation as far as possible, with representatives of the civil service employees, but exclusion of them from committee membership;
6. A "continuation" agency to hold the ground already secured, to deal with changed conditions, and to see that the principles of the survey report are not overlooked in the future by those in charge of the city's government;
7. Obviously, the competence of the men who make up the survey committee to deal with an intricate and often delicate problem.

Employment Stabilization Jeopardized by Conflicting Tax Laws

American employers who attempt to build up reserve stock in slack seasons, thus affording continuous work for employees, find themselves liable in many states to personal property assessment laws.

By **EMERSON P. SCHMIDT**
University of Minnesota

RELIEF costs are the most disturbing and uncertain element in the budgets of local governments. Obstacles to steady employment should receive the most careful consideration by state and local governments in order to reduce relief requirements and provide better budget control.

American employers are making a renewed drive to stabilize their operations at this time because, in thirty-nine states, stable employment provided by the individual employer is rewarded by reduced pay roll contributions for the financing of unemployment compensation. Yet employers in about two-thirds of the states find that production for stock during the period of slack sales may be penalized under the operation of the personal property tax assessment law.

Most generally the raw material and finished goods of a manufacturer are assessed as of some specific date, frequently May 1, for taxation purposes. Many manufacturers have a winter or spring period of slack sales. Under the "experience rating" provisions of the unemployment compensation laws, they are encouraged to produce for stock during this slack period, thus providing more steady employment. Subsequent periods of peak sales are met by withdrawing a part of the requirements from the inventory on hand.

However, if the employer accumulates inventory and has it on hand on the personal property tax assessment date, his stabilization effort is penalized. Clearly here we have two laws which work in conflict and a reconciliation of purpose is required.

Some Examples

In a study of techniques and devices currently being adopted by employers, the author has had occasion to interview hundreds of employers. So frequently he has encountered this problem of assessment that he is convinced a change in the law would be in the public interest.

The president of a textile mill stated: "In the spring of the year we do not buy a pound of yarn which we do not need and we reduce our finished inventories to a minimum because on May 1 any stock, whether raw material or finished goods, costs us a personal property tax of about 3 per cent." Thus this company draws into the community enough employees to meet its peak requirements and then lays them off during the slack winter and spring period. Also by bunching its orders for yarn and other supplies, the company policy has a disturbing effect on a number of other manufacturers.

A furnace manufacturer in the same state told the writer that it is almost impossible to get its dealers in most states to accept delivery for any furnaces in the spring of the year before May 1 unless actual orders are on hand. The dealers find that their returns are cut by approximately 3 per cent on any unnecessary supplies they have on hand on assessment days and this contributes to the problem of stabilization of the furnace manufacturer. The latter also stated that while the company has a policy of providing year-round employment as nearly as possible, "the burden of producing for stock is becoming too great in these days of thin profits."

A window frame manufacturer who encounters a peak sales demand in June or July has adopted an annual wage plan, but his efforts at stabilization are annually penalized by the same obstacle. A photographic supplies manufacturer finds that of his annual sales, 15 per cent occur in July and only about 2.5 per cent in December. In the winter and spring he produces for stock so that by April he has on hand approximately 30 per cent of the year's output. Then on May 1 the assessor comes along and assesses his inventory. He becomes liable for a tax of $3 per $100 of stock on hand. Were it not for the fact that top management in this company is committed to employment stabilization, such a penalty tax would be avoided by laying off employees in the slack period. The relief load would mount and further unbalance the budget of the city.

The writer has interviewed many employers who encounter this same problem but whose margin of profit is so thin that to provide the extra storage space, to finance the carrying of the inventory, *and* to pay such a penalty tax becomes prohibitive.

Experience Rating in Unemployment Compensation Laws

A word more should be said about the incentives for stabilization which are contained in the unemployment compensation laws. Thirty-nine state legislatures have concluded that employers can do something to provide more stable employment and have provided "experience rating" in the laws. In Illinois, for example, employers who provide steady employment may qualify for an unemployment compensation premium rate of .5 per cent on their eligible pay roll, while employers who do not or cannot stabilize their operations pay as high as 3.6 per cent. Thus the state holds out a premium abatement of 3.1 per cent of the pay roll. This means a potential saving of $31 per $1,000 of pay roll. This saving may mean the difference between profit and loss, or it may change the situation from one of unsatisfactory profits to one regarded by management as satisfactory.

In Wisconsin the maximum possible saving is 4 per cent or $40 per $1,000 of pay roll. In this state the writer has found a veritable mass movement to stabilize. A large meat packer sent his foremen and others to a specially organized school to learn ways and means to iron out the fluctuations and avoid lay-offs. From 1926 to 1935 his average annual lay-off rate was 65 per cent, reaching as high as 89 per cent in the worst years. Since the stabilization plan has been adopted, his average lay-off rate has been about 5 per cent. His pay roll premium savings, due to this effort, amounted to about 28 per cent of the average annual profits of the preceding three years.[1]

The conflict between "experience rating" clauses and personal property tax assessment clauses of state statutes could be readily resolved by the simple expedient of assessing stocks and supplies of manufacturers on the basis of average annual inventories rather than the inventories as of a given date. About a dozen states already do this, but the others should follow their example.

In order to reduce opposition to the

(Continued on Page 345)

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[1] For a fuller analysis of the efforts at stabilization, see "Easing the Pay Roll Tax," *Barron's Weekly*, January 1, 1940, p. 7.

The Researcher's Digest: May

New Jersey studies municipal consolidation; "free press" in New York City; Governmental Research Association renews activity, publishes proceedings.

POPULAR interest in municipal consolidations in New Jersey has recently taken on renewed life, reports William Miller of the *Princeton Local Government Survey.* A report on "A Consolidation of the Municipalities of Passaic and Clifton, New Jersey," released in February under the joint sponsorship of the Princeton Survey and the *Department of Governmental Research of the New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce,* is the first of a series of "spot" studies planned to test the possibilities of action under a 1939 law which was originally prepared by the survey. A second such study, to deal with adjustments in Bridgewater Township, Somerset County, will soon be completed.

As a result of the new law, known as the "Local Units Permissive Consolidation Act," relates Mr. Miller, there is now available a simple, definite and practical method whereby two or more municipalities in the same county may consolidate.

Mr. Miller continues: There never has been much local sentiment for consolidations—in fact the tendency has been quite the contrary, so that over the past forty years there have been only three consolidations with one hundred eighty-one separations. While the causes for this development are far more subtle than defects of legislation, it is clear that prior to the enactment of the new law, existing provisions, enacted in 1917 and 1923, contained defects which seriously impaired the chances of success for any consolidation movement.

Both of the old laws provided for a vote on the question before a plan of consolidation had been worked out. They also dealt inflexibly with the treatment of contracts, debts and liabilities of the consolidating municipalities, although these matters require the utmost flexibility of treatment before a workable plan can be agreed upon. The 1917 law left no choice as to the framework of government for the new municipality, and required the acceptance of the charter and ordinances of the largest in population—a device well calculated to foster that feeling of being "swallowed up." The 1923 law merely provided that the new municipality must be a "city." The Local Units Permissive Consolidation Law remedies all of these defects and repeals the 1917 and 1923 legislation.

Report Merely Analyzes

The Passaic-Clifton report neither recommends nor condemns consolidation. It only purports to "analyze the values and set the problems. The answer must come from the communities themselves."

Significantly, however, the report points out that the two communities naturally supplement each other—Passaic with the prestige of a long and successful industrial development, and Clifton with successful industrial development as well as new space for both residential and industrial expansion. In the long run, consolidation of Clifton and Passaic, it is reported, would point toward "economic advantages which would normally accrue to the sixth largest city in the state." Furthermore, there would probably be "a wider range of public services," the "elimination of costly rivalries and duplicated capital investments" which normally attend competitive growth, and "assurance of future developments in accord with a unified city plan adapted to the expanding needs of the Passaic-Clifton area."

Would Increase Taxes

For consolidation, Passaic must be willing "to share in the future capital improvements of the present Clifton area—probably a considerable burden because of Passaic's comparatively complete capital program and Clifton's capital needs over the next ten years"; "to permit equal political participation with the Clifton area in the government of the 'new' municipality"; "to place the government of the 'new' municipality under 'civil service'—as in Clifton at present"; "to encourage industrial and residential expansion in the present Clifton area." Clifton must agree "to face increased governmental cost payments for the 'new' municipality. This would mean increased valuations or a higher tax rate." It also must be ready "to pay a larger share of state and county taxes than is now required"; "to consider merging police and firemen's pension funds in the interest of a unified and solvent fund for the 'new' municipality"; "to encourage the normal growth of trade centers in the present Passaic area."

Such matters as these can be considered, adjusted, and compromised if necessary by a "joint committee," which is provided for under the new consolidation law. The people may then vote for or against consolidation on the specific bases worked out by the committee. An intelligent appreciation of all the factors involved is being stimulated by the coöperation of the local press.

Newspapers and a Budget

"Free Press: for what?" inquires *New York City's Institute for Public Service* in a blistering indictment of the newspapers of the world's greatest city. The Institute's April 10 bulletin details the treatment given to the mayor's executive budget for 1940-41 by twelve daily newspapers, pointing out that one paper gave the Soviet budget two and one-half times the space devoted to the city budget; that one paper gave to a "love kiss" a three-column head and three times the space given the budget; that one paper gave a style queen and a reinstated lawyer twenty-five inches, to sixteen on the budget.

The institute points out also significant budget items which were entirely ignored by all the newspapers. All twelve, it is charged, "accepted the miscue from the mayor's message and called the total $581,000,000 when $687,000,000 was the 'total budget' in the summary received with his message."

Governmental Research and Citizen Control

Publication of the Governmental Research Bulletin of the *Governmental Research Association* has been resumed, now under the editorship of Laurence Michelmore at the GRA's new headquarters in Detroit. The issue of March 1940 is the first since that of September-October 1939.

Coincidentally, the proceedings of the twenty-eighth conference of the GRA, which took place in Princeton last September, have been issued. As Dr. W. E. Mosher, chairman of the organization's executive committee, explains in his foreword, the conference was built around three leading ideas: (1) redefinition of the objectives of the GRA, with emphasis upon the importance of citizen interest and citizen support; (2) the proposal that a national organization should be set up which would appeal to those primarily interested in research, administration, and progressive measures for bringing about improvement through the application of scientific principles; and (3) consideration of recent important advances in one or another aspect of administration.

Papers by many of the "great names" of governmental research are given in full or digested. The proceedings have been titled *Governmental Research and Citizen Control of Government.*

Research Bureau Reports Received

Consolidation

A CONSOLIDATION OF THE MUNICIPALITIES OF PASSAIC AND CLIFTON, NEW JERSEY. Princeton Local Government Survey, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey. February 15, 1940. 24 pp.

Cost of Government

Cost of Government in Canada—Provincial Government. Citizens' Research Institute of Canada, *Canadian Taxation,* April 8, 1940. 4 pp.

MUNICIPAL FINANCES IN NEW JERSEY—A RECORD OF IMPROVEMENT. (Supplement to Research Bulletin No. 109). New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce, Newark, N. J. 17 pp.

Debt

LOCATION AND RELATIVE BURDEN OF LOCAL DEBT. Princeton Survey of New Jersey Finance, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey. February 1, 1940. 4 pp.

Governmental Research

GOVERNMENTAL RESEARCH AND CITIZEN CONTROL OF GOVERNMENT. Governmental Research Association, Detroit, Michigan. January, 1940. 168 pp.

Liquor

STATE LIQUOR CONTROL ADMINISTRATION—A STATUTORY ANALYSIS. By Dorothy Campbell Culver and Jack E. Thomas. Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, Berkeley, February 15, 1940. 80 pp.

Motor Vehicles

To Reduce Motor-Vehicle Accidents. Bureau of Municipal Research, Philadelphia, *Citizens' Business,* March 19, 1940. 3 pp.

Newspapers

Free Press: For What? Institute for Public Service, New York City, 1940. 4 pp.

Planning

State Planning. Citizens Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., of New York State, *Bulletin,* Number G-14. 2 pp.

Population Trends

POPULATION GROWTH AND UNEMPLOYMENT. By V. B. Stanbery. Western Governmental Research Association, Berkeley, *Governmental Research Notes,* December-March, 1939-40. 10 pp.

Public Welfare

State Assistance for Child Welfare in Boston. Boston Municipal Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* March 30, 1940. 4 pp.

Our Poor Relief "System (?)". The Cincinnati Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., *The Public Purse,* February 29, 1940. 4 pp.

Volume and Cost of Relief, 1939. Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc., *Municipal Research,* March 1940. 1 p.

Schools

Resolutions of Board of Trustees on School Matters. Civic Research Institute, *Kansas City Public Affairs,* March 21, 1940. 5 pp.

The Pressing School Problem in New York State. Citizens Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., of New York State, *Bulletin,* Number G-13. 2 pp.

Should the Legislature Investigate School Finances? Citizens Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., of New York State, *Bulletin,* Number G-15. 2 pp.

Taxation

Improving Tax Collections — A Sample in Personal Property!! Civic Research Institute, *Kansas City Public Affairs,* March 14, 1940. 3 pp.

Kansas City School District Real Estate Tax Delinquency (Excluding penalties and interest). Civic Research Institute, *Kansas City Public Affairs,* April 4, 1940. 3 pp.

A "Pay Your Taxes" Campaign Can Do It. Civic Research Institute, *Kansas City Public Affairs,* April 11, 1940. 1 p.

Centralization of State Tax Collection. Governmental Research Institute, St. Louis, *Dollars and Sense in Government,* March 21, 1940. 1 p.

The Ohio Tax Problem. Dayton Research Association, *Facts,* April 2, 1940. 1 p.

How Dayton Stands on Delinquent Taxes Today. The Dayton Research Association, *Facts,* April 15, 1940. 2 pp.

Tax Penalty and Interest Moratorium. Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc., *Bulletin,* April 15, 1940. 3 pp.

How Should Pavement Costs Be Allocated Among New Jersey Highway Users? Princeton Survey of New Jersey Finance, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey, February 14, 1940. 1 p.

Unemployment Compensation

TOWARD STEADY JOBS. Department of Governmental Research, New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce. February 7, 1940. 16 pp.

Voting

Election Districts. Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* April 16, 1940. 3 pp.

Education for Democracy—Ideals and Values

By P. P. WOMER

Chairman, Citizenship Committee, National Municipal League

THERE is today a widespread and growing feeling that in developing our system of education we have not adequately visualized the proper contribution of education either in the making of competent citizens, or in the making of a competent citizen body—one that functions competently as a body.

In a general way we have believed in the importance of education for democracy, but the educational values that would best serve the interests of democracy and the kind of program required for the effective inculcation of those values are still confused and obscure.

One serious confusion, both in the public mind and in the mind of educators themselves, is the identification of education for citizenship with patriotic indoctrination. Even in advanced democratic nations education for citizenship has tended to emphasize national traditions, uncritical acceptance of official truth, blind obedience to the commands of imposed authority, belief in the status quo.

Broadly speaking, it may be said that education for citizenship means the initiation of people into the corporate life of the democratic community—identifying them with the problems of the democratic community and teaching them to contribute their full share in solving such problems in ways that mean progress and the common good.

In education for American citizenship one important fact must be taken into account. The rapid process of events since the beginning of the twentieth century has changed a loosely organized society, which provided unlimited scope for the display of such individual qualities as independence, self-reliance, and initiative, into a closely knit society of individuals and groups whose welfare is inter-related and interdependent. The new society demands coöperative effort to such an extent and of such a type that democratic ideals as once conceived appear to have lost their worth.

To be more concrete, it seems clear that the great historic ideals of democracy, liberty, equality, and fraternity represent values from which humanity will never turn back. In view of the closely knit society that has developed in our time, however, these historic ideals must be given a new emphasis and interest if their real values are to be conserved. "Liberty" must be thought of as the power of people in a complex society to secure the means for the widest possible development of personality and to enjoy conditions which are necessary for the achievement of well-being. "Equality" must be thought of as the removal of handicaps and the freeing of our abilities for fullest expression in equal measure for all. And "fraternity" must be thought of in terms of coöperative effort that seeks to equalize opportunity to the extent that each with a minimum of obstruction may be able to find his proper level and make his proper contribution to the common life.

Education for citizenship means not only the emphasis of certain ideals but the development of certain attitudes. And one of these is the ability to interpret patriotism in terms of practical service to the community instead of mere adulation and indulgence in theories. Saluting the flag, standing with head uncovered while the national anthem is sung, and similar forms of patriotic display have their uses: but in practical life the citizen finds that what most commonly he has before him is not a situation that calls for sentiment, but one in which discernment, discrimination, and sound judgment are of the utmost importance. From the exalted feeling inspired by participation in a patriotic celebration it is a far cry to the average city, state, or national election where the most difficult and puzzling choices must be made.

Still another highly necessary attitude that needs to be developed is the disposition to accept without protest the manifold duties that arise out of our ordinary social relationships. Bad government may increase these duties and good government may decrease them; but the necessity of doing them is always present. And the effective citizen in modern democracy is the person who on his own initiative or in association with others goes ahead and does them.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Excerpts from address at Dallas, Texas, March 21, before Regional Conference on Citizenship and Government, sponsored by the National Municipal League and the Dallas Citizens' Council.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

(Continued from Page 290)

adoptions of the manager plan until the fall of 1945 since such an amendment would have to be passed by the 1941 and 1943 sessions of the legislature and would then have to be voted on by the people of the state at the general election in the fall of 1944); (3) if the latter, how far such a home rule amendment should go.

The Hoosier state is the proud sponsor of the so-called Indiana Plan whereby local budgets are subject to state review. Can an amendment be drawn which will grant genuine municipal home rule and at the same time preserve the present measure of state control over local finances?

The significance of the Indiana problem is not confined to the borders of one state. With the development of state aid and its colleague, federal aid, other states have more and more come to the realization that too extensive home rule blocks control by the state over the money it puts up to help the local units. The converse is also true. The growing financial interest in the functions of local government threatens continued incursion by the state on home rule powers. This is to put the problem in terms of clear cut issues and necessarily exaggerates its simplicity. To what extent may administrative control be established over local government without actual encroachment on the determination of policy by local legislative bodies? This and similar queries may be raised regarding the no-man's land that lies between state domination on the one hand and complete local autonomy on the other.[1]

It seems probable that the Indiana commission will have to cut the Gordian knot clearly and sharply, inasmuch as the issue stands out in bolder relief in Indiana than in most states. It may be presumed that the Indiana leaders will hammer out a home rule amendment that will be unlike any of those included in other state constitutions. Students of government throughout the country should follow with keen interest what is being done in Indiana on this problem.

H. P. J.

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[1] Virgil Sheppard, a member of the Indiana manager plan commission, discusses the question in his article "The Middle Way—American Plan" on page 296 of this issue.

Contributors in Review

THOROUGHLY identified with his subject matter, **Robert Cornell** (*Kalamazoo Examines the Record*) was born in Kalamazoo, joined the faculty of Kalamazoo College less than a year after the manager charter came into force, became director of research of the Kalamazoo Bureau of Municipal Research which serves both the college and the city, and was appointed chairman of the Kalamazoo Civil Service Board after the civil service ordinance went into effect in 1937.

NO COLLEGE degrees" apologizes **Sidney Detmers** (*Buffalo Standardizes Jobs and Pay*). "All he has to offer" are thirteen years of successful association with the Buffalo Bureau of Municipal Research, years of experience as a manager of industry specializing in its financial and scientific management problems, several terms as president of his industry's national organization and chairman of its scientific investigation committee, and presidency of the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce.

IN CHARGE of in-service training at Wayne University, **Laurence Michelmore** (*Wayne Staffs Detroit*) knows whereof he speaks. He also knows from personal experience the problems of California relief (California Emergency Relief Administration, 1934-35); Idaho relief (Idaho WPA, 1935-36); and Michigan taxation (Michigan Tax Study Commission 1938). Now he is assistant professor of government at Wayne, as well as a staff member of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, and assistant secretary of the GRA.

HAVING reported for this magazine during the past year on such diverse subjects as homestead tax exemption in Mississippi, P.R. elections in Norris, Tennessee, and the stand-pattism of Tennessee counties, **M. H. Satterfield's** sortie into housing (*Mississippi Leads South in Rural Housing*) is not unexpected. As associate social science analyst with the Tennessee Valley Authority, engaged in making surveys of city and county government within the Tennessee Valley area, Dr. Satterfield has the opportunity to observe many aspects of government in practice.

IN ORDER to participate in an extensive employment stabilization program, **Emerson P. Schmidt** (*Employment Stabilization Jeopardized by Conflicting Tax Laws*) is on leave of absence this year from the School of Business Administration of the University of Minnesota. Together with Jay C. Hormel, Dr. Schmidt is sending to employers on a weekly basis a loose-leaf case history of successful employment stabilization plans. He has written books on taxation, old-age security, industrial relations in urban transportation, and the economics of public utilities; has contributed to numerous popular and technical journals; and has served on several official committees dealing with economic problems.

AS DIRECTOR of the division of public assistance of the Indiana State Welfare Department, **Virgil Sheppard** (*The Middle Way—American Plan*) deals constantly with the grant-in-aid mechanism which is now an integral part of our multilevel welfare system. Mr. Sheppard has been governmental research director for the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce, served in various Hoosier welfare capacities, and was associated with teaching, citizen action, and government officialdom in Toledo. At the present time he is a member of the commission established by the Indiana legislature to bring the manager plan to Hoosier municipalities.

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News in Review

City, County, State Progress in Brief

(Continued from Page 285)

by the League of Women Voters, and petitions to place the question on the ballot were prepared a year ago, but not circulated, by the Coal Dock Workers, a labor union. Subsequently a general reassessment of property in the city by the State Tax Commission was brought about by certain large property owners, resulting in a general increase in valuation of real property among home owners. The tax rate did not fall proportionately, and there was much dissatisfaction with the city government. The League of Women Voters decided to circulate petitions which, when filed in February, contained more than four thousand names.

A Central City Manager Campaign Committee was set up and Walter J. Millard, field secretary of the National Municipal League, appeared under its auspices, speaking to many groups. The mayor made radio addresses in which he blamed the reassessment and financial troubles of the city upon this organization, absent landlords, and the daily newspaper; but at no time did he specifically indicate his opposition to the change in government.

The campaign followed the usual form. The proponents explained the manager plan and attacked the practices of the present government, while opponents called the manager form a dictatorship and attacked the claims for its success in other cities.

If any two immediate causes are to be selected as reasons for the success of the campaign I would suggest: (1) the dissatisfaction of the taxpayers with the tax increase; and (2) the apparent hopelessness of the financial situation under the present administration.

An interesting sidelight on the vote is the fact that the plan carried in twenty-four out of twenty-six precincts, including outlying wards and labor wards where a special appeal was made to oppose the plan. As to the ten wards, the plan carried in nine, being defeated by only four votes in a strong labor ward where the opponents of the plan expected a larger adverse vote. Of the total registered voters 60.2 per cent participated; 36.6 per cent voted for and 23.6 per cent against the plan. Of the total votes cast, 60.8 per cent were in the affirmative and 39.2 per cent in the negative.

Max P. Heavenrich, *Director*
City and County Economy Association

Huron Abandons Manager Plan Despite Progress

At a special election held March 21, 1940, the city of Huron, South Dakota, (population 10,946) voted to return to the commission form of government. The vote was 2,471 to 1,621 in favor of the commission plan; and by a 2,360 to 906 tally, the size of the new commission was fixed at five members in preference to three. The election came as the climax to a three-months' investigation of the police department. Extended hearings conducted by members of the commission (as the legislative body in manager cities is called in South Dakota) revealed undoubted shortcomings in that department. As the principals involved had been originally employed under the previous commission form of government, it became the task of the opponents of the manager plan to attribute the discovered mismanagement to the manager. This was apparently done to the satisfaction of the voters. The commission, by a six-to-three vote, had refused to discharge the manager.

In the five years during which Huron has had a city manager, substantial progress has been made in its government. Statistical data indicate a decrease in governmental costs and a reduction in the municipal debt. Relief had been efficiently handled.

The leading Huron newspaper, *The Evening Huronite*, in a lengthy analytical survey, advised against the change. In pleading editorially for the retention of the manager form it declared (March 19, 1940):

> In theory there can be no question but that a city manager type of government is better, for it combines the advantages of the deliberative body of the commission plan with a concentration of executive management, authority, and responsibility in a trained and capable man. Particularly are there advantages to the city manager plan during times when conditions necessitate a close and constant supervision of expenditures and when a city must assume the unusual task of providing a never-ending flow of projects for its unemployed.

Huron's return to commission government leaves Clark and Rapid City as manager cities in South Dakota. The Huron situation has attracted the attention of other cities to their form of government, and in at least one municipality the manager plan is being considered for possible adoption.

William O. Farber
University of South Dakota

Los Angeles Charter Revision Committee

A committee of forty-five citizens, representing various groups in the city, has been appointed by Mayor Fletcher Bowron of Los Angeles, California, to study revision and modernization of the city charter, which has been in operation since 1925. Dr. Frank M. Stewart, director of the Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of California at Los Angeles, will serve as technical consultant.

Administrative Turnover in Cities

A report on the tenure of local officials was released on April 13 by the International City Managers' Association. It covered eleven chief administrative offices in all cities of over 10,000 population, from 1935 to 1939 inclusive. The over-all percentage of turnover in the odd-numbered years has declined somewhat. It was lower in the even-numbered years, but increased from 1936 to 1938. The percentages by years were as follows:

1935	19.7
1936	14.1
1937	18.9
1938	15.5
1939	17.3

The largest turnover was indicated in the offices of mayor, health officer, director of public works, chief finance officer, and chief of police, in order. Those with the longest tenure were superintendents of schools, librarians, and city clerks.

New Kentucky Legislation Affecting Cities

The Kentucky Municipal League successfully sponsored bills in the 1940 General Assembly reducing the cost of publishing annual financial statements in newspapers, requiring a person injured on city property to file notice of intent to sue within ninety days after the accident, enabling cities to combine WPA projects with the assessment plan in sewer construction, permitting cities of the second class the same right of appeal from property assessments as is enjoyed by the property owners, and granting park police the power of arrest held by other peace officers.

Other bills passed which are of special interest to cities include the Ohio River

Valley water sanitation compact, an anti-stream-pollution measure which will ultimately obligate cities located on the Ohio River, its tributaries, or on tributaries of its tributaries, to provide adequate sewage treatment plants; an enabling act permitting cities to finance the construction of revenue-producing recreational projects through the sale of revenue bonds; an amendment to the 1938 alcoholic beverage control act requiring municipal licenses for breweries and distilleries; a bill for a referendum on a constitutional amendment to redistribute the public school fund; a bill providing that in cities of the second class the city manager may be discharged without cause by four of the five city commissioners; legislation enabling cities to send fire apparatus beyond the corporate limits of the municipality; and a measure providing for the creation of sanitary districts in counties containing cities of the first, second, and third classes.

James W. Martin
University of Kentucky

Zoning Ordinances Overhauled

Various cities, according to the American Society of Planning Officials, are acting to correct errors in the zoning of land, resulting from over-optimism and speculative hopes of years ago, when city officials and civic organizations fostered zoning based on the theory that the expansion in city growth then occurring would continue indefinitely. Many cities now find that they have large areas zoned for commercial purposes that cannot be used economically for business, nor can they develop residentially because property owners will not ordinarily construct residences in areas zoned for business.

To remedy such situations cities are now studying their zoning ordinances with the idea of revision, either complete as in Evanston, Illinois, or gradual as in New York, Los Angeles, and Portland, Oregon.

The city council of Evanston has completely revised its zoning ordinance for the second time since its adoption in 1921. The previous revision was in 1927. The new ordinance reduces by 20 per cent the amount of land zoned for commercial purposes, and by 50 per cent the area zoned for multiple dwellings or apartment houses; single-family homes must be built on larger lots. A new district is also created in which two-family and row houses may be constructed, and apartment buildings, row houses, and theatres are required to provide off-street parking facilities.

Des Moines, Iowa, city planning officials decided to draft a new zoning ordinance after a survey showed, in part, that the city's residence districts as now zoned are large enough for Memphis or Indianapolis; that multiple-dwelling districts are large enough for a city of almost 2,000,000; and that there is enough area zoned for commerce to supply Minneapolis.

Circumventing a Civil Service Law

Acting under authority of a recent act of the Kentucky legislature, Bowling Green, with several other cities of that state, passed a civil service ordinance last year placing all employees except the mayor and the council in the classified service. A new city council was chosen at the November elections on a hastily organized citizens ticket. The new council was to repeal the civil service ordinance, which in their opinion was designed merely to "blanket in" certain city employees and prevent their removal. Immediately upon assuming office on December 5, the council proceeded to abolish fourteen municipal offices and fix new salary scales for two other city posts. At a later meeting the duties of these abolished offices were transferred to newly created offices and in many cases combined with other offices, with the net result that fewer city positions now exist than previously. Even the police personnel was reduced as a result of the change.

This action in Bowling Green indicates the apparent ease with which a city council can nullify completely a civil service ordinance which is designed to afford permanent tenure to office-holders. It appears that the initial mistake made by these Kentucky cities was the passage of a law which permitted department heads and other policy-determining officers to be placed in the classified service, and not subject to removal on the part of the city executive.

J. W. Manning
Bureau of Government Research
University of Kentucky

New York State Adds to Merit System

Governor Herbert H. Lehman of New York has announced that 10,000 attendants in institutions in the mental hygiene, correction, and social welfare departments will be added to the classified civil service, and that all appointments after January 1, 1941, will be from eligible lists under the auspices of the State Civil Service Commission. This is said to be the largest extension of the state civil service system since its establishment in 1894. It is a result of recommendations of the Governor's special committee to study the problem of extending the merit system. The committee consists of Lieutenant Governor Charles Poletti, Grace A. Reavy, president, and Howard G. E. Smith and Howard P. Jones, members, of the Civil Service Commission, and seven persons prominent in citizen activity or specially versed in state problems.

Merit System Defeated in Virginia

Virginia's merit system bill for state employees has been defeated in the lower house of the General Assembly. The bill incorporated the recommendations of a special merit system study committee of the Virginia Advisory Legislative Council, according to the *News Letter* of the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada. The proposed system was to be administered largely by the departments, agencies, and divisions of the state government, with the governor serving as chief personnel officer and conducting certain limited personnel activities in his office. Supporters of the bill will continue to press for action at the next legislative session.

Alabama Adopts Biennial Sessions for Legislature

The only state having regular legislative sessions but once in four years, Alabama has adopted a constitutional amendment specifying biennial sessions, as in forty-three other states. Its legislature will meet in odd-numbered years. The amendment limits each regular session to sixty consecutive calendar days and each special session to thirty. A legislator's compensation is raised to ten dollars per day, from four dollars. The regular sessions will convene on the first Tuesday in May, instead of the second Tuesday in January as at present; the governor thereby having nearly four months to study state needs and formulate a suggested program of legislative action.

Kentucky Provides for Retirement of Judges

Kentucky has long been handicapped, in the opinion of most students of government, by a $5,000 salary limitation for all state and local officials except the governor. Narrow interpretation of "public purpose" has restricted pensions. Therefore a 1940 act making provision for retirement of judges of the Court of Appeals (the state's highest court) at the age of sixty-five on full $5,000 salary after ten years or more on the bench, is legislation definitely out of the ordinary. Provision is also made for retirement because of bad health.

JAMES W. MARTIN
University of Kentucky

WPA Reports Its Accomplishments

The Work Projects Administration has just finished an inventory of its work during its entire period of operation from July 1935 through 1939. For those four and one-half years it has coöperated with state, county, and municipal governments in a comprehensive program of utilities and sanitation construction the magnitude of which is indicated by the fact that almost 25,000 miles of new storm and sanitary sewers, water mains, aqueducts, and distributing lines have been constructed, and almost 1,400 new sewage treatment, water treatment, and incinerator plants have been built. More than 88,000 public buildings have been constructed, reconstructed, or improved; approximately 56,000 new bridges, ranging from large steel spans to lesser ones of masonry or wood, have been built; more than 457,000 miles of highways, roads, and streets have been established or improved; 197 new airports have been created, and 372 others have been reconstructed or otherwise made better.

Other factors being normal, the key to economical and successful government is the employment and retention in the public service of an administrative personnel of the highest professional qualifications, efficiency, and morale. *Personnel Administration.*

County Pay Rolls Studied by Census Bureau

Alabama offers purchasing facilities to counties; advisory board for Webster County, Kentucky; county changes studied in Cincinnati, Nashville, and Onondaga County, New York.

Edited by
ELWYN A. MAUCK

The State and Local Government Division of the United States Bureau of the Census has issued its first report on county government employees and pay rolls. Detailed figures are given only for counties with populations over 50,000 and those containing cities with populations over 25,000. Although 898 counties returned the questionnaires sent out by the Bureau, the statistics for the smaller counties will not be published until later. Present plans are that the study will be made quarterly in conjunction with like surveys of city and state governments.

The 898 coöperating counties reported more than 148,000 employees on their pay rolls at the end of January 1940, exclusive of persons on work relief and of employees of contractors, schools, and the few public service enterprises reported. Seventy-two per cent of the employees were reported for 27 per cent of the counties, embracing most of those with populations over 50,000. Similarly, 759 reporting counties carried a January 1940 pay roll of $13,300,000 of which 82 per cent was reported by 28 per cent of the counties.

Counties containing cities over 50,000 population averaged 834 employees per county, while counties under 25,000 population averaged sixty-one. There was marked variation in the average number of employees in counties of different geographic regions. Counties in western states reported relatively larger, and in southern states relatively smaller, numbers of employees than did the counties in the north central and northeastern states. The geographic variations were also notable in numbers of employees of towns and townships. New England towns of less than 5,000 population reported an average of forty-three employees, while towns and townships of all sizes reported averages of twenty and fifteen employees for middle Atlantic and north central states respectively.

Alabama Counties Use State Purchasing Facilities

The feasibility of effecting savings through the use by local units of government of the facilities of the state purchasing office is attested by a recent report of the Division of Purchases and Stores of the Alabama Department of Finance. Established as a result of the state administrative reorganization of 1939, the Division of Purchases and Stores is directed to make its purchasing facilities available to counties and municipalities. If a county or city wishes to obtain the aid of the division, its governing body notifies the division of the proposed purchases, and state prices are submitted. If no prices are available the division obtains sealed bids, and tabulations showing the lowest bid are forwarded to the city or county making the request. Through these means the local unit is able to compare the prices it pays with those paid by the state. To date, thirty-four of the sixty-seven counties and eight municipalities including Birmingham have become regular "clients" of the division.

The state purchasing agent estimates that reductions in costs of from 18 to 22 per cent have been obtained on local purchases and that a saving of $100,000 at least could be made on the combined purchases of all cities and counties. A typical example is found in one county which had been paying $41.48 for truck tires and was able, through the Division of Purchases and Stores, to buy the same tire for $25.94. The purchases on which material savings have been made include tires, school buses, road building materials, heavy road construction equipment, and cement.

While the assistance rendered is wholly optional to the county, the law requires that each county must file a report at thirty-day intervals with the State Department of Finance indicating its every purchase of $100 or more made during the preceding thirty-day period. The Division of Purchases and Stores checks the prices reported and whenever any such price is higher than the state price, the local governing body is notified of the difference. This device has been especially useful in calling the attention of county officials to the savings that may be effected by coöperation with the state office.

Weldon Cooper
University of Alabama

A Kentucky County Advisory Board

In an effort to create a means whereby the citizen would have some definite knowledge as well as voice in county affairs, there has been created recently in Webster County, Kentucky, a County Advisory Board which offers the people such information and opportunity. The advisory board consists of one citizen from each of the thirty voting precincts in the county. They are appointed by the county judge, who is the chairman of the governing body and the chief executive officer of the county. They do not meet as a body, but the members from each of the six magisterial districts into which the county is divided meet with the justice of peace of the district and the County Judge once every two months.

All the citizens of the district are invited to attend the meeting and offer suggestions on county affairs. It had been the practice formerly for citizens with suggestions or grievances to appear before the governing body of the county at its regular sessions. Now the practice of holding meetings of the advisory board in each magisterial district permits the citizen to present his opinion to a less formal body in the presence of his neighbors, and, at the same time, it reduces the congestion in meetings of the governing body of the county. Minutes of these district meetings are read at the monthly meetings of the county governing body, officially known as the Fiscal Court.

The advisory board thus gathers information from the various precincts of the county which is helpful to the judge and the Fiscal Court in enabling them to organize and formulate a well rounded program for the county. In particular, the board has interested itself in matters of roads and road construction, public welfare, and various other county functions.

The County Advisory Board has been a going concern for only a few months, but apparently the people of Webster County are well pleased with the experiment and quite reasonable in their demands. The board has proven a means of bringing county government closer to the people, as well as a means whereby the citizen can be kept informed concerning the operations of the county. Although the board has no legal powers, it is a powerful factor in the determination of county policy.

J. W. Manning
University of Kentucky

County Reform Studied in Nashville and Cincinnati

Two more metropolitan areas are attempting to find a solution to the problems involved in overlapping governmental units. In Cincinnati seven civic organizations are coöperating in sponsoring a questionnaire to ascertain public opinion in regard to the need for and possible extent of county government reform. One purpose of the questionnaire is to forestall possible formidable opposition to plans proposed in the future.

The governing bodies of Davidson County and the city of Nashville are considering a proposal to consolidate the two units of government. The plan is urged primarily as a means of relief for the taxpayer, but opponents already have declared it highly impractical.

Charter Commission Appointed for Onondaga County, New York

Onondaga County, New York, which embraces the city of Syracuse, is making another attempt to modernize its government through the adoption of a charter. A nine-member bipartisan commission has been appointed by the chairman of the Board of Supervisors to draft such a charter and report to the board by July 15, 1940. This will allow approximately four months of public discussion before the submission of the charter to popular referendum in the November election. The board has appropriated $2,500 to cover the expenses of the commission.

The Women—In Public Affairs

Recipes for action from Kansas City, Cincinnati, and Dayton.

Edited by
ELWOOD N. THOMPSON

The women did it in Kansas City.

In the *New York Times* on April 7, George K. Wallace wrote:

"The women of Kansas City who showed the men folks how to clean out Tom Pendergast's heretofore invincible machine in Tuesday's municipal election are gradually returning to their more prosaic duties as housewives.

"Almost a year ago, when a comparatively small clique set the foundation for the movement to challenge the old Pendergast crowd, many smiled at the 'good-intentioned effort,' but said that it would pass.

"But as federal and county grand juries continued to take their toll, first through the imprisonment in Leavenworth of Boss Pendergast himself and then of his chief lieutenants, the clean-up movement began to grow. The exposé of boodling and misconduct in city and county began to hit closer and closer to the homes.

"Then the housewives began to take a hand in the affairs. In a short time the women had organized substantial units of the clean-up forces with which hundreds affiliated themselves. They obtained 100,000 names to petitions to submit to the voters an amendment to the city charter to slice the terms of the city elective régime from four years to two. The people sustained that movement by a vote of five to one on February 13.

"The February election made necessary last Tuesday's contest when the clean-up forces submitted their list of candidates against the machine's selections. For the Tuesday test 2,000 women formed a telephone committee. Almost from the crack of dawn phones jingled in every home where there was a phone, with the callers beseeching housewives and others to go to the polls. Five hundred other women formed a transportation division and hauled voters to the voting booths. In all, almost 7,500 women swung into action as precinct workers, chauffeurs and other election-day helpers.

"As a result the veteran machine workers were snowed under by a majority of more than 20,000."

One Woman Tells Why

"Why d'you suppose it is that so many women—1700 of them in 1939, women from all walks, ages, and positions in life—voluntarily give their time and services to good government and the City Charter Committee?"

I asked this question the other day of a lovely lady who from time to time graces the charter office with her presence and ready help.

At first she was not inclined to take my question seriously. But later, possibly after she'd had a chance to give it some thought, she told me the following:

"There are a number of reasons. For one thing, I really believe in the City Charter Committee—both its idea of volunteer citizenship and its objective of good non-political city government. You know I have lived practically my whole life in Cincinnati. I have had plenty of opportunity to see the changes the charter movement has brought about.

"But I believe there are other reasons too—and perhaps in the long run they may be quite as important.

"For example, most affairs a woman gets into are simply non-essential. They're not fundamental. You know what they say of the X Club: 'It's an organization started for the purpose of keeping idle women busy.' The charter movement keeps women busy but that's not its real purpose. In addition, so many organizations primarily are concerned simply with their organization. 'Who shall be in charge of this project? How shall we set it up? And what are we going to do with it once it is set up?'

"The things the charter movement is busy with are close to the lives of everyone. They are not the concerns of just this group or that group, they are basic problems involved in so ordering the affairs of men and women living together in a community that all will benefit.

"Work in the City Charter Committee is a great deal more broadening in its contacts than is true of almost any other organization you could name. In most organizations you are either brought in contact with one particular type or you group together with persons from one given neighborhood, or you deal with one specific section of society. But when, as happens in the course of a P. R. campaign or a charter election, you see the city's leading property owner talking with a sturdy unlettered laborer, or our No. 1 socialite hobnobbing with the lady 'from the other side of the railroad tracks'—all for a common purpose—you realize the City Charter Committee provides an experience you simply can't duplicate in most organizations.

Satisfaction in Accomplishment

"The work of the block worker, the precinct captain, in the charter movement is really hard work. The physical effort in going from door to door and block to block, of climbing stair after stair and hill upon hill, combines with the strenuous mental tug-of-war involved in talking to voters in a way that teaches one what real effort means. *For this very reason* there is a great deal of pleasure in the accomplishment. The mental satisfaction that comes from a job well done and the alertness that comes from increased contact with one's fellows are both agreeable and stimulating.

"And last, but not least, charter work is work in which you can actually see what you have done. When the chips are down and the votes are counted, alibis are out. Results alone count—but how they count!"

Forest Frank, Executive Director
City Charter Committee of Cincinnati

Many Women Show How

As the logical development of their study of government problems in various organizations fifty Dayton, Ohio, women responded to a call for definite action in behalf of the city's welfare by serving as the women's division of an emergency citizens' committee to support passage of a municipal deficiency bond issue. That was in 1935.

Out of this emergency activity grew the Women's Civic Group of Dayton and Montgomery County, unaffiliated with any state or national organization, and therefore free to determine its own course as a civic action group—the only one of its kind in the city for many years. Its stated purpose, successfully served for the past four years, is "to encourage responsible citizen participation in local government." Except that its membership is limited to women, its activities have been similar to those of citizens' councils working for better local government in other American cities. Geographical representation, as well as the varied interests of members, are taken into account in the selection of women for the group.

Members of the women's division of the Cincinnati Charter Committee cooperated with talks and consultations at the outset. The Dayton group devoted its first year largely to study meetings, with the conviction that its civic action projects should be grounded in a "clear knowledge of all related facts" concerning any particular government problem listed for solution. City, county, and school finances, civil service administration, county planning, and municipal court practices were studied. These discussions brought the decision that activities of the organization should be conducted through committees which would focus attention on a special task by studying it thoroughly and recommending to the entire group the course of action considered necessary for correction or extension of public services.

First on the list of study action committees was the Municipal Courts Committee, appointed in November 1936. In the following January this committee proposed a program of opposition to the local practice of broadcasting actual police court sessions over the radio. Coöperating with the local bar association and other agencies in opposing the court broadcasts, the group saw its efforts rewarded within a year by suspension of the practice. (The judge of this court now welcomes coöperation of our group.)

Education of members in public problems and methods of citizen action continued in 1937 in coöperation with a city-wide program of adult education forums jointly sponsored by the federal government and the Dayton school board. As the year ended, the women protested to the city commission against apparent violations of the Dayton city charter in two important respects, resulting in considerable public discussion until satisfactory explanations of the matter had been made by city officials.

Elect School Board Member

In November 1937 the Women's Civic Group supported its own slate of four candidates for vacancies on the seven-member city school board, electing one of the four. The campaign included intensive house-to-house canvassing of voters as well as newspaper and radio publicity. The group was credited by trained observers with bringing 15,000 nonpartisan votes to the polls in that election.

Outstanding among the achievements of 1938 was the elimination of the "bull pen," for police court prisoners awaiting trial, which occupied a part of the court room. Agitation by the women, on the recommendation of their courts committee, was publicly recognized as perhaps the major factor in expediting action by the city commission to remove an admitted bad feature in municipal practice.

The third year opened with a protest against a secret ballot election of city school board officers at the board's January 1 reorganization meeting. The group's contention that the election was unlawful under the state school code was sustained by the school board's legal counsel and another election by *viva voce* vote followed. Other questions given extended study during the year were poor relief financing under a matching arrangement between city and state funds, methods of dealing with juvenile delinquency in the county juvenile court, and the county budget.

The group had a busy program in 1939. It arranged a civic dinner, with the Chamber of Commerce coöperating, celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of commission-manager government in Dayton, with the first director of Dayton's municipal research bureau, Lent D. Upson of Detroit, as the chief speaker, and Colonel Henry M. Waite, first city manager, as an honored guest.

During 1939 the group opposed the action of county commissioners in selling a refunding bond issue without competitive bidding. This opposition resulted in a court investigation and a reprimand to the commissioners, even though the sale was found to be technically lawful.

Late in the year the group suggested that the city commission obtain an outside expert to investigate a new schedule of gas rates, proposed by the local gas and electric utility, which had aroused much public discussion. Early in 1940 the commission requested the State Public Utilities Commission to send an engineer for such a study.

The Women's Civic Group, through the full support of its membership, organized a defeat of the two Bigelow amendments to the Ohio Constitution voted on at the November election, 1939. Proposal No. 1 was for an old-age pension plan which threatened the solvency of the state; Proposal No. 2 would have lowered the number of signatures necessary to place an amendment to the constitution or a law upon the ballot at a general election—threatening Ohio's present form of representative government. Both amendments were defeated in Montgomery County by a three-to-one vote.

The organization has been cognizant of the problem created partially by the old-age pension program which has brought about the establishment of many nursing and rest homes caring for aged persons for nominal sums without official local or state licensing. A bill was introduced in the state senate, through the senator from our district, but it was buried in committee because of the controversial relief problem. The Welfare Department is working on the matter.

Perhaps the group's most important achievement during this year has been in the assistance given to the Montgomery County Public Advisory Committee, a newly formed citizens' movement to promote more efficient and economical government operations in all tax-spending units of the county. In June the PAC conducted a membership and financial campaign, seeking an interested cross-section membership and funds to make a comprehensive analysis of city, county, and school problems and their inter-relationship under rigid state regulation of all local government operations. The Women's Civic Group assumed the difficult responsibility for organizing the campaign in the fourteen townships of the county outside Dayton, aiding greatly in the final result of 9,000 members, who paid a dollar annual membership fee.

Plans for 1940

In 1940 the major efforts of the group will be concentrated on studying, publicizing, and getting official action on the recommendations of the PAC survey, which are scheduled for publication about May 15, offering the unbiased judgment of a survey board of three acknowledged public administration authorities—Colonel Henry M. Waite, who is now building Chicago's first subway; Dr. George A. Works, dean of the University of Chicago; and Herbert Emmerich, associate director of the Public Administration Clearing House.

As to its methods of operation, the Women's Civic Group has followed, in the main, Theodore Roosevelt's advice to "tread softly but carry a big stick." Much of its success—in fact, more than the general public realizes—has been accomplished through quiet coöperation with public officials. Where that has not produced results, steady pressure without fanfare of publicity has brought other officials to see the need of changes in policy.

The public training of members of the Women's Civic Group is recognized. One member served with the Metropolitan Housing Authority, another was a member of the City of Dayton Planning Board, three are members of the Public Advisory Committee Board. We take these honors as a challenge, realizing that they only increase our responsibility.

Many public officials have welcomed our suggestions, and on many occasions have confidentially asked for our opinions. Others in minor posts have given us information of a confidential nature and, being powerless to act because of their positions, have urged the Women's Civic Group to do so.

It is our policy not to duplicate programs of other organizations. Whenever possible we join forces, thus eliminating duplication of effort.

Leaders of citizens' movements in other cities helped the Dayton women to develop a civic action group on a sound basis. Now the Women's Civic Group is frequently called upon to perform a similar service for unorganized but aroused women citizens in other communities. After four years, it believes more than ever that the principal difficulties of local government are caused by the apathy or indifference of citizens.

VIOLA D. MANSUR, President
Women's Civic Group of Dayton
and Montgomery County

Iowa Debt Limit Ruling Reversed

Twenty-four cities on tax collection honor roll; state tax department revamped.

Edited by
WADE S. SMITH

Reversing its own decision of thirty-eight years ago, the Iowa Supreme Court on April 2, 1940, ruled that bonds payable from special limited taxes were "indebtedness" within the meaning of the state constitution and must be included in computing the legal debt of the city of Des Moines.

This municipality's combined debt payable both from limited and unlimited taxes is about $2,000,000 over the 5 per cent debt limit imposed by the state constitution. The new decision therefore raises several questions both as to the status of the city's existing debt and its prospects for future borrowing.

The decision is not generally construed as affecting the validity of Des Moines bonds already issued or its responsibility to pay them. On this point Gregory Brunk, attorney and taxpayer of Des Moines who brought this action, has the following pertinent comment.

"In our opinion there are two answers to any attack upon the validity of such bonds:

"The Iowa statutes contain a statute of limitations requiring actions attacking bonds to be brought within ninety days after their issue. All of the bonds outstanding are more than ninety days old.

"The United States Supreme Court, in the case of *Gelpke* vs. *County of Dubuque,* held many years ago that the effect of the withdrawal of an Iowa Supreme Court decision, in reliance upon which bonds had been issued, was limited to bonds issued after the date of the new decision, and held that the previous decision of the court was a part of the bond contract and that the bonds were enforcible against Dubuque County, Iowa."

While the new decision would thus appear to have no adverse effect on the payment of existing debt, it may prove to be adverse to the city's relief and improvement programs. The $289,000 bonds which the court ruling specifically restrains from issuance in this case, were to finance various capital projects of the city. Blocked in this and unable to issue further bonds for perhaps three or four years (until the city is again below the debt limit as it is now computed), the city faces a minor crisis.

An immediate result is the probable lay-off of some three thousand WPA workers by June 1. By prohibiting further borrowing in the next few years the decision appears to prevent the city of Des Moines from formulating any long-term capital improvement program.

An interesting feature of the whole debt limit situation in Iowa is the legal fiction whereby the State Supreme Court in 1902 was able to exclude "special tax" bonds from the constitutional debt limit.

Under the statute authorizing limited tax bonds the city is required to authorize tax levies for the various years when principal and interest on the bonds to be issued fall due. After the levy of these taxes the city "assigned" the taxes for the certain specific years, to the holders of the bonds.

"The levy being made in advance for a certain number of years, becomes an asset of the city, and by assigning that asset, out of which the bonds are to be paid, and the bonds containing the provision that they are to be paid solely out of these levies, which have been made, the bonds are not the indebtedness of the city" is the way the 1940 court summarized the ruling of 1902. This doctrine in Iowa is repudiated by the recent decision in *Brunk* vs. *City of Des Moines.*

ROBERT A. HALL

New York City

Best Tax Collections Reviewed

At least twenty-four cities of over 50,000 population closed their 1939 fiscal years with 4.7 per cent or less of the current tax levy uncollected, thereby recording a delinquency of less than one-half of the median for the 190 cities studied annually by Dr. Frederick L. Bird.[1] Ten of the twenty-four were located in California, three in New York, three in Connecticut, two in Iowa, two in Alabama, and the other four in four different states. This is the honor roll:

Fresno, Calif.	1.0%
San Jose, Calif.	1.0
San Francisco, Calif.	1.3
Berkeley, Calif.	1.6
Oakland, Calif.	2.1
Mobile, Ala.	2.2
Sacramento, Calif.	2.3
Cedar Rapids, Ia.	2.7
Bridgeport, Conn.	2.9
Buffalo, N. Y.	3.2
Long Beach, Calif.	3.2
Denver, Colo.	3.3
Peoria, Ill.	3.4
San Diego, Calif.	3.5
Davenport, Ia.	3.7
Birmingham, Ala.	3.8
Niagara Falls, N. Y.	3.8
Schenectady, N. Y.	3.9
Hartford, Conn.	4.0
Cincinnati, O.	4.2
Pasadena, Calif.	4.2
Los Angeles, Calif.	4.4
Ft. Wayne, Ind.	4.7
Waterbury, Conn.	4.7

Ten of these cities—Fresno, San Jose, San Francisco, Berkeley, Oakland, Denver, Peoria, Niagara Falls, Hartford, and Los Angeles—are among the twenty cities with the most stable current tax collection records whose median year-end delinquency was shown in this column last month in a discussion of Dr. Bird's study. Moreover, in six of the twenty-four cities—Berkeley, Buffalo, Cincinnati, Denver, San Francisco, and Schenectady—collections held so stable that total current and delinquent tax collections showed a deviation of less than 5 percentage points during the ten-year period, not falling lower than 97.5 per cent of the levy nor rising above 102.5 per cent of the levy. Such records, while not attainable by many cities because of their susceptibility to severe fluctuations in their economy, are none the less examples of what approximates an ideal collection experience.

Stability of collections, as was repeated here last month, greatly simplifies budget-balancing. Severe current year-end delinquency may, of course, result in abnormally high collections as the back-log of arrears is realized, but this situation is one in which municipal coffers are gutted one year and glutted the next. Dr. Bird contrasts the records of two cities, San Francisco and Atlantic City, to illustrate; the first had a peak current delinquency of 5.4 per cent in 1933 and the second of 63.6 per cent. Their total collections ran as follows:

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[1] *Trend of Tax Delinquency 1930-39, Cities Over 50,000 Population.* By Frederick L. Bird. New York City, Municipal Service Department, Dun & Bradstreet, Inc., 1940.

	San Francisco	*Atlantic City*
1935	100.4%	122.4%
1936	100.2	117.3
1937	100.9	112.4
1938	100.5	100.0
1939	100.2	95.6

At the close of its 1939 fiscal year, the accumulated total of uncollected taxes in San Francisco equaled only 4.7 per cent of the year's levy. In Atlantic City the figure was 64.9 per cent.

Six States Reorganize Tax Administration

Tax departments of Minnesota, Kansas, North Dakota, Iowa, Idaho, and Texas, have recently undergone reorganization resulting in their integration into fewer agencies or a single agency, as reported in a survey by the Federation of Tax Administrators released March 29, covering the preceding twelve months.

A check of eight major taxes for all forty-eight states showed that the 135 agencies administering them were reduced to 131 during the twelve months, although the total number of taxes represented increased from 305 to 308. The taxes called "major" were the general property, income, sales, gasoline, inheritance and estate, motor vehicle registration, tobacco, and liquor levies.

As part of a general financial reorganization, Minnesota reconstructed its tax administering agencies, reducing the number from five to three. Kansas replaced its Department of Inspection and Registration and its Tax Commission with a new office headed by a director of revenue under supervision of the commissioner of revenue and taxation. North Dakota transferred liquor taxes from the "regulatory department" to the Tax Commission. Iowa created a Tax Commission to take charge of six of the major taxes formerly under two other agencies, in addition to other tax functions which had been scattered among other state agencies. In Idaho the existing tax commissioner took over administration of eight taxes formerly distributed among three agencies. Texas abolished the office of state tax commissioner, allocating his duties to other agencies.

Changes with some coördinating effect were reported also for Alabama, Colorado, Oklahoma, and Ohio. Rhode Island's state reorganization act revised the tax-administering agencies, which were already integrated under one head.

Wisconsin was the only state to go counter to consolidation. Early in 1939 administration of the gasoline and liquor taxes in this state was transferred from the Tax Commission to the Treasury Department, which was also given charge of the tobacco tax enacted later. The Department of Taxation, which replaced the Tax Commission, was left in charge of general property, income and inheritance, chain store, and utility taxes.

Eight states administer their major taxes through one agency, according to the survey. They are Georgia, Kentucky, New York, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Utah. At the other end of the list, one state has six agencies and one has five. The most common number of tax agencies in a state is three, fourteen having this number, while eleven states have four agencies.

Kentucky Legislature Smooths Tax Collection procedure

Several measures designed to smooth out the administration of various taxes were enacted by the 1940 Kentucky legislature. Some of these altered fundamental provisions of the statutes, but they did not impose new taxes or alter general rate structures.

For the most significant of these administrative changes had to do with handling the five-mill property tax in application to accounts and notes receivable and with machinery for property tax collection. A new statute (H.B. 167) provides that local assessments of notes and accounts receivable may be reopened by the Department of Revenue within three years from the date as of which the original valuation was made unless the county assessor fixed the face value as the assessed value or unless the appraisal be judicially reviewed and finally fixed by court judgment.

The bill also provides a penalty for the county assessor who accepts a list that fails to show face value of intangible property. Kentucky has for a long while been reasonably successful in assessing many classes of intangibles, but notes and accounts receivable have never been satisfactorily reached. Passage of this measure represents an effort to close one administrative gap which has been a source of state and taxpayer dissatisfaction wherever general intangible property has been subject to low-rate taxes. The effectiveness of the solution, it may be surmised, will depend largely on the extent to which the department is given financial support for making the actual investigation.

The second of the significant administrative measures revised the whole machinery for county and state property tax collection and included some important provisions respecting municipal collection administration. Although minor changes have been made at many points, there has been a studied effort to avoid such an upset in local machinery as would confuse county officials. No integration among county officials was undertaken.

The major alteration in policy will result in selling a tax lien after real estate tax delinquency occurs instead of selling the land itself. It is anticipated there will be no great change as a consequence except that the new method will elide several serious administrative muddles resulting from the former practice. For illustration, the transfer of a title to the land (subject to redemption in three years) has meant, in case of a failure to secure private bids, that the property became public property and hence constitutionally not liable for taxation. Thus, the assessor has had to eliminate a large number of parcels from the tax list and on redemption to replace them. The result has been a multiplication of errors as well as irritation and expense for the assessor's office. The new procedure will not affect assessments in such cases, since if the sale has been made to the state it is merely transfer of a lien not of the land itself, and so the real estate continues subject to assessment in the regular course.

James W. Martin
University of Kentucky

Purposes of Municipal Bonds Changed Since 1929

The purposes for which municipal bonds are issued have changed greatly since 1929, according to a study made by the Municipal Finance Officers' Association of the United States and Canada.

The issuance of local revenue and refunding bonds has increased sharply since 1929, while road and school bonds have been issued by the cities in lessening amounts, according to a report by a Chicago bond house.

Revenue bonds in 1929 amounted to only .73 per cent of the total bonds issued by the municipalities for the year, and refunding bonds amounted to 1.3 per cent. On the other hand, road bonds totaled 16 per cent and school bonds 15.6 per cent of the total issued.

The picture changed during the next

ten years, however, and in 1939 municipal revenue bonds totaled 12.6 per cent of all local bond issues, while refunding bonds comprised 22.5 per cent of the total. Meanwhile, road bonds dropped during the ten-year period to 6.3 per cent, and school bonds to 6.8 per cent of all bonds issued.

The report said that municipal relief bonds, of which there were no issues in 1929, totaled $66,118,000 last year.

The increased use of revenue bonds has been due to tax limitations, debt limits, and the desire to participate in federal projects, according to the report. Road bond issues were smaller in 1939 because of pay-as-you-go financing through gasoline taxes and federal relief expenditures. The association said that from April, 1935, to Jan. 1, 1940, more than $3,000,000,000 was spent from federal emergency relief appropriations for highways, roads, streets, etc.

The refunding was due largely to favorable rates for refunding bonds, before maturity, the report said. While loans for school construction have declined, the amount of construction may be nearly normal due to federal aid through PWA and WPA.

The relief bonds and about $50,000,000 of funding bonds reflect that part of the cities' relief costs not paid from current revenues.

Anti-P.R. Bill Vetoed in New York

A West Virginia charter proposal; election contrasts in Canada.

Edited by
GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.

Governor Herbert H. Lehman has vetoed a bill, passed on the last day of this year's New York legislative session, which would have prevented Schenectady from voting on the adoption of P.R. again for four years and blocked plans for the submission of a P.R.—manager plan charter amendment this fall in White Plains. It may be doubted whether most of the legislators who voted for the bill had any inkling of its purpose, for it did not mention either of these cities or P.R. and it was introduced by a New York City Democrat, Assemblyman Delaney.

The bill provided that: "Notwithstanding any inconsistent provision of this chapter,[1] in case a proposed local law changing the mode or system of election of the members of the legislative body of a city, after submission to the electors of the city as provided in this chapter,[1] has failed or shall hereafter fail of adoption, no proposed local law changing the mode or system of election of the members of such legislative body in the same manner, either in terms or in effect, shall again be submitted to the electors of such city as provided in this chapter until after the expiration of two years following such rejection; and in case such a proposed local law changing such mode or system in the same manner, either in terms or in effect, after submission to the electors of the city as provided in this chapter, at two elections within a period of four years, has failed or shall hereafter fail of adoption upon both such occasions, no proposed local law changing such mode or system in such manner shall again be submitted to the electors of such city as provided in this chapter until after the expiration of four years following such last rejection."

Although in the future this bill might have affected any city in the state and any method of election, its immediate effect was confined to the three cities which last year defeated attempts to introduce P.R. by petition and popular vote—Schenectady, White Plains, and New Rochelle.

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[1] The city home rule law.

Schenectady would have been hit hardest, for P.R. amendments were narrowly defeated there both in 1938 and in 1939. The bill would thus have prevented any third submission before 1943. The Schenectady Citizens' Council for Proportional Representation Voting does not plan to raise the question again this year anyway, but does hope to do so in the near future.

Any doubt as to the real backing of the bill was dispelled by the extraordinary pressure used by Speaker Oswald D. Heck of the Assembly, a resident of Schenectady, in getting the bill out of committee in the Senate. The Republican organization has a complete monopoly of the seats on the Schenectady city council and has fought both attempts of citizens to secure minority representation through P.R. with great vigor. One of its delegates introduced the ill-starred proposal to ban P.R. throughout the state in the Constitutional Convention two years ago, though the proposal was not officially endorsed by the organization. This permanent protection against the necessity of sharing representation with other citizens having been denied by a popular vote of two and a half to one and by an adverse majority in every county in the state, the Schenectady organization evidently turned to a less obvious means of securing the same protection for a period of years.

Clarksburg May Vote on P.R.

An official charter board in Clarksburg, West Virginia, impressed with the experience of Wheeling, has prepared a tentative draft of a new charter based on the city manager plan and proportional representation. Clarksburg is the fifth city of West Virginia and has a population of some 30,000.

The charter board wants to use P.R. not only for the city council but for a special water board. There is, however, no authority for such a board in the West Virginia home rule act. The charter board is therefore postponing the submission of its charter until after the 1941 session of the legislature, hoping to secure the necessary authorization for an independently elected water board by amendment of the act.

Canadian Election Shows Need of P. R.

Unofficial newspaper totals, not entirely complete, make it clear that the results of the Canadian Dominion elections of March 26 distorted the popular verdict badly and deprived the country of the services of able minority leaders at a time when their coöperation was badly needed.

A proportional representation of the electorate would have given the Liberal party a good working majority, for that party polled roughly 53 per cent of the total—a 6 per cent margin over all other parties combined. It did not need the plurality method's exaggeration of its strength which gave it the largest majority of members on record —177 out of 245, or 72 per cent.

The landslide carried to defeat the leader of the "National Government" opposition, R. J. Manion, National Conservative; C. H. Cahan, former Conservative secretary of state; H. A. Stewart, former Conservative minister of public works, and a number of other outstanding men. A proper representation of the minorities would have kept their experience and counsel in the new Parliament.

This was deplored even by some of those who supported the Liberal ticket. "If party men always want to crush all and every one of their opponents," wrote Eugene L'Heureux in an editorial bulletin of *L'Action Sociale Catholique de Quebec* on March 27, "citizens placing the country's welfare far above party interests think differently. Whatever its political colour, the defeat of a good candidate is to us a cause of regret. . . . With the development of communications proportional representation is easily applicable and we will have to turn to it if we want the people's will 'pro and con' to be fairly represented, and prevent the defeat of good candidates."

Examination of the unofficial returns in the individual provinces brings out a number of striking anomalies:

In Manitoba less than half the votes gave the Liberals 14 members out of 17.

In Nova Scotia the Coöperative Commonwealth Federation elected one member with some 18,000 votes, while the National Government ticket with over 111,000 elected none.

In Saskatchewan the Liberals elected a majority of the members on a 43 per cent vote and the Coöperative Commonwealth Federation, with almost the same vote as the National Government ticket, elected two and a half times as many members (5 to 2).

In British Columbia a 37 per cent vote gave the Liberals a 62 per cent majority and the National Government ticket, with barely more votes than the Coöperative Commonwealth Federation, elected 4 members to the latter's 1.

In Alberta the New Democracy party, hitherto known as Social Credit, polled fewer votes than the Liberals but elected half again as many members (9 to 6).

In other words, the single-member district system of election is little better than a gamble. It cannot be trusted to return a truly representative legislative body.

The province of Alberta recently held another election, for its own legislative assembly, in which proportional representation was used in the two largest constituencies, Calgary and Edmonton. We hope in the near future to be able to give an account of this election to contrast with the distorted results for the Dominion.

EMPLOYMENT STABILIZATION

(Continued from Page 320)

suggested change, and to reduce the administrative cost of such a changed law, the statute might specify that the present method of assessment continue except in those cases where manufacturers specifically apply for an assessment to be made on the basis of average annual raw materials and finished goods on hand.

The law further might specify that this new method of assessment be made optional with the assessed only in such cases where the employer specifically certifies that the purpose of the request for the new method of assessment is to provide more steady employment. While this latter provision would be somewhat difficult to enforce because it involves questions of motive, it might have the beneficial effect of drawing attention to the desirability of stabilization.

It might be necessary to have the state tax commission or some other body review all of these applications for assessment on the new basis and then, where local assessment still prevails, have the local assessor proceed according to the new statute.

The requirement that personal property be assessed as of a given day is an interesting example of a "cultural lag." The farmers were originally responsible for the selection of the spring date. Their seed was in the ground by May 1, and the previous year's produce had been sold or consumed, so this date gave them a minimum tax to pay.

Those who have a vested interest in assessment as of a given date need not be disturbed under the proposal above because it is suggested that the new basis be made available only to those who apply for an assessment on the basis of the average annual inventory.

Books in Review

EDITED BY ELSIE S. PARKER

American Local Government. By Roger H. Wells. New York City, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1939. xii, 200 pp. $1.50.

This volume is notable for three things: comprehensiveness, condensation, and an emphasis novel to texts on local government. It deals with the government of both urban and rural communities. The degree of its condensation is indicated by the fact that it contains only two hundred pages. The novelty of its emphasis lies in its complete subordination of the structure and operation of local government to the interrelations of local governments with one another and with the state and national governments. Only eleven pages are assigned to city government as such, and three to the governmental machinery of counties, while more than half the book is given over to interrelations.

Professor Wells's chief contribution has been in calling attention to the numerous and compelling contacts which now exist between the national and local governments. The time has not yet come for any definitive writing on this subject. We have been passing through a transitional period of rapid expansion of federal activity affecting local government. How many of these new contacts will survive the present emergency no one can say. Professor Wells has done all that any one can do now. Without concealing his belief in the importance of local self-government, he has presented a summary of the objective evidence of the current federal-local *rapprochement*.

The most important point on which issue may be taken with Professor Wells is an overemphasis on the dark side of American local government. The complexity of areas, for example, is in many cases harder on students who are obliged to master such details than it is on citizens and taxpayers. The multiplication of small villages and special districts in the outlying parts of metropolitan areas represents a rational attempt to confine support of urban services to those who enjoy them. The only practical alternative is the non-autonomous taxing district which is open to the objection that those who pay the piper do not call the tune. Among local governments none are subjected to a more effective popular control or are operated more economically than are the general run of small suburban villages and special districts. Complexity of areas is an evil against which this reviewer has frequently inveighed, but it is scarcely so unmitigated an evil as might be gathered from Professor Wells's book.

Something of the same sort may be said of his picture of the declining importance of local government. It is true that the higher levels of government have encroached upon the lower. But at the same time the activities of government upon all its levels have been vastly increased. Both urban and rural units, barring those which may have suffered from the movements of industry and population, have much more to do than formerly. A thorough and accurate appraisal would probably show the field of local autonomy to be larger than it has ever been. It is worthy of special note that the new federal-local contacts stressed by Professor Wells are mostly voluntary and contractual, not governmental in the strict sense of that term. The initiative on a WPA project or a PWA loan must come from the local government. If local governments cannot resist the temptations of easy money, it is their own affair.

Professor Wells has done a workmanlike job which shows a more than ordinary mastery of the materials of local government study. The book is well documented and it should be gratifying to membership and staff of the National Municipal League that the REVIEW and other publications of the League are frequently cited in the text and its bibliographical notes.

The faults of this book are those incident to extreme economy of treatment. It is impossible to give more than a perfunctory account of city government organization in eleven pages. Even the stressed subjects suffer from compression. State-local relations, for example, cannot be fully discussed in twenty-nine pages. The responsibility for space limitation, however, does not fall on the author. We are informed in the foreword that he was controlled in this respect by the formula of the series. Teachers of local government who want a skeleton text upon which to hang the results of supplementary reading will find this one to have all the necessary pegs.

THOMAS H. REED

New York City

Financing Government. By Harold M. Groves. New York City, Henry Holt and Company, 1939. xvi, 777 pp. $5.00.

A public librarian once explained a service he would install if his skimpy budget permitted, which of course it did not. At present most such librarians have an "information service," that is, they try to find the answers to questions put to them. But the scheme proposed was to go beyond that. Each day the local newspapers were to be read by a staff member. Any statement by any local person therein recorded was to result in a letter calling attention to the resources of the library on the subject discussed.

The number of speeches, editorials, and letters to the editor, concerning the matters upon which this book throws light, is so great it would doubtless be the book most often recommended in such a service. It contains more working information than any other book known to this reviewer on the all-pervading problem of democratic government—how to get money and how to spend it. It gives arguments for and against every important tax and other money source, and of every great objective of public expenditure. Every viewpoint concerning the equity, ease of administration, and other aspects of each method are clearly and impartially set forth. Fortunately, Dr. Groves does not stop there. He has his own judgments and states them, as a rule, clearly and completely.

This is especially true of his opinion about the publicizing of income tax returns, as found on page 175, and on the land-value tax as applied to urban areas, on page 407. Dr. Groves includes in the discussion of each tax its non-fiscal effects. One such, which should flow from a land-value tax, is not mentioned in the book. It came to this reviewer's attention only a few weeks ago. Someone who sat in a discussion group on taxation at the recent Regional Conference of the National Municipal League held in Minneapolis said that "Land-value taxation might prevent 'the hag-mouth look' that downtown areas of all our large cities are getting. If the tax was on the site and not on the building," said this observer, "owners might continue to demolish obsolete buildings, but they would erect new ones immediately to get more income than a parking lot brings in—the empty lot would, under the land-value tax, pay as much tax as one with a building. The size of the service budget of a city is, practically speaking, the same after a building is torn down as before, so that, under the present practice, as lots are denuded of buildings and used only for parking spaces, owners of the remaining buildings pay more taxes to replace what the owner of the bare lot now escapes."

It is a pity that Dr. Groves did not put in one place his objections to the sales tax. He deals with this tax in the chapter on Consumption Taxes. But his strongest statement against this regressive tax is not in that chapter, nor is it listed in the index. It is on page 29, as follows: "The sales tax can be justified on none of the principles which have ever been put forward to justify the distribution of the burden of a tax." If that sentence had been put on page 347, there is greater chance it would meet the eye of a hurried legislator with time to read only the specific chapter on Consumption Taxes.

Part Four deals with public expenditures, though for most people the book's title will suggest the raising of money rather than its spending. This section is extremely competent, however, although occasionally it calls attention to problems it cannot fully discuss.

There is one chapter which it would be worth while to print separately, that on Shifting and Incidence, for if widely read it would cut down the time of legislative hearings on tax matters 60 per cent and almost annihilate desultory discussion.

Altogether the book is a monumental work on an extremely important subject. It is alive with a dynamic scholarship which should flower into sound, wide-visioned legislation in the next few years, for that legislation will have this trenchant remark as its touchstone: "In modern times it is necessary to inquire not only *who* should be taxed, but *how* and *where*."

WALTER J. MILLARD

County Manager Government in Effect in The County of Monroe, State of New York. Compiled and edited by Arthur H. Crapsey under the direction of Clarence A. Smith, County Manager. Rochester, N. Y., Monroe County Manager Administration, 1939. 77 pp.

In a way this title is a misnomer. While the pamphlet does perform the valuable service of explaining clearly just what the county manager plan is in Monroe County and what are the duties of the county offices, there is a delightful bonus for the reader in the form of the history of "the land that became the county of Monroe." Going back to 1775, there is recounted all the romance that went into the making of one of the oldest political units in the country. Without laboring the point, it is made clear (by implication) why counties need the manager plan.

"Not printed at public expense" advises the title page. This is exactly the sort of thing that *should* be printed at public expense.

M. R.

The Growth of the American Republic. (2 vols.) By Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager. New York City, Oxford University Press, 1939. xvi, 723 pp. (Third printing). $3.25 each volume.

By applying good writing to scholarly research, Morison and Commager succeed in presenting to the reader a picture of American history that is as delightful to read as it is instructive. In two substantial volumes, well supplied with maps, all aspects of American life and thought are discussed. Literature, folklore, music, and art are given their proper place in the saga of American development. A well conceived history such as this does much to illuminate the roots of our local governmental units and to make the absurdities of county governmental structure, for instance, considerably more understandable. It is to be regretted, however, that the authors have made an inexcusable slip in the inadequate discussion of forms of city government. Only one paragraph is devoted to that subject, and it contains two errors. At the end of 1930, it is said, there were 160 American cities with the commission form of government; eighty with the council-manager form. As a matter of fact, in the decade between 1921-1930, there were ninety-five *new adoptions* of the manager plan alone, not counting those cities which had the manager plan previous to that period.

RITA ROHER

Public Housing in America. Compiled by M. B. Schnapper. New York City, H. W. Wilson Company, 1939. (*The*

Reference Shelf, Volume 3, Number 5.) 369 pp. $1.25.

Public housers and experts in municipal administration will find this volume of *The Reference Shelf,* intended for debaters, a useful addition to their libraries on housing. It consists of bibliographies, references to general and special works in the field, and articles by recognized writers. The reader will find here discussions of social, economic, and political aspects of housing as viewed by Catherine Bauer, Stuart Chase, Thomas S. Holden, Edith Elmer Wood, Charles Abrams, James Ford, and Coleman Woodbury.

Listed as affirmative writers in the general discussion, are Lewis Mumford, Sir Raymond Unwin, Charles P. Taft, Robert F. Wagner, Nathan Straus, and various housing officials, while the negative is upheld by the ubiquitous Charles E. Coughlin, the rebellious Senator Millard R. Tydings, and a number of other writers who, with one exception, are persons whose names have not been associated with the subject of public housing, but rather with expressions of dissident views on scores of subjects. The exception is Edwin H. Spengler, professor of economics at Brooklyn College and author of a study on the influence of transit facilities on real estate values. Since Professor Spengler's article deals with the shortcomings of tax-exemption devices, which are by no means necessary to the achievement of public housing, one is inclined to distrust the validity of the process of presenting arguments pro and con on a public question. However, this is an academic point and students of the subject are certainly qualified to use the materials presented with discretion and discrimination.

R. V. P.

City Beginnings in Oklahoma Territory. By John Alley. Norman, Oklahoma, University of Oklahoma Press, 1939. 117 pp. $1.50.

Our interest in governmental forms at present is centered upon reorganization. Fifty years ago in Oklahoma Territory towns were organized for the first time on land taken by force or the threat of force from the Indians. The story of this invasion of the Indian lands has been told many times, and Professor Alley has resisted the temptation to add color by its use here. Nevertheless, his narration of the struggles, conniving, and chicanery of the early settlers and town-builders does not lack for color or interest.

In particular the book is a severe indictment of our national legislature for its casual and belated interest in assuring the new territory a satisfactory or at least a workable system of government.

Those of us who find present-day city problems perplexing should by all means look to these early attempts at self-government for clues to ways out of the difficulties.

J. Kirk Eads

Indiana University

Additional Books and Reports Received

Elections

The Selection of Election Officials in Wisconsin Cities and Villages. Madison, League of Wisconsin Municipalities, 1940. 7 pp. mimeo.

Housing and Real Estate

Government in Housing. An Examination of Uncle Sam's Housing Ventures. By Department of Government Management, School of Commerce, Accounts, and Finance, University of Denver. Denver, Colorado, 1940. 23 pp. Ten cents.

Introduction to Housing. Facts and Principles. By Edith Elmer Wood. Washington, D. C., United States Housing Authority. xi, 161 pp. Thirty cents. (Apply Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C.)

Seventy Years of Real Estate Sub-

dividing in the Region of Chicago. By Helen Corbin Monchow. Evanston and Chicago, Northwestern University, 1939. viii, 200 pp. $2.25.

The Homes the Public Builds. By Edith Elmer Wood and Elizabeth Ogg. New York City, Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1940. 32 pp. Ten cents.

Interstate Cooperation

The Delaware River Basin. Physical Facts. A graphic compendium containing maps and charts. Philadelphia, The Interstate Commission on the Delaware River Basin, 1940.

The Delaware River Basin. Planned Progress in Pollution Control. Philadelphia, The Interstate Commission on the Delaware River Basin, 1940. 20 pp.

Libraries

A Metropolitan Library in Action. A survey of the Chicago Public Library. By Carleton Bruns Joeckel and Leon Carnovsky. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1940. xvii, 466 pp. $3.00.

Municipal Government

Annual Report of City Manager, Beliot, Wisconsin, 1939. 38 pp. mimeo.

Annual Report of the City of Lynchburg, Virginia. Fiscal Year Ended December 31, 1939. 48 pp. illus.

Index to Municipal Legislation. A cumulative, alphabetical, subject index of municipal ordinances, proposed or adopted by city councils, boards of aldermen, city commissions and similar bodies, as recorded in their printed official proceedings and journals. Compiled, arranged, and edited by Frederick Rex. Chicago, Municipal Reference Library, 1937. 250 pp. mimeo. $2.50.

Restrictions upon the Interest of Municipal and Other Public Officials in Governmental Contracts. By Ambrose Fuller. Chicago, American Municipal Association, 1940. 41 pp. mimeo. $1.00.

Pensions

A Study of the Pension and Retirement Systems of New York City. By Robert L. Merritt. New York City, Department of Investigation, 1940. 83 pp. mimeo.

Planning and Zoning

American Planning and Civic Annual. A record of recent civic advance as shown in the proceedings of the National Conference on Planning, held at Boston, Massachusetts, May 15-17, 1939; The National Conference on State Parks, held at Itasca State Park, Minnesota, June 4-7, 1939; and the Third National Park Conference of the American Planning and Civic Association with the National Park Officials held at Sante Fe, New Mexico, October 8-10, 1939. Edited by Harlean James. Washington, D. C., American Planning and Civic Association, 1939. vi, 288 pp. $3.00.

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(Discussions of this publication will be found on page 272 of the REVIEW for last month and on page 340 of this issue.)

KALAMAZOO EXAMINES THE RECORD

(Continued from Page 304)

its commercial enterprises. These enterprises are operated on a "separate unit" basis: for example, the city pays the water department for water consumed and for fire hydrant rentals; the water department, on the other hand, pays to the city both taxes and rent for the space occupied by the department in the city office building. The budgets, funds, and reserves, as well as the accounts of these departments, are operated separately for each unit.

Kalamazoo citizens can "point with pride" to twenty-two years of efficient administration. Manager government has produced the business-like conduct of the city's affairs anticipated by those responsible for the drafting of the manager charter.

CONTRIBUTORS IN REVIEW

(Continued from Page 327)

STATE legislatures are the avocation of **Charles W. Shull** (*Wangling Reapportionment for Michigan*) who reports that he has made a study "on the side", of *American Experience with Unicameralism,* published by the Detroit Bureau of Municipal Research, and is engaged now on a larger study of reapportionment and unicameralism in Michigan for the same agency. Also, on the side, he is on the public affairs committee of the local Kiwanis Club and has written some twenty-five book reviews and articles in four magazines on governmental affairs. Dr. Shull's main job is an assistant professorship of political science at Wayne University.

CREATION of a department of citizenship and public affairs, the first of its kind in any American college, was one of the signal achievements of **Dr. P. P. Womer** (*Education for Democracy—Ideals and Values*) at Washburn College where he was president for sixteen years. At present Dr. Womer is occupied with the Citizenship Committee of the National Municipal League which he heads. He recently spent several weeks in Dallas, Texas, organizing the Regional Conference on Government which the League held there. Dr. Womer is the author of four books and numerous articles on citizenship and government.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

The Old and the New in Massachusetts Towns

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Maine's Political Chickens

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City-County Consolidation

Denver — Dallas — Philadelphia

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Cities and Their Bonded Debt

Rosina Mohaupt

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National Municipal League

News in Review

City, County, State Progress in Brief

New York Villages Get Home Rule

Michigan civil service by initiative; state personnel boards aid local governments

New census scents trek to the suburbs

Edited by
H. M. OLMSTED

One of the new laws passed by the 1940 New York legislature is a village home rule law (Chapter 823 of the Laws of 1940), drafted by a special committee set up by the legislature last year. This act carries out the mandate of the new state constitution by granting villages of more than 5,000 population home rule powers generally similar to those of cities. The law follows closely in most respects the wording of last year's general revision of the city home rule law, but does not give the voters of a village the right to revise its charter by petition and popular vote. The village boards are given wide powers of local legislation, including the power to supersede special state laws relating to the property, affairs, and government of the village, subject to mandatory or permissive referendum on important matters and certain special restrictions. A village board may submit a new charter for the village or set up a charter commission to draft one for submission.

Another important bill to become law (Chapter 667) is the so-called "little Hatch act" which introduces for the state and its political subdivisions restrictions on the political use of relief and relief lists similar to those of the federal law. The law does not include the federal law's restrictions on other political activities of public officers and employees.

One important measure which passed both houses was vetoed. This was the bill which would have dispensed with primaries when they were uncontested. Under this bill positions for which there was no contest were to be left off the primary ballot. If a party had no contest for any position in a district, its ballots were not to be printed. If no party had a contest in a district, the polls were not to be opened. Positions for which no designations had been made by petition were to be regarded as contested so that they could be filled by a write-in vote. This bill was expected to save some $200,000 a year on printing and personnel, would have concentrated public attention on the real primary contests by removing the other positions from the ballot, and would have eliminated the danger of surprise write-in attacks on popular candidates whose election was supposed to be assured. But the Governor considered it more important to preserve the right of insurgent members of a party to support their own candidates at a primary even if they had not taken the trouble to circulate valid designating petitions. The bill did not propose to interfere with the right of anyone to nominate candidates for the final election by independent nominating petitions or to write in names at the final election.

G. H. H., Jr.

Michigan Civil Service Amendment

A proposed initiative civil service amendment to the constitution of Michigan is being circulated in that state in an effort to obtain 160,000 signatures to place the amendment on the November ballot. Professor Arthur W. Bromage of the Department of Political Science, University of Michigan, reports progress in this activity. The amendment is as follows:

"Section 22. The state civil service shall consist of all positions in the state service except those filled by popular election, heads of departments, members of boards and commissions, employees of courts of record, of the legislature, of the higher educational institutions recognized by the state constitution, all persons in the military and naval forces of the state, and not to exceed two other exempt positions for each elected administrative officer, and each department, board, and commission.

Governor Appoints Commission

"There is hereby created a non-salaried civil service commission to consist of four persons, not more than two of whom shall be members of the same political party, appointed by the governor for eight-year, overlapping terms, the four original appointments to be for two, four, six, and eight years respectively. This commission shall supersede all existing state personnel agencies and succeed to their appropriations, records, supplies, equipment, and other property.

"The commission shall classify all positions in the state civil service according to their respective duties and responsibilities, fix rates of compensation for all classes of positions, approve or disapprove disbursements for all personal services, determine by competitive performance exclusively on the basis of merit, efficiency, and fitness the qualifications of all candidates for positions in the state civil service, make rules and regulations covering all personnel transactions, and regulate all conditions of employment in the state civil service. No person shall be appointed to or promoted in the state civil service who has not been certified as so qualified for such appointment or promotion by the commission. No removals from or demotions in the state civil service shall be made for partisan, racial, or religious considerations.

"The administration of the commission's powers shall be vested in a state personnel director who shall be a member of the state civil service and who shall be responsible to and selected by the commission after open competitive examination.

Appropriations

"To enable the commission to execute these powers, the legislature shall appropriate for the six-months' period ending June 30, 1941, a sum not less than one-half of one per cent, and for each and every subsequent fiscal year, a sum not less than one per cent, of the aggregate annual payroll of the state service for the preceding fiscal year as certified to by the commission.

"After August 1, 1941, no payment for personal services shall be made or authorized until the provisions of this amendment have been complied with in every particular. Violation of any of the provisions hereof may be restrained or observance compelled by injunctive or mandamus proceedings brought by any citizen of the state.

"This amendment shall take effect on the first day of January following the approval thereof."

The Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research says, in a discussion of the amendment: "The amendment aims to create a complete civil service, free from legislative tampering, and administered by a constitutional commission operating under rigid merit principles. It contains only basic constitutional provisions, and, following the practice of New York, California, and other states, proposes to place civil service above partisan tinker-

(Continued on Page 416)

The League's Business

Conference on American Self-Government

THE National Municipal League, as a result of its leadership in organizing the Conference on American Self-government which met at Indiana University on May 13 and 14, has been asked to act as a clearing house to correlate the activities of coöperating institutions and organizations. The conference was attended by more than a hundred persons comprising representatives of many of the 208 coöperating colleges and observers from a score of nation-wide citizen organizations.

Discussions at the conference were focused on specific types of civic activity now being carried on in various parts of the country. There were no set speeches. C. A. Dykstra, president of the League and of the University of Wisconsin, presided at all sessions.

After the first day a Committee on Findings and Recommendations was created with the following personnel: Professor James K. Pollock, of the University of Michigan, *chairman*; President Thurston Davies of Colorado College, Dr. Earl De Long of Northwestern University, Dr. Edna R. Fluegel of the College of St. Catherine, and Irvin Kuenzli of the American Federation of Labor. The committee made a report which finally was adopted in the following form:

FINDINGS

I. The Conference on American Self-Government, meeting at Indiana University under the sponsorship of the National Municipal League, after deliberation in the democratic manner finds:

(1) A great amount of work directed toward the improvement of American self-government is being done by organizations and institutions.

(2) Most of this work is desultory, unsystematic, and disconnected.

(3) There is inadequate knowledge on the part of such organizations as to what is being done by others.

(4) The groups interested in doing something in this field have not always utilized existing sources of information. In many cases these sources are inadequate.

(5) While much attention is being given to the training of students, the educational program is inadequate to give them a constructive interest in the improvement of the governmental process.

(6) Not enough study is being made of the problem of preparing youth for citizenship, especially after the compulsory school age.

(7) With the exception of a few notable programs, the development of a sound method of inducting youth into the full responsibilities of citizenship has been neglected.

(8) Programs to develop adult interest in and understanding of the responsibilities of citizenship are generally inadequate and ineffective.

(9) Since citizenship involves more than the operation of governmental processes and since an interest in the improvement of economic, social, cultural, and spiritual phases of community life is basic, they should be included in a complete program.

RECOMMENDATIONS

II. With a view to developing a program to meet these needs, the conference suggests:

(1) In order that the efforts of the various groups in the general field of self-government within communities may be correlated, a national clearing house of information in this field is needed. We believe that the National Municipal League is best equipped to serve in this capacity. We suggest that all organizations and institutions be urged to report their activities along these lines to the National Municipal League.

(2) In order that the suggested recommendations which follow may receive adequate discussion, implementation, and action, it is recommended that representatives of universities and colleges in states or other appropriate areas take the lead in organizing for coöperative effort with civic groups under the general sponsorship of the National Municipal League. The conference wishes to stress the importance, in connection with all programs looking toward training for citizenship, of definite and active coöperation between existing organizations in both urban and rural communities. Coördination of educational, religious, social, and other groups, which has already proved effective in a number of communities, should, in the judgment of the conference, be developed as rapidly as possible in other communities, and training for citizenship should be made an important feature of the coöperative program.

(3) That a general program of civic education be designed to create an understanding of the possibilities of democratic action and a desire for the better utilization of the opportunities presented by democratic institutions and that this effort should be made throughout the whole American educational process.

(4) That encouragement be given to training programs and research activities in schools and colleges which aim to produce mature persons capable of political leadership and research consultants capable of determining facts with respect to political behavior.

(5) That a specific program be developed to meet the problem of preparing youth for citizenship after the compulsory school age.

(6) That a program for the induction of youth into the full responsibilities of citizenship be applied on a nation-wide basis, and that the program involve both a preparatory period of instruction and a final impressive ceremony of induction.

(7) That activity be developed at the adult level around specific problems of citizenship which have been selected democratically by citizens' organizations and educational institutions.

(8) With regard to each specific problem, the responsibility of the colleges and universities should be to develop impartially and objectively the facts which can be used as a basis for discussion.

(9) The responsibility of citizens' organizations should be to use their channels of communication with their own members to encourage widespread discussion of the facts so that people generally may be able to form convictions.

(10) Since there has not been enough emphasis on solving the problem of translating into action the findings of civic and educational agencies, the purpose of all discussion on these problems, therefore, should always be the development of a program which will make effective the participation of citizens.

III. The Conference recommends to the National Municipal League that a small permanent committee be appointed by the League to the end that the recommendations herein suggested may be carried out on a continuing basis.

HOWARD P. JONES, *Secretary*

Series of Series

WITH this issue there goes into full swing a new policy for the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW which is expected not only to increase the value of the magazine as a storehouse of information on local government, but also to bring the contents of that storehouse out into the open where any citizen or researcher with a special interest can easily get his hands on what he needs in the way of background. This double-barreled program involves:

1. Series of articles by different authorities on comprehensive subjects in the field of local government will be published in this magazine from month to month. At least two such series will be running at any given time. The rest of the magazine will be devoted, as usual, to articles on miscellaneous subjects of interest.
2. After the full quota of articles on any subject has been published, they will be reprinted in pamphlet or book form and added to the National Municipal League's list of publications, to be sold at the cost of reprinting (which is relatively low, compared with the cost of a book or pamphlet independently printed).

Three such series are represented in this issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW:

"The Old and the New in Massachusetts Towns" is the first in a series which will explore town manager government in the New England States. Already promised for early issues are articles by Professor K. R. B. Flint of the University of Vermont, Carter Atkins, director of the Hartford, Connecticut, Governmental Research Institute, Professor Orren C. Hormell of Bowdoin College, Maine, and Professor Thorsten V. Kalijarvi of the University of New Hampshire.

The pamphlet which results from this series will be the only existing comprehensive work on town manager government in action.

A series on city-county consolidation, which is another subject on which there is no up-to-date comprehensive information, is initiated in this issue with articles from Philadelphia, Dallas, and Denver, respectively. Others already on the list will deal with Atlanta-Fulton County, Georgia, by L. R. Chubb of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce Research Bureau and the One-Government League of that area; Pittsburgh-Allegheny County by H. Marie Dermitt of the Civic Club of Allegheny County; New Orleans, by S. S. Sheppard of the New Orleans Bureau of Governmental Research; Virginia and its independent cities, by Dean Raymond B. Pinchbeck of the University of Richmond; and functional consolidation in Los Angeles by John McDiarmid of the University of Southern California.

Dr. Pugh's article on Zanesville civic education in this number of the REVIEW is the second in a series on civic education which was initiated in the January issue with Professor O. Garfield Jones's exposition of methods used at the University of Toledo. A third article will deal with Pennsylvania's Intercollegiate Conference on Government.

Still another series was initiated this year. William B. Nunn's two articles on labor peace boards in the March and April issues will shortly be followed by a third and last by the same author, in which municipal labor peace methods in all cities over 30,000 population will be discussed.

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Kansas City Clings to an Ideal

AS Kansas City takes long strides toward sound and honest government, it is well to consider how much its *form* of charter had to do with the revival. It is eminently proper to do so. Have not the critics of the council-manager plan been picking out Kansas City these fourteen years as the "horrible example"? Have they not cried, over and over, "The manager plan doesn't necessarily insure good government; look at Kansas City." Kansas City always was sufficient; they never looked at Cincinnati, Toledo, Teaneck, Kalamazoo, or the five hundred other places.

In accordance with recent American custom, Boss Pendergast has been serving time for failing to pay income tax on his ill-gotten gains rather than for having fleeced the people of the city and state. Even so, the result was to release the people of Kansas City from the strait-jacket in which Pendergast had confined them.

The ensuing civic effort was tremendous. It had to be. First, a coalition of anti-machine groups adopted a charter amendment which shortened the four-year terms of the incumbent councilmen to two years; in effect, recalling them. A new council of a kind to which the city was not accustomed was elected to replace them. The council proceeded promptly to hire an experienced city manager with a notable success record, instead of the home-town patronage dispenser type of the past. Government authorities have been called in as consultants to implement the reform with an accurate financial picture, a sound personnel system, etc.

It is all highly encouraging, but Kansas City may not yet be out of the political jungle. For one thing, an attempt has been made to invoke an all but forgotten and usually ignored residence law to disqualify the new manager. For another, the anti-machine elements will have to resist the impulse to put "our boys" in. "Good government" spoils is little better than the other kind.

The city's hopes are well expressed in an editorial in the *Kansas City Star* which said, in part:

"Fourteen years after the people of Kansas City adopted their modern charter they will have their first chance to see what the charter means.

"For the first time they can hope to see the city manager form of government work as it was intended. For the first time they can look to a genuine nonpartisan merit system with services to the city rising above the demands of any bosses or political organization."

Through all its troubles Kansas City's good charter has remained an ideal and a measuring stick. The civic leadership, although relatively helpless before the machine's power, was able to keep constantly in mind what the city had once voted for and was supposed to have. When something happened at last to expose the Achilles heel of the well armored machine, they could be ready with the answer.

Had there been no sound charter, around which to rally the forces which demanded change, the escape from boss rule would have been as difficult and complicated as it seems to be in such places as Jersey City, Philadelphia, and other cities where the problem is not only to unseat bossism but also to replace a bad system with a good one which gives the people a chance to control.

Another Post-War Period Coming

THE downward trend of municipal debt, as revealed in the figures for cities over 30,000 in population published elsewhere in this issue of the REVIEW, furnishes hope that our cities are bringing their financial affairs under closer control.

With memories of post-war difficulties still fresh in their minds, those who direct the financial destinies of local government are under a very special obligation to formulate sound, long-time plans in accordance with ability to pay.

In this planning they should give serious and analytical thought especially to two major trends which represent radical departures from the old conventional debt pattern:

1. There seems to be an increasing tendency toward public borrowing for revenue-producing projects set up in such a way as not to pledge the municipal credit.
2. There still is considerable general purpose borrowing to finance relief.

Despite all the exceptions which must be borne in mind, the size and trend of public debt remain among the best indices of sound management.

The Women

AS the peculiarly precious nature of a self-governing democracy stands out more clearly with each new shock from other parts of the world, we are beginning to take more careful stock of our assets and liabilities in the field of citizenship.

Important among the assets are women's civic organizations, and notable among these is the League of Women Voters which recently celebrated the twentieth aniversary of its founding. It would take volumes to provide even a partial account of this organization's accomplishments in the development of individual and group leadership, in spreading a sense of civic responsibility, in gaining basic improvements locally and in state and nation, and in intelligently standing guard over ground already won.

Few people realize as clearly as

(Continued from Page 366)

The Old and the New in Massachusetts Towns

New Englanders continue to preserve old Yankee institutions but introduce twentieth century manager idea to correct obvious weaknesses.

By RICHARD A. ATKINS
Boston Municipal Research Bureau

TOWN meeting government has a special hold on the imagination of Americans. Many of them trace their heritage to the New England scene and retain an attachment for Yankee institutions. Probably more are persuaded that the town meeting offers a lingering illustration of direct democracy and is therefore doubly worthy of consideration.

Among the changes which modern life has imposed on this venerable scheme of government is the union of the old and the new in those towns operating under a plan of municipal management. It is proposed here to consider only the general terms of this union in four Massachusetts communities.

Five of the 316 towns of the commonwealth have adopted manager charters. One of these—the town of Orange—abandoned the plan because it proved too strong medicine as administered under its only manager. The four remaining places disclose a marked geographical affinity, all lying to the south or southeast of Boston.

Norwood is the largest of the manager towns. With a population of 15,049, it is about double the size of the three other localities. Socially it presents wider extremes and the composition of its population is more varied. While a community with an economic status of its own, Norwood comes within the metropolitan orbit.

The balance of the manager towns are more than superficially similar. All are modest, middle-class towns which draw their principal livelihood from local trade and manufacture. Stoughton is nearest Boston; Mansfield is on the outside fringe of the commutation zone; and Middleboro is forty miles from Boston.

For the setting it is necessary to review the essentials of town government. First there is the town meeting, of which all the qualified voters are members. This body elects the town officials, votes upon money matters, and lays down rules. The presiding officer is known as the moderator. Ordinarily he appoints a finance committee of the town, which is the steering group in fiscal questions and which lends cohesion to budgetary issues. Finance committee recommendations are the chief guide when the appropriation articles are considered at town meeting and deviation from their judgment is regarded as rather exceptional. Curiously enough, control over expenditures passes to the spending agencies, and bookkeeping is entrusted to the town accountant.

Normally the most important agencies chosen by vote of the town are the board of selectmen, school committee, library trustees, water commissioners, board of health, assessors, and such individuals as the treasurer and town clerk. Residual appointive officers of an earlier and more picturesque day include measurers of wood and bark, fence viewers, field drivers, and tree wardens.

At the center of this interesting arrangement, and exercising the largest single measure of authority, are the selectmen. They are directly answerable to the town meeting, which in some respects may either override the selectmen or act independently of them. In Massachusetts towns selectmen are charged with such problems as street lines, land takings, licenses and permits, contracts, claims against the town, and the enforcement of town regulations. In addition, they are deep in the affairs of numerous town activities which come under their direct control—fire, police, building inspection, and the like. Often the selectmen serve as the board of public welfare or park commissioners.

A GOOD START

Had Massachusetts towns pursued municipal management to its logical limits, the resulting product would have borne slight resemblance to traditional town meeting government. This was too much to expect. Consequently, the starting point was to preserve the form of town government and yet correct its obvious weaknesses, while securing a measure of permanent and technically competent direction for certain important phases of town business. Varying motives lay behind adoption of the plan in each of the manager towns—political interest of the business leadership type, desire to overcome a particular source of grievance, dissatisfaction with financial trends. All reveal a common desire to secure increased efficiency and more nearly unified organization.

Norwood, which put the original town manager plan into effect twenty-five years ago, left the town meeting untouched. Qualified voters elected, as always, the board of selectmen and the school committee. Similarly chosen were the library trustees, board of health, planning board, treasurer and collector, and a finance commission.

Whereas the last-named was given wide power relating to town finance, its principal duty was and has remained the preparation of the town budget and recommendations for the appropriation articles in the warrant of the town meeting. Stoughton set up a similar commission. These agencies are none other than the usual finance committee which Mansfield and Middleboro happen to have retained.

In the town manager charters the first noteworthy break with customary town government occurs where the authority of the selectmen is defined. In Norwood several theretofore separate activities were placed under the board of selectmen. These included the water, sewer, and park commissioners, and the municipal light board. The selectmen appointed the town counsel, the clerk (with whom the office of accountant was joined), the assessors, and the public welfare board.

Having established this framework, the Norwood plan introduced what was in truth a novelty. It required the selectmen to appoint a general manager who was to act as head of such departments under their control as were not otherwise provided for. The manager's sphere embraced all the public works and utilities of the town, together with building maintenance, recreation, and police. For reasons which may be surmised, the board of fire engineers was omitted. The police department went under the manager with the ambiguous qualification that his control was subject to the "general direction" of the selectmen—a proviso which gave them a voice in the delicate issues of police operation.

During 1921 and 1922 the plan was taken up by the other three towns. Mansfield offers the widest contrast because it boldly reduced the agencies elected by the town to the school committee and the selectmen and vested the latter with extraordinary authority. Furthermore, under the Mansfield law more has been turned over to the manager. Virtually every town function comes within his purview except the schools, library, fire, assessing, and planning. Unlike the other town managers he may even appoint the treasurer and collector.

Stoughton furnishes another variant. Departments under the manager comprise water, highways, and a small group of miscellaneous activities where his control is unqualified; police and fire where he is explicitly subject to the direction of the selectmen; and health, welfare, parks, and sewerage where the manager serves as administrative officer and the selectmen as the governing board.

From a structural viewpoint, one can readily see that the manager charters were by no means guided exclusively by formula. More than one well situated official was removed from the manager's domain in order to assure the plan vital support.

THE MANAGERS' DUTIES

Town managers have legal backing in their particular realms. They are given fairly extensive power to appoint and remove department heads and subordinate employees. They make purchases for their own departments and may act on behalf of other agencies. The manager prepares budget estimates for his own activities and submits them to the finance committee or commission. To state how far these legal proprieties are observed or neglected is beyond the scope of this brief survey; in any event it is a problem found everywhere. Nevertheless, the authority is present. When the manager of Norwood recently elected to call for a show-down on his charter prerogatives, he received the town's backing.

It must be apparent, however, that a town manager in Massachusetts is not the same as the city manager with whom he will be compared. Normally a municipal manager is entrusted with liberal control over finance because such power is felt to be an indispensable tool of management. Accounting, assessing, treasury and collecting, and the final stages of the budget are located elsewhere in the manager towns. Moreover, the list of operating activities outside the manager is considerable.

From this background the town manager emerges not so much as a replica of the city manager but as someone akin to a commissioner of public works. Indeed, one authority on the subject suggests that he might be called engineer, superintendent, or even supervisor with equal impunity, although literal acceptance of this point of view would do an injustice to the personality of the managers and the possibilities of their position. Any appointive official who has enough influence to carry the voters with him on the issue of his own independence cannot be hastily characterized as a mere supervisor.

A town manager is naturally closest to the selectmen who appoint and remove him. Under the manager plan they are relieved of administrative responsibility as such and are supposed to devote their energy to those aspects of their office which veer toward policy-making. Exceptions to this broad rule relate to functions not turned over to the manager, to managerial activities where the selectmen have a special advisory standing, and to that peculiar area where practicalities, not rules, are uppermost.

Responsibility is carried a step further. Each of the town manager charters contains a recall provision which may be brought into action with little trouble. At times the recall feature has figured in the history of town management, the point in controversy being the particular relationship existing between the selectmen and the manager.

Measured by the simple criterion of acceptance, the manager plan appears to be well supported in the towns. While Orange must be put down as a backslider, it is not easy to discover important sentiment for revocation in the other communities. All of them have experienced hard going at one time or another, but it has been due to factional strife and problems relating to individual managers and not, if such a distinction is permissible, to hostility toward town management.

Stoughton's manager has been on the job since the plan went into effect eighteen years ago. In Norwood there have been four managers over twenty-five years with terms ranging from two to seven years. One manager served at two intervals separated by a decade. Mansfield has also had four managers, although the present incumbent has served for the last twelve years. Middleboro has had two managers. The first was with the town for a long span; the second has held his position since 1938. Three of the managers have an engineering or business background and a fourth came into his position with experience in town finance. All but one had some previous training in the public service.

PROSPECTS FOR WIDER ADOPTION

In a governmental setup where the usual arguments for municipal management apply, the question arises as to why the town manager plan has not been more popular. Tradition is invariably offered in explanation and town government has a history which has been traced to Anglo-Saxon settlements and other remote origins.

Coming closer to earth, there is the absence of serious scandal and similar episodes which encourage wholesale turnover. In many towns the group which might be attracted to the manager plan on its merits may already have a grip on the town government and consequently is not concerned over charter revision on the chance that it would shift the prevailing political balance.

Massachusetts towns actually have little so-called home rule. They are implemented by general law with the necessities of local government but for any marked departure either as to structure or function they must have the approval of the legislature. There is no law prescribing a uniform system of town manager government. A town which wants the plan must draft a charter and petition the General Court (legislature) for a special act which will be referred to the town meeting for acceptance or rejection.

STATE-LOCAL RELATIONS

State supervision, moreover, takes a great variety of forms. It is commonly thought of in terms of control of local finance. Towns come under a statutory debt limit, and the term, purpose, and nature of their debt are regulated by law. Local assessors and tax collectors are objects of considerable State House solicitude. Localities which have applied for the installation of uniform state accounts and which receive periodic state audits include the four manager towns. Massachusetts towns have a record of soundness and freedom from the financial difficulties that are a frequent prelude to municipal management. Defaults and fiscal breakdown provide a concrete case for the manager plan. Where compelling reasons such as these are lacking, relatively few are attracted to change.

The prevalence of advisory boards, administrative commissions, and minor appointive and elected officials actively enlists a large number of citizens in the service of the town. Civic interest is thus enlivened and at the same time conditioned against concentrated authority. Robert Frost has described the shrewd, immediate interest which town meeting members sometimes exhibit. When the annual report was circulated in one town of his acquaintance, not only did it undergo sharp scrutiny but the highest praise which the officials involved could hope for was the mere absence of blame. Reckoning must be made of a New England habit of mind which is at once acutely critical and complacently disposed toward things as they are.

An attitude at the State House which may be expressed as something less than enthusiastic should be taken into account, for it is there that townspeople are apt to carry their troubles and seek counsel.

On the other hand, there are reasons for believing that town management may secure wider favor. In the larger communities the town meeting has become unwieldy or attendance is poor. A satisfactory turnout on election day is to be expected but at subsequent meetings, when the town business is taken up, interest dwindles. Cases are cited where the town meeting is packed by groups who are concerned over some one article which touches their interest but who disappear once their ends are accomplished.

As town government becomes more complicated and involves arduous detail, the town hall tends to attract those who, for selfish reasons, are prepared to place their talents freely at the town's disposal. Bedevilled by mounting expenditures and shrinking valuations, some towns have entered a period of strain for the taxpayer and are likely to face increased pressure for changes which hold the promise of economy.

Over a score of Massachusetts towns have accepted the representative town meeting as a concession to the futility of packing several thousand voters into a hall for the purpose of itemized decision. Some halting steps have been taken toward centralizing various functions under the selectmen in an effort to solve the organizational riddle without going so far as to introduce a town manager.

Meanwhile there is testimony that the town manager plan has been beneficial in shifting administration from an elective board to a qualified individual. Its friends are sure that good results flow from single direction of public works, which are after all the backbone of government in a small community, and they are equally certain that it is well to have one figure at the town hall who is the focus of responsibility.

Such claims should keep town management alive in Massachusetts. Interest in city management has been revived by recent enactment of an optional council-manager charter which carries the proportional representation feature. There have been signs of stirring in the towns, with activity ranging all the way from preliminary discussion to enactment, though not adoption, of a manager plan.

EDITORIALS

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do members of the League of Women Voters the fact that it takes continuous study in addition to good intentions to be a responsible citizen in a country where the individual is still important and able, if he knows how, to see that his wishes are translated into action. This is probably the most noteworthy characteristic of the league—the sweetly unassuming rejection of the old theory that everyone in this country just automatically comes into the world with full knowledge about government and how to run it.

In city after city members, equipped with the knowledge and training developed in their league activities, have provided enlightened leadership for their communities' efforts to defeat vicious influences, gain the adoption of new charters or other basic improvements, and to pierce with facts the armor of political deceit. Recent examples will be found in Superior, Wisconsin, which was heralded as the five hundredth city to adopt the council-manager form of government; in Kansas City, Missouri, where corrupt bossism has been defeated; and in Yonkers, New York, where the principal woman civic leader in important reforms confesses she never gave public affairs half a thought until she joined the league five years ago.

It is through such organizations as the League of Women Voters, with their practical, serious approach to basic problems, that democracy will be saved and citizens taught how to make democracy work.

Maine's Political Chickens

Until there is an aroused and effective public opinion, political chickens will continue to come home to roost, as they have been doing for decades.

By **EDWARD F. DOW**
University of Maine

Chronology

1930 N. I. P. A. investigates and reports on state administration, recommending reorganization.

1931 Legislature accepts a bill (code act) providing partial reorganization. Bill held up by referendum petition, accepted by voters in special election.

1932 Code act goes into effect; officials appointed. Finance department organized.

1932 A. E. Buck criticizes bookkeeping methods used by state controller. Says that bookkeeping machinery will not provide brains.

1938 Robbery or shortage of $35,000 over the February 26 week-end from the branch automobile registry office at Auburn. No arrests.

1939 December. The *Bangor Daily News* publishes series of articles, beginning December 9, entitled "Digging Into Maine's Financial Statements," and purporting to show laxness, inefficiency, and unsound accounting and financial reporting.

December. State Auditor states in writing to the Governor that he has examined the accounts of the controller and found them in good order.

1940 February. Due to criticism, the State Auditor and Controller request the Governor to engage a private firm to make an independent state audit.

April. On April 1 Controller Runnels found with two bullet wounds near heart. Warrant issued, charging him with embezzlement. Ernst and Ernst audit discloses large shortage of state funds. While Runnels hovers between life and death, over $26,000 in cash is returned by his brother in a brief case, other sums seized by state in various safe deposit boxes held by Runnels, his brother, and mother. The Deputy Treasurer, State Auditor, and Finance Commissioner resign under pressure, the State Treasurer refuses to resign and is allowed to hold his job pending a special session of the legislature. (Auditor and Treasurer are selected by the legislature, or the President of the Senate if the legislature is not in session.)

GOVERNOR Barrows has termed the misuse and embezzlement of state money "a black page in the history of Maine." No doubt citizens of Maine, shocked and angered by the disclosures of April Fool's Day and afterward, would agree. It is freely predicted that more disclosures are to come, and more heads will fall. With the personal and political fortunes involved we are not concerned; before the episode is closed all too much will have been written and said, conjectured and surmised. The finger of suspicion is likely to blacken the reputation of the innocent, while the guilty escape with little or no punishment. At the present writing it seems that only a few persons were directly involved in speculation or connived and schemed at theft.

We do not, of course, desire to whitewash the situation, but in our search for the scapegoats we should not be so foolish as to believe that laws or officials can guarantee competence and honesty. No matter how carefully drawn, laws must be interpreted and enforced by individuals; no matter how carefully selected, officials are sometimes careless or corrupt. Banks and other private businesses too often discover the frailty of human nature when subjected to temptation. We should not expect government employees to be perfect or to attain an ethical level much higher than is found in the business world. Yet there are remediable defects in Maine government, which may have contributed to inefficiency and theft, and which should be corrected.

1. *What is wrong with the code of 1931?*[1] It is characteristic of Americans to blame the law for administrative failures. So far as the code act goes, it appears to be sound. Its chief accomplishments were in finance and health and welfare. The new Department of Finance was to be headed by a commissioner appointed by the governor and council. Under his direction were to be a tax assessor, budget officer, purchasing agent, and controller, all four to be appointed by the commissioner, subject to approval by the governor and the council. Centralized purchasing and accounting, improved budgetary procedure, and partial coördination of financial matters under the governor and the finance commissioner were real achievements. The governor was given power to propose fiscal bills to the state legislature, and in theory was made the real head of state government by the code act, but the act did not go far enough.

MORE REORGANIZATION NEEDED

The partial and half-hearted reorganization of 1931 should be revised and extended, in order to make the governor the real, responsible head of state affairs, and to provide him with the proper machinery and staff to carry out his duties. No complete reorganization and coördination of Maine government has taken place since statehood was achieved in 1820. Two score departments, commissions and other agencies form a ramshackle structure, lines of authority and responsibility are vague, varying and often conflicting functions overlap, laws are ambiguous, and few officials have a clear knowledge of their own powers and duties, or the degree of control possessed over subordinates. State liquor stores, unemployment compensation, and old-age assistance are new functions which have not been properly organized or coördinated with older departments. After careful study, the structure of administration should be simplified and coördinated and lines of authority and responsibility clarified.

The check and balance system works so efficiently in Maine that responsibility is lost along with authority. A few examples of archaic underbrush that should be cut away will illustrate the point. The governor's council of seven is selected biennially by the legislature from seven council districts. It holds frequent meetings, and, in effect, serves as a third house in continuous session.

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[1] For a summary of the provisions and accomplishments of the act see: "Maine's Administrative Code." By E. F. Dow, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, September 1931.

Its powers over finance and appointments are considerable, and a weak Republican governor, or a Democrat, may be almost wholly at the mercy of the Republican-controlled council. The political power and prestige of the council is attested by the eagerness with which men seek membership. Moreover, members often "graduate" to well paid administrative positions.

GOVERNOR'S POWERS RESTRICTED

The governor's responsibility and authority should not be hampered by a legislatively selected council. However, the complexity of modern administration demands so much from an executive that he should have expert advice and assistance. Maine might well study the legislative council as used in Kansas and several other states. Through a permanent research staff such a body could study major problems, prepare information, and draft proposed legislation. The legislature could then devote much of its time to a study of the proposals submitted, with a great deal of the technical study and spade work taken off its hands. Freed in this way, the legislature could concentrate on policy rather than on confusing details, and could hope to reach reasoned and reasonable conclusions on such matters as reorganization, tax reform, and other subjects of pressing moment which appear to baffle it periodically. The governor would have as much influence with the council as his abilities warranted, but could in no sense decide legislative policy. On the administrative side, the council might advise the governor at his request, but could not control his administrative acts. He would always have the privilege of calling in department heads, individually or as a "cabinet," for advice and assistance in administration.

The governor is seriously checked in those departments where he has no power of appointment. The heads of agriculture, state, law, and treasury are elected by the legislature for fixed terms. It is unfair to hold a governor responsible for officials whom he cannot control, yet that is exactly what our check and balance system purports to do. If the constitution were amended to abolish the governor's council as it now exists, and to make all department heads appointed by the governor, we should be taking a forward step. The four departments named should be reorganized and coördinated with other units. Anomalous and overlapping functions should be dropped or redistributed. For example, various taxes are collected by the attorney-general and secretary of state, instead of the tax assessor.

Other improvements could be made in the organization and procedures of the finance department, the budget system, and the auditor's office. Clear, brief reports should be issued for the information of the people and the legislature. There is always danger in prescribing too minutely in such matters, and it is doubtful if the accounting forms should be specified in detail, as has been suggested by some persons. Detail is not a substitute for honesty and competence, and may result in handcuffing an administrator with obsolete or unworkable regulations.

Numerous speaking engagements, social and political duties, cut heavily into the governor's time, rendering his attention to administrative supervision entirely inadequate. Perhaps he should be given one or more administrative assistants to act as business managers. Or we might well apply the city manager idea, and set up a state manager as administrative head.

LAX OBSERVANCE OF LAW

2. *Have the laws, including the code, been enforced?* There are many reasons to doubt if the wording and spirit of the reorganization act of 1931 have been understood or applied. Many instances of misinterpretation or misapplication have been cited in Maine newspapers during April and May of 1940. These incidents apparently involve several departments, but until fully set forth and authenticated cannot be cited as fact.

Enough has now been brought out to show that the word and spirit or intent of a law must be carried out if the law is to work, and that men and motives may nullify good laws. When a controller, who is forbidden to handle funds, is allowed to do so, when certain accounts supposed to be audited are not audited, when department heads are given no choice of subordinates whom they are supposed to select, and when a subordinate supplants his department head in authority as well as in salary, the law is evidently not being observed. Charges on these scores are being circulated freely, and in some instances derelictions have long been known or suspected.

3. *Have competent officials been chosen for the state service?* There is no reason for poor administration more fundamental or more frequently overlooked in Maine than patronage in appointments. The legislature of 1931 cut the heart out of reorganization when it refused to pass a civil service act. Six years later, in 1937, the present act was signed. It is in some respects a weak measure, although all the legislature would accept. If or when the law is fully in force, it will still exempt certain major units, and all higher officials. Maine has not had a governor or legislature in ardent support of a merit system. Lower positions have usually been filled by spoils appointees. Higher offices have often been filled by persons who have served in the legislature, perhaps after that in the governor's council.

Competence has been a minor or negligible consideration in all too many cases, and downright and obvious incompetence has not barred those with political influence. That we have had so many honest and competent officials is a tribute to human nature and not to the system of selection. The act of 1937 should be extended and fully enforced. While there may be debate as to how near the top the merit system should go, it cannot be argued that department and bureau heads should escape responsibility because of lack of competence or ignorance of what goes on in their departments, or because they are political appointees.

4. *Is the Republican party in Maine at fault?* Maine is generally Republican, and has been since 1840. On the rare occasions when it elects

a Democrat as governor, it returns a Republican majority to the legislature. In some sessions the state senate, with thirty-three members, has no Democrats, while the House with 151 members will have a mere handful of Democrats. One Republican faction is sometimes referred to as the "Kennebec gang," and is said to be in power frequently. It is not so much the fault of the Republican party *per se,* as of those who vote Republican from tradition, inheritance or group loyalty.

A one-party state, whatever the label of the party, is not politically healthy. There is no strong opposition, and the function of criticism and the provision of an alternative program are noticeably absent. Republicanism in Maine does not lack its party feuds and factions, but these interparty bickerings do not provide a substitute for a strong opposition party. One party, in power over long periods, is almost sure to grow careless and even corrupt, so long as there is no strong public demand for a change.

Conclusions. The code act of 1931 is not responsible for corrupt and inefficient government at Augusta, but many of the conditions which led to the act are still in existence and should be remedied. Further reorganization and centering of responsibility are needed. The laws should be enforced in letter and spirit. Above all, the voters must demand reform, including the selection of competent administrators. Until there is an aroused and effective public opinion, political chickens will continue to come home to roost, as they have been doing for decades. The solution rests with the public and the legislature. A legislative investigation followed by remedial legislation would be a proper beginning.

In a republic like ours the people will never get better government than they are capable of creating. In the final analysis, a government by the people is just what the people make it to be, so the place to begin is with the individual citizen. . . . There is no more crying need in America today than that of returning local government to the people by making it easier for the citizens to participate and more difficult for the professional politicians to control.

JOHN W. ESTERLINE, President of the Indianapolis Citizens' Council, in address before Indianapolis Rotary Club.

A Civics Course for Today

Why can we not use civic education to achieve the same worthy end in our local communities as we have used it in the past in connection with our national government?

By JESSE J. PUGH
Supervisor of Civic Education, Zanesville, Ohio

O*UR Community in Action,* a civics course for ninth grade students in Zanesville, Ohio, was written on the assumption that the pupil of junior high school age needs to become more intimately acquainted with the problems of his immediate community.

What is to be the destiny of the American community? This is a question which today challenges sociologists and students of government alike. We hear many explanations for the tendency of the modern American local government to lose the well integrated character by which early American community life was characterized.

Certain it is that, whatever the explanation, there is in the average American municipality a growing lack of community spirit on the part of its citizens. Unfortunately, as the economic and political independence of the community has decreased with changing conditions, there seems to have been a corresponding loss of independence in a moral sense. It is chiefly because of this lack of moral independence, or integrity, that we find the local unit of government depending more and more upon the state or federal government for those services which it should be able to render itself. In dealing with crime, in caring for the poor, and in raising taxes for the support of schools and the construction of streets, we find the city or village becoming more and more inclined to shift responsibility to higher levels of government.

Unfortunately, most of our civics work in the schools has been too greatly concerned with national government at the expense of local issues. The result is that we frequently encounter the rather amusing situation of the pupil who can recite glibly the names of the members of the United States Supreme Court, but who cannot give the names of the council members of his own town. In almost any classroom in the country we can find members of civics classes discussing the latest issues before Congress, but in all too few do we find them discussing such matters of local importance as better fire equipment, improvements in playgrounds and parks, or the better regulation of local traffic. These are the things toward which the attention of our pupils must be directed if we are to make any headway in the improvement of our towns and cities.

Civics textbooks have ordinarily been of little if any help in the achievement of such a purpose. It is true, of course, that most of the textbooks now on the market give attention to local affairs, but their treatment of the topic is usually too general to be effective. What is needed is a treatment of local affairs which is aimed not toward what is conceived to be the average community, but toward one community in particular.

In our work in Zanesville we have made an attempt to bring before the pupil examples of the particular sort of problems which the adults of his community face. Our course is organized around three main classes of problems: (1) those concerned with local welfare, (2) those dealing with civic betterment, and (3) those related strictly to government.

COMMUNITY PROBLEMS DISCUSSED

One outstanding feature of this course is that the work of the classroom is, wherever possible, made to coincide with the issues which are at the moment facing the adult members of the community. Thus, our study of welfare work is so arranged as to receive major emphasis at exactly the same time that the adults of the community are working on the community chest drive. Pupils are directed to a thorough study of the history and purposes of charitable giving and the various systems by which funds for this purpose are dispensed. Attention to the details of the organization of our own and other community chests is included as part of this study. Frequent visits to local welfare institutions are made for the purpose of gathering information.

Moreover, pupils take part in activities which provide opportunity for actual induction into this particular community activity. One of these is a community fund drive in the civics classes in which money is solicited from pupils by means of an organization built essentially on the lines of the local community fund campaign. On another occasion the civics pupils, with the help of the teachers, after making a careful study of the local community fund, drew up a manual of questions and answers on community chests which was mimeographed in quantities and made available to the general public.

Every year, during the time of the community fund drive, a speakers' bureau is organized among high school seniors, and from this bureau speakers are sent out to make short talks for the community fund. Some of them visit local theatres and speak during changes of performances; others visit the various elementary schools of Zanesville; while still others visit the consolidated schools of the outlying county.

The radio station of Zanesville plays an important part in our civics program. The management of this station encourages school participation and pupils of the various civics classes put on programs from time to time which have much value from a local civic standpoint. The newspapers also come into the picture by giving publicity to various school civic projects. Such publicity has stimulated no little rivalry on the part of the teachers in trying out new procedures.

In the classroom the work is conducted largely on the laboratory plan, with due allowance for variations in the abilities and interests of the pupils. The course of study has been arranged with sufficient flexibility to permit both teachers and pupils to draw upon their originality and imagination. In addition to doing the minimum assignments, pupils are encouraged to work on extra projects for which they secure additional recognition in the way of marks.

CIVIC GROUPS STUDIED

The study of local institutions comprises the core of our civics program. Not only are local welfare organizations under this category, but various business, civic, financial, and industrial organizations are likewise included. For example, the work of the Chamber of Commerce, both as a national and as a local unit, is given considerable study. Due to the scarcity of school literature on the latter organization, it was necessary to prepare special pamphlets which explained the work of the Chamber of Commerce in language that junior high school pupils could understand.

Quite as important in this connection is the study of labor organizations. Local labor representatives have made important suggestions for the course of study and a considerable quantity of literature concerning the labor movement is being used in the classroom.

In connection with their work on local government, pupils are directed not only to the study of the local situation as such, but are likewise encouraged to see how our own local government compares with the governments of other communities. Under local government, city, county, and township units are included. The various setups of each local government are studied, so that the student will have opportunity to decide for himself which kind is more suitable to the needs of his community. In the case of city government, the city manager and commission forms receive attention along with the more traditional mayor-council form. The study of local government is made as realistic as possible, the pupil being given the opportunity to see its defects as well as its good points.

Because of the importance of the subject, the matter of better housing has been given a place in our civics course. In this connection pupils are directed to a study of the acute situation presented by the rented houses of the city, the vast majority of which are considered substandard dwelling units. An interesting body of data on the subject has been made available through a federal housing project recently undertaken in the community.

What is considered the most significant feature of our new course of study is the stimulation that it gives to the student to do original thinking on civic problems. As an example of the type of work done in the classroom, the following projects involving local civic needs are submitted:

Building and plumbing inspection
Public rest rooms
Regulation of signs and awnings
New school buildings
Playgrounds and parks
Better housing
Municipal auditorium
Beautification of city approaches
Better garbage disposal
Smoke elimination
Street cleaning
Food inspection
Restaurant inspection
New fire equipment
Street improvements
City water softeners
Elimination of Dug Road hazard

Tuberculosis sanitarium
Refuse containers for streets
Tax revenue increase for local government.

It is interesting to note that, when asked to rate these items in the order of their importance, civics pupils placed them in the same order as had a group of leading citizens who had also been asked to rate the items.

It is for the purpose of stimulating critical thinking on problems that many of the questions being used in our new civics course are questions without definite answers. What is your opinion concerning this policy, or what do you think should be done in a case of this sort, are examples of the questions which are being made to replace many of the usual factual questions. We believe that the pupil who will some day be called on to use his judgment on civic issues cannot be expected to use that judgment effectively unless he has had previous experience in so doing. The civics classroom is the proper place to acquire such experience.

Training for citizenship, as it was first conceived, was training in loyalty and patriotism to the national government.

It is natural that the early American educators should first think of civics as a means of teaching national patriotism. A heterogeneous people had to be welded together if our country were to grow and prosper. How to Americanize the immigrant is a problem that has always challenged those interested in American education. This is evident from the strong emphasis that civics textbooks have been inclined to give to the topic of naturalization. Moreover, the very greatness of the size of our country, composed as it is of forty-eight sovereign states representing every variety of sectional interest, could well have been expected to make many people conscious of the importance of teaching national solidarity in the school room.

COMMUNITY STUDY NEEDED

But today we find ourselves living in a strong nation, one which is as safe from the standpoint of solidarity as any now in existence. We have demonstrated in one hundred fifty years of history that democracy can stand the test of time. We have likewise taught the world how a variety of independent states can unite and form a great nation which lives in peace with itself.

Our local governments, on the other hand, have not acquired the strength and certainty of position that most of us would like to see them acquire. And our communities have lost much of their former solidarity. Why, we may ask, can we not use civic education to achieve the same worthy end in our local communities as we have used it in the past in connection with national government? This would not be a panacea for all of our local troubles, but it would go a long way toward their solution.

Dallas Weighs City-County Merger

Newspaper editor recounts advantages of unification of local governments; estimated savings of $200,000 possible under streamlined setup.

By LEWIS W. BAILEY
Editor, The Dallas Journal

TEXAS, by an amendment to its constitution, has made possible the merger of city and county government in counties of more than 62,000 population. The constitutional amendment applies to at least a dozen of the 254 counties that comprise the state. The legislature has passed an enabling act which sets up the procedure under which such mergers can be accomplished. By special act of the legislature the law may be made to apply to smaller counties.

The same constitutional amendment and "home rule act" permit the reorganization of county government. Under them any county in the state may abandon the outmoded government set up when Texas became a state, with its divided authority, its long ballot, and the opportunities it offers for buck-passing and confusion. Modification of the present system, or a county manager plan or commission government may be adopted, as each county may elect.

This amendment was adopted in 1933. One might think that within seven years some Texas counties would be operating thereunder. As a matter of fact, efforts have been made in a half dozen counties to establish home rule. But local opposition and the difficulties which the enabling act puts in the way of its application have made all efforts vain.

To adopt a home rule charter the votes of the urban and rural voters must be counted separately and each group of voters must give a majority in favor of the home rule charter. The difficulty of getting a majority both in city and county is apparent, especially with the traditional suspicion of rural residents that the cities are "trying to put something over on them."

Even more does this suspicion operate to defeat a favorable vote on merger of city and county governments.

The Texas home rule law provides further that the county may contract with the principal city in the county to perform some of the county functions for not more than two years at a time and may assume governmental or proprietary functions of a city.

With all of these possibilities, and despite years of discussion, there are no home rule county charters in effect in Texas and no mergers of city and county functions have been effected. And this despite the fact that city and county merger and the short ballot were advocated eighteen years ago in the League of Texas Municipalities by the then editor of *The Dallas Journal*, and that twelve years ago Dr. J. F. Kimball, former superintendent of Dallas public schools, in an admirable book on Dallas and its government which is used as a textbook in the Dallas public schools, pointed the advantage of combining city and county government.

More recently, difficulty in the joint operation of the city-county hospital system and in meeting the relief load have led this writer to make renewed editorial suggestions that merger of city and county government would relieve the situation. The editorials brought requests for further discussion of the subject from a number of local service clubs and questions and comment revealed a genuine interest and solid sentiment for merger. The Dallas organization of the League of Women Voters has been making a study of county government and is also interested in the possibility of merger.

BOROUGH PLAN CONSIDERED

In 1939 a movement was started by the Dallas Citizens Council, composed of more than one hundred major business executives, for a merger of Dallas, Highland Park, and University Park, the latter cities being suburbs of Dallas. The merger here proposed was to be effected by the adoption of a borough system which would leave a large degree of self-government to each. It seems that here might be a plan which would admit of adaptation and extension to the county. But officials of all three cities raised objection to some of the proposed provisions of the merger and the plan has never been brought to a vote of the citizens. Thus goes a-glimmering this possibility.

Some of the advantages of merger of city and county governments as revealed in Dallas County—and would be paralleled elsewhere—follow:

LARGE SAVINGS POSSIBLE

Under county government the county judge and commissioners court cost about $30,000 a year, and have only partial control over the expenditure of three and a half million dollars annually. Dallas' city manager and city council cost $28,000 a year and administer expenditures totaling $11,000,000. For little more than the $30,000 which is paid the county judge and commissioners court a county manager and county council could administer the responsibilities of the entire area of Dallas County, including incorporated cities.

The office of county tax assessor and collector is given $157,000 a year to assess and collect state and county taxes for the entire county, including the cities therein. The city of Dallas expends a little over $92,000 on the office of tax assessor and collector, and each other municipality in the county duplicates the work of the county assessor and collector.

The county auditor's department expends $47,000 a year in checking the handling of the three and a half million dollars of county tax collections and fees and the money collected for the state. The city auditor's department is allowed $28,000 a year for the rendering of a similar service over the expenditure of $11,000,000. A substantial saving could be made here in the merger of city and county.

The budget and finance department of the county spends $65,000 annually—including the maintenance of the three county buildings. The administration and budget department of the city spends $25,000 a year.

The policing of the city costs $682,000 a year, and no policeman may step over the city line to make an arrest. The sheriff's department spends $187,000 annually and can function in law enforcement in city and county. Between these two departments friction often arises, though the present administrations are functioning harmoniously. The sheriff also has state duties in connection with the courts and is business manager of the jail.

Health services and aid to the needy have been merged after a fashion, though each maintains an administrative setup which might well be consolidated. And here, also, friction frequently occurs. It rises in nearly every administration over city and county hospital administration.

These are some of the points of contact and duplication where better and more economical government would result with a unified city-county government.

The judicial system maintained under the control of the state would continue to be operated as now, but election at the same time as city-county officials would reduce the cost of elections.

But the functions of sheriff, county clerk, county treasurer, tax assessor and collector, and other administrative activities could be administered by appointees of a council and the elected council would then be directly responsible for each department of the county government outside the courts.

The economies effected by a merger and streamlining of city-county government might well reach more than $200,000 a year.

The extension of metropolitan services to outlying areas would be expedited. The incorporated communities would find that the central purchasing system would effect economies for them, that utility rates would be lower.

FINANCIAL ADJUSTMENTS

The biggest problem in connection with a city and county merger would involve assessment for taxes. A home assessed at $2,000 in the city will pay $49.80 city taxes. One valued at $2,000 in the county will pay $14.60 taxes.

Some subdivisions of the county are under contract one way or another for most of the services city dwellers have. But the cost of owning a suburban home is on the whole lower than in the city. And most of the farms, of course, have none of the urban services except as provided by individually-owned equipment. The fear of the rural areas is that their tax values will be raised to approach city levels and the city tax rate applied. If the state abandons collection of ad valorem taxes, leaving such taxes to the counties and cities, and raising state money by specific taxes, then this problem would be solved.

A large item in the city tax bill is the debt service. And the rural dweller should not be expected to help pay debts incurred to give city dwellers services not extended to the rural dweller except as those services are extended to his home.

The difference between city and county taxes illustrated above does not represent a true picture of the cost of government. About 43 per cent of city taxes goes for debt service while the county has a deficit of about one million dollars in its general fund—this fund is obtained by a mandatory levy of twenty-five cents on each tax dollar, which may not be exceeded. Under a home rule charter the mandatory levies set up in the constitution would be inoperative and the county could apportion its tax collections as need demanded. This would obviate accumulation of unneeded funds for highway building and other uses if a tax rate were fixed high enough to meet the needs of the general fund.

It is interesting also to note that while the county accumulates floating indebtedness the city is retiring its indebtedness rapidly. City Manager James W. Aston says it will be possible for Dallas to clear all of its indebtedness and be on a pay-as-you-go basis within thirty years. Even while he is making this assertion a reduction in the Dallas tax rate is contemplated. Thus it may be seen that the difference between city and county taxes will be gradually reduced and make less difficult the fixing of tax differentials which would make merger attractive to the rural areas.

The 1938 population of Dallas County was estimated at 344,000. It will probably run well over 400,000 under the new census. The 1930 census gave the city of Dallas 260,000 population. It will probably be 350,000 under the new census. Thus it is apparent that only a small proportion of the population lives outside the corporate area which pays both city and county taxes. Moreover, the number of incorporated cities and villages outside Dallas cuts this down still further. To be sure, a great deal of farm land is owned by city and village dwellers.

Inevitably, the day is coming, and perhaps soon, when a merger of city and county government may be possible. But it is quite likely that before merger is effected a home rule charter, under which the county will have a streamlined government, with a county manager and a short ballot, will be in effect.

Denver Consolidation a Shining Light

City-county unification stands up under test of time; represents "the ideal toward which the people of a metropolitan community should ultimately aim."

By MAYO FESLER, Director
The Citizens' League of Cleveland

IF ANY citizen is seeking an illustration of the advantages which city-county consolidation brings to an urban community, all that he needs to do is to visit Denver, Colorado, inquire closely into the administration of her unified city and county government, and talk with her business men and citizens as the author of this article has done.

The advantages are apparent in the city of Denver in many ways: in the organization of the government for administrative purposes, the generally high quality of her administration, the relatively low cost of her city-county government, the ease with which the voters can have a full understanding of their government, and the settled satisfaction of her people with the economical and efficient administration of local affairs in the city-county.

One can approach a critical examination of Denver's government from whatever point of view desired and the evidence of its general high quality is there. Analyze budget appropriations and expenditures and only two budgets will be found, the city-county budget and the school budget. Even in the days of the depression the city-county budget was kept in balance, because with one government and one budget real control could be exercised. Compare the personnel by departments with other cities and it will be found generally less in numbers, because employees are used interchangeably by the departments. Examine the unified purchasing system which this centralized form of government makes possible, and the results obtained will be found to be uniformly satisfactory. The businesslike conduct of her water supply system will show a self-sustaining public utility, exceptionally well managed, on a sound financial basis, and with adequate funds to permit an expansion under great engineering difficulties.

CITIZENS WELL SATISFIED

In short, this consolidated, highly centralized, but simple form of administration set up in Denver's home rule charter has resulted in giving the city and county of Denver for a period of nearly twenty-five years, an economical, efficient, and well balanced government—so satisfactory to her people that there is practically no demand for a change—although, to an outsider, some changes might seem to be desirable.

We do not mean to imply perfection in this situation. Democracy has not yet advanced to a state of perfection in Denver. The merit system is not observed. The spoils system still prevails in appointments.

The budget is not in the best form: it could be greatly improved. And there is, no doubt, inefficient administration in many places not apparent to the average citizen. But a general survey of her government convinces one that Denver holds high place among local governments in this country in her ability, under centralized government, to give economical and efficient administration.

CONSOLIDATION SECURED

In the period prior to 1900, Denver was suffering from the same ills which then plagued most American cities, in that it was being used as a pawn in the political game by partisanly controlled legislatures. Frequent changes were made by the legislature in its form of government without consulting the wishes of the authorities or the people of Denver. In 1893 the legislature had given the city a board or semi-commission form of government in an effort to free its administration from partisan control, inspired by well entrenched public utility interests. But it worked badly at best, so badly that in 1901 there was enough public sentiment against it to enable the leaders to secure submission of a constitutional amendment (art. XX), which was adopted in 1902. This amendment gave the city not only municipal home rule but consolidated the city and county into a single municipal corporation to be known as the City and County of Denver. The boundaries of the city and county were made coterminous, all city and county administrative offices were combined, and the people of Denver were authorized to elect a charter commission to frame a new city-county charter of its own.

THE COURTS INTERFERE

The story of the struggle in the courts, and the efforts of its opponents to have this consolidated plan of local government declared unconstitutional, is an interesting story in itself, but it is not germane at this time. Suffice it to say that after some fifteen years of litigation and a complete reversal on the part of the Colorado Supreme Court in two major cases, the courts finally sustained the amendment in 1916 and the city found itself at last entirely free to adopt its own charter and to administer its own local city and county affairs without interference from the legislature.

ROBERT W. SPEER AS MAYOR

One of the mayors in that period of change, who had much to do with the later development of Denver and its present effective charter, was Robert W. Speer, who held office for two terms beginning with 1904. In 1916, at the time of the final ruling of the courts holding that Denver was free to frame a charter of its own consolidating the city and county into a single municipal corporation, Mr. Speer was out of the municipal picture but active in state politics. The city had been experiencing the failure of the commission form for a period of three or four years, so a group of business and professional men urged former Mayor Speer to run again for the office of mayor. He consented to do so, but only on condition that the people would approve a charter which he himself would write, and which would name him in the charter as the first mayor under the new consolidated government. This, he said, would enable him to complete the task which he had begun back in 1904-12 and which he was unable to complete because of the changes in politics. His conditional requirement was accepted and the charter was framed in conformity with his ideas.

The charter was vigorously attacked as a scheme of the former mayor to establish a dictatorship. It did centralize administrative authority in the mayor as probably no other city charter in the country had done up to that time; but the people had such confidence in their former mayor, or at least he was so strong politically, that they adopted the charter which called for the appointment of Mr. Speer again as mayor.

CITY-COUNTY CHARTER

The major features of this new plan of government were briefly as follows:

a. A city-county consolidated unit with boundaries coterminous—the remainder of the original large county being left intact as the county of Arapahoe.

b. A complete consolidation of city and county functions and offices, and the abolition of all county administrative offices except that of sheriff, which was a constitutional office not abolished by the constitutional amendment.

c. The consolidation of twelve separate school districts in the county into one district, with boundaries coterminous with the county, but administered by a school board separate from the city-county government.

d. A city council of nine members elected on a nonpartisan single choice ballot from single-membered districts.

e. An elected mayor with authority to name the "managers" (directors or heads) of five major departments, and the subordinates in all departments and offices.

f. The five departments are:
  (1) Department of Revenue,
  (2) Department of Improvements and Parks,
  (3) Department of Health and Charity,
  (4) Department of Safety and Excise,
  (5) Department of Law.

g. Several commissions and boards such as art commission and library board, appointed by the mayor.

h. A separate water board, appointed by the mayor. The water system was purchased from a private company some years after the charter was adopted.

i. An independently elected auditor to keep all accounts, scrutinize all expenditures and audit the books of all departments.

j. Initiative, referendum, and recall provisions.

k. No civil service provisions except for the police and fire departments.

The charter is not, of course, a model document in all respects; yet the framework of the new government was constructed on sound administrative principles, and it has worked so satisfactorily that there is no demand for any substantial change. Even when it was suggested that Denver was an ideal city for the most effective use of the city manager plan of government, the reply was, "We have in effect a city manager government only we elect the manager."

Mayor Speer, in framing the charter, was guided by the principle which he enunciated in the following words:

> I believe in the concentration of all administrative power in the hands of one official. It fixes the responsibility for good or bad government, for then you know whom to praise and whom to blame. Large powers can safely be granted where you have a recall in the hands of the people.

Mayor Speer was one of those vigorous, constructive municipal statesmen who once in a generation come to the political front out of a sense of duty or sheer loyalty to his city, or because of his interest in politics, and leaves a deep impress on the future of the city.

Unfortunately, he lived only two years after the installation of his charter; but his work was so well done, and the principles which he established have been so firmly imbedded in administration, that others are carrying on the work which he inaugurated. He embodied what he had preached and practiced when he said:

> One of the most neglected ways in which people can make themselves bigger and better is by helping to make the city in which they live more attractive.

He has certainly done that, as the evidence will show in the form of extensive parks, dignified public buildings, an attractive civic center, and municipal statuary on every triangle. The new courthouse and city hall, over whose portals are the words, "The City and County of Denver," embodies the spirit of this centralized community control.

OPERATING COSTS

But after all, the test of the quality of any form of government is found in its practical operation. And the first question propounded by the taxpayer is "does it operate economically?" This is always a relative question, and can never be answered catagorically. The functions which the city performs, the area over which they are performed, and the handicaps in the way of their performance must be taken into consideration—for example, Denver had to tunnel through a mountain to obtain an adequate water supply and the city-county maintains a magnificent system of mountain parks of 15,000 acres. However, business men and active members of civic and commercial organizations consulted were all agreed that relatively speaking, Denver's city-county government is economically administered. The chairman of the Chamber of Commerce Tax Expenditure Committee, R. B. Mayo, president of a prominent auditing firm, expressed it this way:

> It is impossible to make an accurate statement of the savings resulting from consolidation, because we are too far away from the time when city and county were separate. But if we were to go back to the old separate city and county governments and place another government on top of our present city government, we would add, in my opinion, to our present costs just about the cost of that additional layer of government. Our present form is so much better that an additional layer of government would be sheer waste.

Mr. Mayo's statement was confirmed by similar statements from a score of officials and informed citizens.

An attempt was made in 1917, one

year after the Speer charter went into effect, by Professor William B. Guthrie of the College of the City of New York, to estimate "Relative Expenses Before and After Consolidation." His figures showed a total operating expenditure of the county administrative offices to have been $679,100 in 1911, when consolidation first took effect; and the 1917 appropriations for the administration of those same functions under the Speer charter to be $476,600 or a reduction of about one-third in the cost of operation.

TRANSFER OF OFFICES AND FUNCTIONS

The following table will indicate how the offices and functions were transferred by the consolidation of city and county:

County Administrative Offices and Functions	*Performed By—Under Consolidation*
Five County Commissioners	President City Council Manager of Revenue, and Manager of Improvement and Parks
Denver County General Hospital	Manager of Health and Charity
County Coroner and Poor Relief	Manager of Health and Charity
County Roads and Bridges	Manager of Improvements and Parks
Sheriff and County Jail	Manager of Safety and Excise
County Treasurer	Manager of Revenue
County Assessor	Manager of Revenue
County Clerk and Recorder	City Clerk
County Attorney	City and County Attorney
County Surveyor	City and County Engineer

Practically all of these city-county officers to whom county functions were transferred are appointed by the mayor. Thus administrative control is effectively centralized.

Speaking of the benefits of simplification and consolidation, Mr. S. D. Wilson, research and tax consultant, formerly the city's chief accountant, said:

> The city-county consolidation permits centralized budget control and results in a balanced budget. It also results in a clear and clean government, because responsibility for administration is fixed on one man, the mayor, and the voters know whom to hold responsible.

Mr. Wilson called attention to many of the economical features, especially the flexibility in the use of departmental employees. For example, the men in the department of revenue are used in assessing work in the spring. Then in the fall they are busy in the treasurer's office collecting taxes. There is departmental interchange of service in practically all departments.

Professor Clem Collins, Dean of the School of Commerce of the University of Denver, manager of revenue for eight years said:

> Denver's city-county government is administered about as economically as it can be. The people like the centralized responsibility and authority because it affords a simple, direct, and easily understandable government to the average citizen.

Denver, a city-county of 320,000 population, has a highly centralized government—it is the ideal toward which the people of a metropolitan community should ultimately aim.

Philadelphia's City-County Dilemma

Eighty-six-year-old consolidation act so modified by later constitution and court decisions that the city-county needs new amendment for effective consolidation.

By **FREDERICK P. GRUENBERG**
Philadelphia

While a Justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court once wrote: "The distinction between the county of Philadelphia and the city of Philadelphia is, from any point of view, of the most technical and shadowy kind, and . . . has no existence except in theory . . . ,"[1] from the vantage of practical politics and from the aspect of better public administration the distinctions are often somewhat less than shadowy.

OF THE half-dozen city-county consolidations in the United States usually regarded as more or less effectively accomplished, the unification of Philadelphia is an early example. The legislative act which accomplished the consolidation is over eighty-six years old,[2] and while it has been amended here and there through the years, it still stands as the law.[3]

To understand the Philadelphia situation it must be made clear initially that the act of consolidation was passed by the Pennsylvania legislature prior to the adoption of the present state constitution which became effective in 1874. Prior to the 1874 constitution the General Assembly had the power to pass special and local laws. Hence, the act of 1854 applied specifically to Philadelphia. Under the constitution as it now stands, however, the power of the legislature to pass special and local laws is sharply restricted so that under the "new" constitution, legislation applicable solely to Philadelphia avoids the stigma of "special and local law" by being made to apply to cities or to counties of the first class—of which classes Philadelphia has always been the only member.[4]

The constitution of 1874 also enumerated a string of county officers,[5] which was considered later as having the effect of undoing those provisions of the act of consolidation which had abolished the county commissioners, county treasurer, and county controller in Philadelphia. Later the legislature provided that "the . . . city treasurer, city controller, city commissioners shall be severally regarded as county officers."[6] This was later construed by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court which said that the constitution of 1874 had made county officers of the "city" treasurer and the "city" controller.[7]

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[1] Minority opinion of Mr. Justice Mitchell in *Commonwealth* v. *Oellers,* 140 Pa. 457 (1891), p. 472.

[2] Act of February 2, 1854, P. L. 21.

[3] For a more complete discussion of this problem see *The City & County of Philadelphia, A Discussion of Their Legal Relations,* by Clarence G. Shenton, Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, 1923. Although a few minor changes have occurred since its publication, this compact little volume is an excellent guide to the reader desiring fuller information on the subject.

[4] Philadelphia and Pittsburgh are both school districts of the first class. School districts are largely autonomous tax-levying local governments a fuller consideration of which is not possible in this brief paper, and is not essential to this discussion.

[5] Constitution of Pennsylvania, Art. XIV, sec. 1.

The county functionaries continue to serve the city as well as the county, and no legislative action or judicial interpretation has gone so far as to deprive the city council of its rôle as tax-levying and appropriating body for the consolidated city-county, which functions the act of 1854 vested in the city councils—then a two-chambered municipal legislature, later replaced by a single city council by the present Philadelphia charter.[8]

The same act of 1854 made all debt of the county the city debt, as well as making all property of the county the property of the city. On the whole, the act of consolidation was a well conceived, well drafted measure which if not later modified would have made as complete a job of city-county consolidation as could reasonably be desired.

As the primary fiscal functions of tax-levying, appropriations, and debt are unified why has there long been agitation in Philadelphia for more effective city-county consolidation?

There are a number of reasons, but the outstanding criticisms of the present city-county status are these:

(1) Absence of centralized administrative control;
(2) Limitations, real or presumed, on fiscal control of county departments;
(3) Inability to apply the merit system and centralized purchasing to the county departments.

ABSENCE OF ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL

Philadelphia's city government has for over fifty years operated under a strong-mayor plan. The Bullitt charter of 1885 corrected the diffusion of administrative responsibility and the present Woodward charter of 1919 retained the strong-mayor features. The county departments, however, are headed by numerous separately elected officials who, while receiving their appropriations from city council, based on budget estimates submitted through the mayor, are protected by state laws giving them wide discretion on their personnel and in many cases fixing mandatory salaries.

While the mayor is the head of the combined city-county government, and the council the sole local legislative body, the tendency has been to regard the county officials each as coördinate with rather than subordinate to the municipality's chief executive. The majority of the county officials perform purely ministerial functions and have little or no policy-determining character, so there is no argument for their present popular election and the incidental disadvantage of the long ballot is obvious.

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[6] Act of March 31, 1876, P. L. 13, sec. 17.

[7] *Taggart* v. *Commonwealth,* 102 Pa. 354 (1883); *Commonwealth* v. *Oellers,* 140 Pa. 457 (1891).

[8] Act of June 25, 1919, P. L. 581.

Closely linked with the absence of administrative control is the real or presumed limitation on the fiscal control of the county departments by mayor and council. While the statutes providing for budget and appropriation procedures of the unified city-county government require the heads of county departments to submit their annual budget requests to the mayor, as is required of the heads of the city departments, and the mayor may make his recommendations to council when transmitting his executive budget, the actual treatment of county budgets has, as a rule, been different from that accorded city departments.

Due in part to statutes giving county departments wide powers to determine the number of their employees and to fix their salaries, and as stated above, to some instances of salaries in county departments fixed by state law, but more to a long tradition of acquiescence by mayors and councils, the financial and administrative autonomy of the county departments has continued through the years.

A merit system has applied to the city government (except for the Department of Receiver of Taxes) since 1906 with varying degrees of effectiveness during the years, and a rather well developed system of centralized purchasing exists for those departments known as city departments. These more modern techniques of administration do not apply to the county departments whose operations are not trammeled by such considerations as selection of employees from civil service eligible lists, protection of their employees' tenure from political interference, or prohibitions against political activity. Indeed, it is this very political freedom which exists in the county that explains the continuance of a distinction for which there can be no argument from the point of view of the taxpayer or from that of the administrator seeking to do a good job.

WHERE THE DIFFICULTY LIES

As has been pointed out, Philadelphia City and Philadelphia County were unified by a legislative act applicable to both city and county. Legislation enacted since the present constitution became effective has had to be circumspectly worded so as not to offend the prohibition against local legislation. Hence we have had laws affecting counties of the first class and a considerable number affecting cities of the first class. Although Philadelphia is the only municipality concerned, it is never mentioned by name in these acts, and the draftsman must avoid a wording that would apply to a unified city-county.

For a long time Philadelphia citizens interested in better local government have felt that the distinction which has been kept alive between city and county has militated against efficiency, responsibility, and visibility. The best authorities agree that as the constitution stands little can be done to remedy the situation, even were the legislature so disposed.

In 1920 a commission was appointed by Governor Sproul to consider a program for complete constitutional revision. Dr. William

(Continued on Page 395)

County Purchasing Methods Reviewed

Recent questionnaire survey demonstrates that with few exceptions present county purchasing regulations leave much to be desired.

By **ROBERT A. MARTINO**
National Bureau of Standards

IN AN effort to obtain as much data as possible concerning purchasing methods employed by counties throughout the country, and in order to determine in what way the National Bureau of Standards can be of assistance to these tax-supported agencies in solving their purchasing problems, a questionnaire survey was undertaken several months ago.

The official in charge of purchasing in each of the 3,070 counties in the forty-eight states was sent a questionnaire requesting information on the establishment of a purchasing agency; method of appointing a purchasing agent, whether by civil service or otherwise; extent of purchasing for county agencies; indications as to whether purchases are made on contracts based on written specifications or by trade-name or brand; how standards and specifications are formulated; the adoption and use of specifications of national technical organizations and those of the federal government; arrangements made for testing samples submitted with bids and samples of deliveries; the maintenance of testing laboratories by counties; and the use made of the facilities of college or university testing laboratories.

A total of 1,177 replies were received from counties in every state of the union, except Delaware. Of this number, 430 were not considered because of failure to give any information of value. The present report is based, therefore, on 747 returns from as many different counties, or approximately 25 per cent of the total number.

The survey shows that the delegation of authority given to counties to make purchases of equipment, materials, and supplies needed by them for the operation of their governments is derived from acts passed by the state legislatures.

In Alabama many of the counties are operating under the uniform system of accounting and reporting act passed by the legislature in 1935.

Replies from California indicate that twenty-one counties have established agencies in accordance with the state political code, which authorizes boards of supervisors in each county to employ a purchasing agent.

The Los Angeles County charter makes brief use of the authorization granted in the political code with reference to the establishment of a purchasing agent as a Los Angeles County officer. The Board of Supervisors of the county has in turn established a number of rules and regulations applying to the conduct of the purchasing agent. He is responsible only to the Board of Supervisors and no limitation is placed on the amount which can be purchased nor is detail established in the purchasing procedure.

Under the budget law of the state of Nebraska provision is made for the appointment of county purchasing agents, such appointment being discretionary with the county commissioners in each county. Of the state's ninety-three counties only one reported that it had appointed such a purchasing agent.

An act passed by the General Assembly of Tennessee in 1939 providing for centralization, consolidation, and coördination of county administrative affairs creates in all counties of the state having a population of not more than 10,200, nor less than 10,100 a board of county commissioners who shall perform certain specific duties including purchasing for county requirements.

STATE PROVISIONS

Commissioners' courts in Texas correspond to boards of county commissioners or supervisors of counties in other states. In some counties purchases are usually made by the county judge who is appointed by the court to do the buying. In other counties the buying is done by the county auditor in accordance with a state act governing counties.

The revised statutes of Utah (1933) relative to the creation of purchasing departments in counties states: "The board of county commissioners in each county having an assessed valuation in excess of $100,000,000 may appoint a county purchasing agent to serve during the pleasure of the board at a compensation to be fixed by it."

From replies received it is evident that only two counties, Juab and Salt Lake, have actually established such purchasing agencies. In other counties the boards of county commissioners administer to the needs of the counties.

The acts of the General Assembly of Virginia enacted in 1932 with respect to county purchasing provide in part as follows:

> The board of supervisors of every county in the state shall have power to employ a county purchasing agent or to designate some official or employee of the county to perform the duties herein provided, and to provide compensation for such service.

An act passed by the Wisconsin legislature relating to county officers acting as county purchasing agents states in part that the county board in each county:

> Except in counties of a population of two hundred fifty thousand or more, may appoint a person or committee as county purchasing agent, . . . and such person or member of such committee need not be a member of the county board but may be the county clerk, county treasurer, or any other county officer, and make appropriations for . . . their services. . . . When the cost of such supplies exceeds sixty dollars, the said purchasing agent shall in such manner as he shall deem best to secure the attention of probable bidders, invite proposals of similar standard supplies of equal quality, and shall purchase from the lowest reliable bidder. In counties having a population of two hundred fifty thousand or more, purchases shall be made for any or all of the offices, boards, departments, and commissions of said county in such manner and by such agency as the county board shall by ordinance provide for.

Similar acts, passed by legislatures of states not mentioned, empowering county boards or officials to perform certain functions and duties with respect to county purchasing, are undoubtedly in existence.

In a number of counties the official board functions as a unit and at times acts independently but generally in conjunction with the county highway department and the board of education. In smaller counties, where the amount to be purchased is not large, the official board authorizes the heads of departments and institutions to make ordinary purchases for their respective units. More frequently, however, the board assigns to one of its own members, or other county official such as the county clerk or the county auditor, the task of buying on a part-time basis in connection with his regular work.

SUPERVISING BOARD APPOINTS

In more than six hundred separate counties scattered throughout every state in the union, purchases are made either by the county clerk or some other individual appointed by the supervising board, subject to the approval of the board, or by the board itself. Other counties which have submitted replies, numbering approximately five hundred, stated that no purchasing agency was maintained and that purchasing is done by the heads of individual departments or institutions, many of which are subject to the approval of the county supervising board.

Different procedures exist from state to state. In Arkansas, in counties which maintain county courts, the county judge is designated as the official who does the buying for all purposes. Similarly, all purchasing for counties in Kentucky is under the supervision and control of county fiscal courts, and, in most instances, the county judge is authorized to make all purchases subject to the approval of the fiscal court.

Subdivisions corresponding to counties in other states are called parishes in Louisiana, the buying for which is generally done by or under the authority of the parish police juries.

Purchases in Oregon and West Virginia counties are made usually by the head of each department and approved by the county court in each county. In some cases the county court makes all purchases.

Centralized purchasing, defined by Dr. Russell Forbes, Commissioner of Purchase of New York City, as "the delegation to one office of the authority to buy supplies, materials, and equipment needed by all the operating branches of an organization," occurs in not more than seventy-five counties of the United States. From replies received California leads in the number of counties—eighteen—which have adopted centralized purchasing in accordance with the political code of that state. These are: Alameda, Butte, Contra Costa, Humboldt, Kings, Lassen, Los Angeles, Monterey, Orange, Riverside, San Bernardino, San Diego, San Francisco, San Luis Obispo, Santa Cruz, Stanislaus, Tulare, and Ventura.

In North Carolina county purchasing agents have been appointed in Beaufort, Cumberland, Davidson, Durham, Guilford, Haywood, Robeson, Rowan, and Rutherford.

Under an act passed by the legislature of Wisconsin relating to county officers acting as purchasing agents, county boards have appointed purchasing agents in Green Lake, Iron, Kenosha, Marquette, Polk, and Washburn Counties. Racine and Sheboygan Counties have also appointed purchasing agents but their purchases are limited to materials and supplies needed for courthouse purposes.

In seven counties in Ohio a full-time or part-time purchasing agent is employed for the purpose of buying for county needs. These are Cuyahoga, Geauga, Hamilton, Lorain, Lucas, Mahoning, and Stark.

CITY AND COUNTY COMBINE

Perhaps the outstanding system of centralized purchasing in Ohio is in effect in Hamilton County. All purchases for all administrative departments and institutions of the county are handled by the purchasing department.[1] There are no laws in Ohio requiring centralized or coördinated purchasing by counties. The plan of Hamilton County is extralegal by resolution of the board of county commissioners, by approval of the city council of Cincinnati, and by the board of education, through a committee known as the Coördinating Committee of Hamilton County. This committee consists of the city manager of Cincinnati, the president of the board of county commissioners, the president of the board of education, and a member of the board of trustees of the University of Cincinnati.

The counties of Crawford, Kent, Manistee, Saginaw, and Washtenaw in Michigan have employed full-time purchasing agents. In Iron County the chairman of the board of supervisors appoints a purchasing committee at each annual meeting. In Kalamazoo County the purchasing department, which is under the direction of the finance committee, purchases for all departments of the county which are not incorporated bodies in themselves.

Although the General Assembly of Virginia passed an act in 1932 with respect to county purchasing, replies received from this state show that only four counties have adopted centralized purchasing. Arlington County has made rapid progress in its system of centralized purchasing, installed some nine years ago. The other three counties which have made some progress are Fairfax, Henrico, and Roanoke.

Recognition should be given to the fact that a large number of counties in this country are small both geographically and in size of population. The establishment of a purchasing department and the maintenance of a purchasing agent in a majority of these counties might constitute an undue burden on the taxpayers.

Presumably, the General Assembly of Virginia took this fact into consideration in its act of 1932 relative to county purchasing wherein it stated that: "The board of supervisors of any two or more adjoining counties shall have power to appoint, in accordance with the provisions of this section, a joint purchasing agent."

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[1] See also "Coöperative Purchasing in the United States and Canada." By Charlton F. Chute, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, October 1938.

No counties in Virginia have indicated in their replies that they have taken advantage of this plan. It would be interesting to note the effect in savings which a plan of this nature would bring to a group of counties adopting it.

In Alabama the counties of Henry, Jefferson, and Tuscaloosa reported that they maintain purchasing departments. In Tuscaloosa County a resolution adopted by the board of revenue in 1930 provides that no department of the county may buy anything but must send its requisitions to the purchasing agent who makes all of the necessary purchases. By an act of the state legislature, approved in 1935, Henry County created a purchasing agency "dealing with and having reference to all purchases" for the county.

In five counties in North Dakota—Burke, McHenry, Sheridan, Walsh, and Wells—purchasing boards or committees have been established, and all purchasing is centralized in these committees.

NEW YORK COUNTIES CENTRALIZE

Several counties in New York State have also centralized their methods of purchasing. In Chemung County a purchasing department was established by the county board with the appointment of a county agent who makes purchases for all departments. A similar setup is found in Chenango County, where the purchasing agent does the buying for all departments except highways. The same is true in Erie, Jefferson, Madison, Oneida, Nassau, and Westchester. In Genesee County a purchasing committee operating under the direction of the board of supervisors handles all ordinary purchases for the county departments.

The Department of Purchase of the City of New York buys all materials, supplies, and equipment required by all the agencies of the five counties within Greater New York—New York, Kings, Queens, Bronx, and Richmond. This includes equipment and foodstuffs for the sheriffs' jails and office furniture and supplies as well as stationery for the various county offices.

Purchasing departments have also been established in several counties located in Arkansas, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Kansas, Kentucky, Nebraska, New Jersey, Oregon, Texas, and Utah.

Replies received from two-thirds of the counties in Vermont indicate that centralized purchasing is in effect in that state. Counties make known their requirements to the state purchasing agent who does practically all of the buying. Some purchasing is done by the county courts in each county, but it is limited solely to materials needed for repairs to jails and courthouses.

It has been noted that in a vast majority of counties individuals who have been given the duty of making purchases are appointed by the county supervising board or commission under the general authority granted to it by the state legislature. This also applies to persons who have been specifically appointed and designated by title to serve as county purchasing agents. In many cases the duration of their appointment is indefinite, subject to the pleasure of the governing board. In a few cases appointment of county purchasing agents is made on either an annual or a biennial basis.

In counties which maintain the county manager form of government, the appointment of a county purchasing agent is usually made by the manager. This has a tendency to take the appointments of purchasing agents directly out of the realm of politics.

CIVIL SERVICE FOR AGENTS

There is no doubt that a good purchasing department with a competent personnel can effect real savings to an organization whether industrial or governmental. In recognition of this fact, several counties have established civil service rules and regulations for the appointment of competent nonpolitical purchasing officers. Thus, by means of competitive examination, the county authorities are in an excellent position to select only those individuals who are qualified to fill these important positions. Counties indicating that their purchasing officials have been appointed in accordance with civil service rules and regulations are Jefferson County, Alabama; Alameda, Los Angeles, and San Diego Counties, California; Cayuga and Fulton Counties, New York, for county superintendents of highways; Hamilton and Stark Counties, Ohio; and Multnomah County, Oregon.

It is a significant fact that approximately 70 per cent of the 747 counties whose returns were considered reported the use of standards and specifications on which to base contracts for purchases.

In more than 30 per cent of the counties either the county engineer, county auditor, or superintendent of highways drafts specifications, chiefly for road and bridge construction and materials therefor. In many counties purchases for county roads and highways are procured under specifications prepared by state highway departments.

Purchasing agents, purchasing boards, or committees prepare specifications for materials, supplies, and equipment in about 10 per cent of the counties reporting. The county board, or official designated by it, formulates the desired specifications in 32 per cent of the reporting counties. In a number of counties specifications are prepared by the various departments, and in others by technical officers in coöperation with the using agency.

Approximately 15 per cent of the counties state that they use federal specifications on which to base contracts for purchase, while 10 per cent employ standards and specifications prepared by national technical organizations. More than 20 per cent of the counties rely on trade brands or trade names as a guide to purchases. It should, of course, be borne in mind that certain counties indicated the use of some or all of the methods referred to, depending upon the nature of the commodity procured.

For a number of years, the National Bureau of Standards in an effort to assist tax-supported purchasing agencies—federal, state, county, and municipal—in solving their purchasing problems has called attention to the specifications in use by the federal government.

The federal government is undoubtedly the largest single purchaser of goods in this country. Its purchases are made on the basis of federal specifications of which there are about 1,300 now in use. These specifications are prepared by more than seventy technical committees made up of men drawn from all branches of the government and working under the general direction of the Federal Specifications Executive Committee, Procurement Division, Treasury Department. The National Bureau of Standards takes an active part in the preparation of federal specifications (except for foods and drugs). In this way, the results of investigations and tests conducted by the bureau are made available to these technical committees in the formulation of federal specifications. Considered as a whole these represent the best group of commodity specifications thus far compiled.

USE OF TESTING FACILITIES

Comparatively few counties of the United States reported the maintenance by their own government of laboratories for testing and inspection of commodities, or the employment of commercial, university, or other laboratories for such purposes. Of the 162 counties representing twenty-eight states reporting the use of laboratories for testing commodities purchased by the county, fourteen maintain their own laboratories for conducting various kinds of tests, seventeen employ the services of commercial testing laboratories, eighty-eight utilize the laboratory facilities of college or university laboratories, and forty-three employ their state highway laboratories mostly for tests and inspection of materials and equipment used in road construction.

Too few counties, evidently, are taking advantage of the testing facilities of tax-supported colleges or universities for determining whether commodities comply with requirements relative to quality and grades as specified in the contracts or with the specifications on which contracts are based.

It is conceivable that a coöperative arrangement could be effected whereby county agencies would call upon state-owned institutions to maintain necessary equipment to conduct certain kinds of analyses and tests. Such an arrangement would be looked upon by public officials in legislative assemblies as economically advantageous, and they would probably be willing to make suitable appropriations for purchasing the necessary equipment and for housing it in schools, the teaching staff of which could easily arrange to conduct tests for county purchasers, and be paid for such services.

In all probability, a number of state-owned colleges and universities do maintain equipment for testing but the counties are not making use of available facilities. There is no question but that the use of commodity acceptance testing will have a great tendency to lessen the evils of delivering second-grade or off-grade materials and at the same time bring about savings in money.

The results of the survey show

that with certain exceptions county purchasing methods leave much to be desired. Nothing can be gained from the rule-of-thumb method which prevails in a number of counties. On the other hand, much can be accomplished if counties would revise their present purchasing methods and place them on a businesslike basis. An ideal county purchasing department is one which has put into effect a centralized system of purchasing whereby all purchases for county needs are handled by the purchasing department headed by a competent purchasing agent, which maintains a library of current standards and specifications covering various classes of commodities, and which owns or can utilize proper laboratory facilities for the testing of deliveries to determine their compliance with the requirements on which contracts are based.

Naturally, there are limits to the feasibility and efficiency of a completely centralized purchasing system in small or sparsely settled counties.

The solution may lie in county consolidation, or in coöperative purchasing, whereby two or more adjacent counties would pool their requirements and purchase on joint contracts.

PHILADELPHIA DILEMMA

(Continued from Page 387)

Draper Lewis, then dean of the University of Pennsylvania Law School and now director of the American Law Institute, was secretary of that commission and did a large part of the technical work in drafting a program to overhaul a state constitution already obsolete twenty years ago. Among other valuable services Dr. Lewis was able to obtain adoption by the commission of a well conceived article which would have effectively consolidated Philadelphia City and County. It is a matter of history that the labors of Governor Sproul's Constitutional Commission were brushed aside by the then dominant political forces of Pennsylvania.

To amend the existing constitution requires the passage of a favorable resolution by two successive legislatures and approval by the electors on referendum. An excellent proposal for constitutional amendment to consolidate city and county effectively was passed by two legislative sessions, but it was defeated in 1937 when submitted to the voters of the state. It is worth noting that the proposal was carried by better than three to two in Philadelphia, but was defeated by the adverse vote in other sections of the state.

Distractions due to conditions abroad, interest in the impending national elections, and a fairly general satisfaction in "reform" circles with the new administration of Mayor Lamberton combine to dull for the present any civic interest in improving the framework of Philadelphia's local government. There are no signs of activity for pressing a constitutional amendment making unequivocal consolidation of city and county possible, any more than just now there are indications of life in the movement for a new charter. But who can prophesy—events move rapidly and the occasion for civic revival may come from combinations of circumstances as yet undreamed of.

The Bonded Debt of 272 Cities as at January 1, 1940

American cities reduce their debt obligations by eighty-eight millions during past year; 1940 tabulation shows continued downward trend in municipal debt totals.

By **ROSINA MOHAUPT**
Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc.

THE total gross bonded debt of American cities of over 30,000 population (excluding New York) is estimated to have been $88,000,000 lower on January 1, 1940, than it was the previous year. The total bonded debt for the 310 cities over 30,000 population is estimated at $8,467,139,000. There has been a definite downward trend in the debt of the larger cities since 1936—over 75 per cent of the cities reporting decreases.

There are many factors to account for this apparent economy in the capital structure of the larger cities. There has been a decline in the rate of growth of the large cities, both in population and in extension of boundaries. The rush to install municipal improvements in sections of the city which were destined to be only good pasture land has left many cities with considerable "improved" areas awaiting development and requiring no new municipal improvements. In most sections of the country, school population has declined so that expensive school buildings are not in such demand as formerly. The federal government, with its aid in public works programs, has lessened the necessity for large increases in debt. And, finally, the rising cost of government has not been accompanied by increased ability to support it from available tax moneys, hence "economy" budgets have postponed expensive capital costs in favor of immediate salary and wage increases, extension of municipal services, and other more pressing immediate demands.

These conclusions are based on questionnaires received from 272 cities (16 of them Canadian) through the coöperation of public officials, governmental research bureaus, and chambers of commerce. As 238 of these cities also reported in 1939, the comparative tables are based on these comparable cities, not the larger number.

These tables are concerned solely with the debt burden of cities. There are frequent requests for information concerning the overlapping debt structure, but this is too complex a subject for a tabulation which is prepared solely from questionnaires. Certain factors, however, are considered to make the debt structure comparable in the different cities. For instance, in some states the school district debt is not an obligation of the city, but since this debt is usually considered as being based on the full faith and credit of the city, it is included to show figures comparable with other cities. The same situation arises in connection with sanitary districts, park districts, and other *ad hoc* units which issue bonds independently, but for purposes which are usually considered a part of the municipal pattern. Whenever this type of debt involves overlapping districts, only the city's share is shown, based on estimates of the assessed values of the two areas. Footnotes have been liberally used to explain these situations.

CHANGE IN UTILITY DEBT TREATMENT

In past years there has been considerable difficulty in reporting the self-supporting utility debt. Because of different methods of bookkeeping in some cities, it has been difficult to determine whether the utilities were actually self-supporting from earnings on a basis comparable with other cities. In most cities utility debt is self-supporting and the change in presentation noted below makes no difference in the net per capita debt, but in a few, where officials reported the utilities as self-supporting one year and not self-supporting the next year, it was impossible to make valid comparisons. In other municipalities legal requirements made it necessary to show utilities either self-supporting or not, as the case might be, while in reality the opposite was true in many cases.

Accordingly, last year for the first time, for the sake of uniformity, all utility debt was deducted, whether it was self-supporting from earnings or not. The definition of a public utility, however, still constitutes a serious question. Are golf courses, municipal markets, swimming pools, stadiums, convention halls, and similar projects, public utilities? While such enterprises may be self-supporting, they could hardly be considered utilities. For the purpose of this tabulation, these projects are considered "public service enterprises."

In this study, a public utility has been considered to be a commercial enterprise vested with a public interest, carried on by a unit of government, the operation of which can be separated from the purely governmental functions of the city. It must earn a considerable part of its overhead and operating costs from revenues based on a rate structure. This rather long definition restricts public utilities in this tabulation to water, light and power, gas, street railways, rapid transit, port and harbor facilities, docks and sewage disposal plants. Other self-supporting enterprises are included under the general obligations of the city.

TREND OF DEBT

Table I which gives the total gross debt and net debt excluding utilities for all cities which reported both in 1939 and 1940 shows a definite decrease in the debt of American cities in the past year. This is further illustrated in Table II which gives the average per capita debt of each of the population groups, using 1930 population figures for both years.

The large increase of $153,000,000 in the gross debt of New York City during the year influences the entire tabulation, and unless it is eliminated, counteracts decreases in 177 of the 238 cities (74.5 per cent) reporting in both 1939 and 1940. When this factor is eliminated, Table I shows that the gross bonded debt

TABLE I

TOTAL GROSS AND NET BONDED DEBT LESS UTILITIES—1939-40
238 COMPARABLE AMERICAN CITIES (IN THOUSAND DOLLARS)

Population Group	*Gross Bonded Debt* 1939	1940	*Net Bonded Debt Less Utilities* 1939	1940
I	$5,096,589	$5,202,383	$2,440,122	$2,451,187
I[a]	2,599,154	2,551,980	1,564,251	1,520,151
II	720,538	725,221	490,591	494,728
III	1,290,014	1,300,357	875,430	856,596
IV	538,975	533,577	404,343	393,309
V	268,566	262,901	202,283	200,036
Total	7,914,682	8,024,439	4,412,769	4,395,856
Total[a]	5,417,247	5,374,036	3,536,898	3,464,820

[a] Excluding New York City.

TABLE II

PER CAPITA GROSS AND NET DEBT EXCLUDING UTILITIES—1939-40
238 COMPARABLE AMERICAN CITIES

Population Group	*Population*	*Gross Bonded Debt* 1939	1940	*Net Bonded Debt Less Utilities* 1939	1940
I	20,828,542	$244.67	$249.77	$117.15	$117.68
I[a]	13,898,096	187.01	183.62	112.55	109.38
II	4,200,512[b]	171.54	172.65	116.79	117.78
III	10,201,355	126.46	127.47	85.82	83.97
IV	4,681,349	115.13	113.98	86.37	84.02
V	3,083,360	87.10	85.26	65.60	64.88
Total	42,995,118	184.08	186.64	102.63	102.25
Total[a]	36,064,672	150.21	149.01	98.07	96.07

[a] Excluding New York City.
[b] Excluding Washington, D. C., which has no debt.

TABLE III

CHANGE IN PER CAPITA DEBT BY POPULATION GROUPS—TWO-YEAR COMPARISON

	Gross Bonded Debt				*Net Debt Less Utilities*			
	1939-40		*1938-39*		*1939-40*		*1938-39*	
Population Group	*Increase*	*Decrease*	*Increase*	*Decrease*	*Increase*	*Decrease*	*Increase*	*Decrease*
I	$5.10		$3.11		$ .53		$ .41	
I[a]		$3.39		$3.75		$3.17		$3.21
II	1.11			3.65	.99			2.19
III	1.01			.14		1.85	.17	
IV		1.15	3.81			2.35	.19	
V		1.84		.68		.72	.25	
Total	2.56		1.46			.38	.06	
Total[a]		1.01		1.43		2.00		1.35

[a] Excluding New York City.

TABLE IV

CHANGES IN GROSS AND NET DEBT BY NUMBER OF CITIES—1939-40
238 COMPARABLE AMERICAN CITIES

Population Group	*Gross Bonded Debt* *Increase*	*Decrease*	*Same*	*Net Debt Excluding Utilities* *Increase*	*Decrease*	*Same*
I	4	9		3	10	
II	6	5		6	5	
III	11	53		15	49	
IV	15	55	1	17	53	1
V	24	55		28	51	
Total	60	177	1	69	168	1

TABLE V

RANGE OF PER CAPITA NET DEBT LESS UTILITIES
250 AMERICAN CITIES REPORTING IN 1940[a]

Population Group	*Three Highest*	*Per Capita Net Debt Less Utilities*	*Three Lowest*	*Per Capita Net Debt Less Utilities*
I	Buffalo, N. Y.	$161.55	Milwaukee, Wis.	$ 54.91
	Detroit, Mich.	153.28	San Francisco, Cal.	74.86
	Philadelphia, Pa.	152.49	St. Louis, Mo.	81.57
II	Newark, N. J.	184.61	Seattle, Wash.	63.83
	Jersey City, N. J.	169.01	Portland, Ore.	64.30
	Rochester, N. Y.	164.59	Indianapolis, Ind.	68.46
III	Yonkers, N. Y.	200.86	Spokane, Wash.	23.80
	Camden, N. J.	200.39	Fort Wayne, Ind.	26.83
	Knoxville, Tenn.	179.50	Tacoma, Wash.	28.22
IV	Atlantic City, N. J.	363.66	Saginaw, Mich.	10.41
	Asheville, N. C.	361.95	Lansing, Mich.	11.10
	New Rochelle, N. Y.	256.04	Wheeling, W. Va.	15.29
V	White Plains, N. Y.	302.88	Danville, Ill.	10.59
	Perth Amboy, N. J.	215.84	Arlington, Mass.	13.35
	Kearny, N. J.	139.32	Bay City, Mich.	16.86

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[a] Miami and St. Petersburg, Florida, high per capita cities, did not report.

TABLE VI

TOTAL GROSS AND NET BONDED DEBT LESS UTILITIES—1935-40
215 COMPARABLE AMERICAN CITIES (IN THOUSAND DOLLARS)

Population Group	*Gross Bonded Debt* *1935*	*1940*	*Net Bonded Debt Less Utilities* *1935*	*1940*
I	$4,395,856	$4,588,903	$2,244,135	$2,153,692
I[a]	2,008,636	1,938,500	1,352,750	1,222,656
II	732,718	725,221	484,934	494,728
III	1,278,221	1,283,531	885,993	843,308
IV	518,460	500,015	399,451	369,337
V	233,434	217,511	176,603	166,116
Total	7,158,689	7,315,181	4,191,116	4,027,181
Total[a]	4,771,469	4,664,778	3,299,731	3,096,145

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[a] Excluding New York City.

TABLE VII
PER CAPITA GROSS AND NET DEBT
215 COMPARABLE AMERICAN CITIES REPORTING IN 1935 AND 1940

Population Group	*Population*	*Gross Bonded Debt* 1935	1940	*Net Bonded Debt Less Utilities* 1935	1940
I	18,877,581	$232.86	$243.09	$118.88	$114.09
I[a]	11,947,135	168.13	162.26	113.23	102.34
II	4,200,512[b]	174.44	172.65	115.45	117.78
III	9,983,519	128.03	128.57	88.75	84.47
IV	4,203,987	123.33	118.94	95.02	87.85
V	2,631,098	88.72	82.67	67.12	63.14
Total	39,896,697	179.43	183.35	105.05	100.94
Total[a]	32,966,251	144.74	141.50	100.09	93.92

[a] Excluding New York City.
[b] Excluding Washington, D. C., which has no debt.

of the remaining 237 cities has gone down $2.00 per capita and the net debt less utilities, $1.35 per capita during the past year.

This year Group I cities (population over 500,000) again show the largest per capita decrease in both gross and net debt less utilities. Only three cities—New York, Cleveland, and Pittsburgh—show increases in debt. Group II cities (population between 300,000 and 500,000), on the other hand, have five cities with lower debt and six cities with higher debt figures than last year, with an average per capita increase in net debt excluding utilities of ninety-nine cents. This is the only group which reports an increase in the average net debt excluding utilities.

The issuance of some $40,000,000 of utility debt in Memphis, Nashville, and Chattanooga, Tennessee, for the acquisition of power and light plants results in an increase of $1.01 in the gross debt of Group III cities (population between 100,000 and 300,000). However, net debt less utilities of this group shows a decrease of $1.85.

The $2.00 per capita decrease in the net bonded debt less utilities for American cities except New York City is the largest decrease reported since this tabulation was started eighteen years ago. In 1936 the first indication of the constant downward trend in bonded debt was found when a decrease of five cents was noted in the net debt. This was followed by yearly decreases of $1.27, $1.84, and $1.35.

The pronounced downward trend over a period of years is further developed in Tables VI and VII which compare the debt in 1940 with the 1935 debt. Large decreases are indicated in all population groups except Group II (cities between 300,000 and 500,000). Perhaps the greatest change is shown in Group I cities (excluding New York), where the decrease is more than ten dollars per capita.

In the past, only cities with the highest and the lowest per capita debt have been emphasized. This year the three highest and the three lowest are shown in Table V. This is done to indicate whether the highest and the lowest are far out of line with the remaining cities. In some groups several cities will be found near the top with per capita figures differing by only a few cents.

A word of caution should be spoken about Table V indicating the six cities with the highest and lowest per capita debt in each of the five population groups. Miami and St. Petersburg did not return their questionnaires and are not included in this year's tabulation. If they were, they would undoubtedly be the high cities of Groups III and V respectively. Often such resort cities or rapidly growing suburban developments are responsible for a high per capita debt, as in the case of Miami, St. Petersburg, Atlantic City, and White Plains. A factor which has played no small part in putting New York and New Jersey cities at the top has been the large bond issues for relief. On the other hand, constitutional and legal limitations, as well as varying degrees of efficiency in governmental services, make possible the low per capita debts reported by some cities.

It is dangerous to conclude that a city with a low per capita debt is more efficiently and economically managed than one with a higher debt burden. Sometimes economy is enforced by legal and economic restrictions over which the local officials have no control. Sometimes high debt is incurred to provide facilities which, it is hoped, will attract a larger population with a lower per capita debt burden resulting in the future. The age, the topography, the tradition of "essential services," and many other factors, have so much effect that comparisons between cities are not only invidious, but dangerous.

(See following pages for tabulation by cities.)

BONDED DEBT OF 272 CITIES AS AT JANUARY 1, 1940

Compiled by the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc.
From Data Furnished by Members of the Governmental Research Association, City Officials, and Chambers of Commerce

			GROSS BONDED DEBT				SINKING FUNDS				NET BONDED DEBT			GROSS SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS	
		Census 1930	General Improvement	Public Schools	Public Utility	Total	Total	Gen'l Improvement (per cent)	Public School (per cent)	Public Utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita Excluding Utilities	Total	Per Cent Gen'l City Obligation
	Group I														
	Population 500,000 and over		$	$	$	$	$				$	$	$	$	
1	New York, N. Y.[1]	6,930,446	808,008,160	360,950,569	1,481,443,879	2,650,402,608	516,254,141	—	—	54	2,134,148,467	931,036,194	134.34	162,934,750	100
2	Chicago, Ill.[2]	3,376,438	282,477,745	35,751,500	3,150,000	321,379,245	15,836,428	66	34	N	305,542,817	302,392,817	89.55	16,561,148	—
3	Philadelphia, Pa.[3]	1,950,961	342,744,162	80,511,000	190,225,138*	613,480,300	181,261,864	53	16	31	432,218,436	297,495,298	152.49	N	0
4	Detroit, Mich.[4]	1,568,662	175,998,039	66,421,000	124,790,739	367,209,778	20,516,001	10	N	90	346,693,777	240,439,436	153.28	800,000	100
5	Los Angeles, Calif.[5]	1,238,048	49,013,676	55,366,207	215,367,266	319,747,149	1,028,571	N	N	100	318,718,578	104,379,883	84.31	7,033,324	0
6	Cleveland, Ohio[6]	900,429	90,283,582	9,861,125	23,136,000	123,280,707	9,809,642	63	7	30	113,471,065	93,116,772	103.41	2,193,098	100
7	St. Louis, Mo.[7]	821,960	67,884,000	2,030,000	6,130,000	76,044,000	3,664,091	70	8	22	72,379,909	67,044,923	81.57	—	—
8	Baltimore, Md.	804,874	111,959,720	21,596,732	52,935,128	186,491,580	35,743,060	81	4	15	150,748,520	103,304,425	128.35	—	—
9	Boston, Mass.[8]	781,188	67,849,900	7,851,000	76,244,700	151,945,600	22,690,763	23	12	65	129,254,837	67,783,178	86.77	—	—
10	Pittsburgh, Pa.[9]	669,817	60,339,300	20,656,126	4,586,700	85,582,126	8,678,476	77	22	1	76,903,650	72,373,612	108.05	N	0
11	San Francisco, Calif.[10]	634,394	34,845,500	12,645,000	103,976,000	151,466,500	N	N	N	N	151,466,500	47,490,500	74.86	921,000	0
12	Milwaukee, Wis.[11]	578,249	36,903,974	4,823,000	2,820,000	44,546,974	9,979,456	93	7	0	34,567,518	31,749,518	54.91	N	0
13	Buffalo, N. Y.	573,076	82,024,599	12,584,250	16,196,329	110,805,178	6,514,621	31	N	69	104,290,557	92,580,475	161.55	114,600	100
	Group II														
	Population 300,000 to 500,000														
14	Washington, D. C.	486,869	No Bonded Debt												
15	Minneapolis, Minn.[12]	464,356	51,391,287	15,421,724	4,962,000	71,775,011	2,609,852	62	23	15	69,165,159	64,598,203	139.11	4,618,804	100
16	New Orleans, La.[13]	458,762	45,527,000	7,104,000	3,500,000	56,131,000	N	N	N	N	56,131,000	52,631,000	114.72	3,686,020	0

*=Estimated.
N=None.
—=Figures not available.

[1] **New York City.** General debt includes $162,934,750 special assessment and $32,300,000 home and emergency work relief bonds. School sinking fund included in general city. Of the utility debt, $577,580,004 is self-supporting.

[2] **Chicago.** General debt includes $96,292,700 park and $94,097,045 sanitary district debt which is 84.4% of the total debt of the district. County debt of $34,748,910 and forest preserve debt of $11,743,750 not included although 82.2% of taxable value is in Chicago.

[3] **Philadelphia.** Of the utility debt, $60,000,000 is estimated as being self-supporting.

[4] **Detroit.** Utility debt includes $4,969,000 sewage disposal bonds not faith and credit of the city and $21,447,000 light and power bonds not self-supporting.

[5] **Los Angeles.** General debt includes $15,388,764, city's share of flood control debt; utility debt includes $109,155,816, city's share of metropolitan water district debt.

[6] **Cleveland.** General debt includes $2,965,000 light bonds serviced by taxation.

[7] **St. Louis, Mo.** Relief bonds of $4,290,000 are actually serviced by municipal bridge tolls although they are a general city obligation.

[8] **Boston.** County debt of $2,171,000 not included although city assumes full burden. City's share (approximately $25,000,000) of Boston metropolitan district debt not included.

[9] **Pittsburgh.** Debt reported as of January 3, 1940.

[10] **San Francisco.** Does not include $26,775,000, city's share of Golden Gate Bridge & Highway District debt (any deficit from operations is made up by taxes, 85% of which will be borne by San Francisco). General city debt includes $1,620,000 airport bonds, not self-supporting.

[11] **Milwaukee.** General city debt includes $6.938,679, city's share of relief bonds handled by county and $12,988,795, city's share of metropolitan sewage district debt.

[12] **Minneapolis.** General city debt includes $287,000 public market debt and $6,697,000 sewage disposal debt, both full faith and credit of the city and both serviced through taxation.

[13] **New Orleans.** General debt includes water, sewer, and drainage bonds. Water debt (serviced through taxation) not available. Port of New Orleans debt ($35,744,000) and Orleans Levee District debt of $22,082,000 not included.

			GROSS BONDED DEBT				SINKING FUNDS				NET BONDED DEBT			GROSS SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS	
		Census 1930	General Improvement	Public Schools	Public Utility	Total	Total	Gen'l Improvement (per cent)	Public School (per cent)	Public Utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita Excluding Utilities	Total	Per Cent Gen'l City Obligation
17	Cincinnati, Ohio[14]	451,160	40,911,105	11,696,000	35,308,539	87,915,644	26,278,134	33	10	57	61,637,510	41,157,378	91.23	2,015,946	100
18	Newark, N. J.[15]	442,337	79,976,852	17,587,200	20,594,000	118,158,052	19,110,334	50	33	17	99,047,718	81,658,600	184.61	—	—
19	Kansas City, Mo.[16]	399,746	30,560,054	20,065,000	14,277,000	64,902,054	6,395,743	6	94	0	58,506,311	44,248,769	110.69	282,221	0
20	Seattle, Wash.	365,583	15,849,000	7,712,000	49,926,000	73,487,000	225,140	100	N	N	73,261,860	23,335,860	63.83	17,392,444	0
21	Indianapolis, Ind.[17]	364,161	19,781,637	9,114,000	7,816,000	36,711,637	4,186,986	25	70	5	32,524,651	24,931,493	68.46	1,305,549	—
22	Rochester, N. Y.[18]	328,132	46,397,877	13,684,500	4,347,623	64,430,000	7,189,054	63	15	22	57,240,946	54,507,346	164.59	5,447,500	100
23	Jersey City, N. J.[19]	316,715	45,263,833	11,678,500	13,638,255	70,580,588	7,134,534	27	52	21	63,446,054	53,529,390	169.01	N	0
24	Louisville, Ky.	307,745	31,335,400	10,966,400	1,079,000	43,380,800	8,446,624	89	N	11	34,934,176	34,725,707	112.84	N	0
25	Portland, Ore.[20]	301,815	17,543,957	5,148,544	15,055,000	37,747,501	6,289,036	52	N	48	31,458,465	19,405,484	64.30	3,006,569	0
	Group III														
	Population 100,000 to 300,000														
26	Houston, Tex.[21]	292,352	29,883,000	10,613,250	1,170,000	41,666,250	5,948,525	59	24	17	35,717,725	35,580,749	121.71	N	0
27	Toledo, Ohio[22]	290,718	24,154,754	13,313,500	4,461,000	41,929,254	2,866,691	57	39	4	39,062,563	34,725,226	119.45	562,045	100
28	Columbus, Ohio	290,564	21,198,380	6,021,049	5,183,000	32,402,429	6,760,698	46	31	23	25,641,731	22,002,247	75.72	4,182,279	100
29	Denver, Colo.[23]	287.861	15,713,160	6,345,500	25,010,600	47,069,260	1,192,462	18	N	82	45,876,798	21,846,026	76.05	3,611,800	100
30	Oakland, Calif.[24]	284,063	Not Reported												
31	St. Paul, Minn.[25]	271,606	20,250,000	9,808,000	6,585,000	36,643,000	6,850,120	—	—	22	29,792,880	24,702,046	90.95	6,000,000	—
32	Atlanta, Ga.	270,366	8,340,000	3,987,500	1,987,000	14,314,500	1,419,580	67	22	11	12,894,920	11,065,400	40.93	579,500	100
33	Dallas, Tex.	260,475	19,381,000	7,230,000	11,072,000	37,683,000	2,847,531	51	11	38	34,835,469	24,835,254	95.35	N	0
34	Birmingham, Ala.[26]	259,678	13,810,000	8,267,000	4,000,000	26,077,000	3,384,714	—	—	—	22,692,286	18,692,286	71.98	290,000	100
35	Akron, Ohio	255,040	24,427,967	5,129,451	9,203,172	38,760,590	2,409,642	7	15	78	36,350,948	29,031,859	113.83	1,542,700	100
36	Memphis, Tenn.	253,143	15,759,000	5,599,000	25,633,000	46,991,000	2,218,785	55	22	23	44,772,215	19,639,149	77.58	446,000	100
37	Providence, R. I.	252,981	36,633,500	12,523,000	18,000,000	67,156,500	16,782,011	47	18	35	50,374,489	38,141,894	150.77	N	0
38	San Antonio, Tex.[27]	231,542	14,125,000	6,487,000	5,959,000	26,571,000	734,898	63	22	15	25,836,102	19,985,102	86.31	N	0
39	Omaha, Neb.	214,006	9,349,430	8,310,500	4,223,000	21,882,930	5,426,257	18	32	50	16,456,673	14,926,673	69.75	2,635,070	0
40	Syracuse, N. Y.[28]	209,326	24,433,150	5,513,017	4,979,250	34,925,417	N	N	N	N	34,925,417	29,946,167	143.06	295,000	100

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[14] **Cincinnati.** General debt includes $544,000 airport bonds. Rental of Cincinnati Southern Railway is sufficient to provide debt service on an additional $13,000,000 debt.

[15] **Newark.** General debt includes subway, airport, port, and dock bonds of approximating $21,000,000 which are financed through taxation.

[16] **Kansas City.** Does not include $800,000 Missouri River Bridge bonds in litigation which may be taken over by the state for retirement. Utility debt is not self-supporting.

[17] **Indianapolis.** General debt includes $5,172,236, city's share of poor relief debt issued by five townships in Indianapolis.

[18] **Rochester.** General debt includes $4,500,000 tax revenue and $5,447,500 special assessment bonds; $1,992,377 notes and contracts not included.

[19] **Jersey City.** Debt as of February 29, 1940.

[20] **Portland, Ore.** General debt includes $1,705,000, city's share of Port of Portland debt which is a general city obligation, and $83,000 golf course bonds serviced from revenue.

[21] **Houston.** General debt includes $745,000 convention hall bonds serviced from revenue.

[22] **Toledo.** Library debt of $1,050,000 included in school debt. General debt includes $4,396,000 general fund deficiency bonds.

[23] **Denver.** General debt includes $8,168,160 Moffat Tunnel District debt financed through taxation.

[24] **Columbus.** Light and power debt of $595,000 is not self-supporting.

[25] **St. Paul.** School and general city sinking fund combined equal 78% of total.

[26] **Birmingham.** Debt as of February 1, 1940.

[27] **San Antonio.** Debt as of April 1, 1940.

[28] **Syracuse.** General debt includes $85,000 municipal stadium bonds supported by revenue.

			GROSS BONDED DEBT				SINKING FUNDS				NET BONDED DEBT			GROSS SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS	
		Census 1930	General Improvement	Public Schools	Public Utility	Total	Total	Gen'l Improvement (per cent)	Public School (per cent)	Public Utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita Excluding Utilities	Total	Per Cent Gen'l City Obligation
41	Dayton, Ohio[29]	200,982	8,144,515	5,634,876	3,166,000	16,945,391	2,152,419	85	N	15	14,792,972	11,944,532	59.43	639,370	100
42	Worcester, Mass.	195,311	10,428,000	60,000	2,380,400	12,868,400	N	N	N	N	12,868,400	10,488,000	53.70	1,341,000	100
43	Oklahoma City, Okla.	185,389	7,844,100	5,292,523	4,011,200	17,147,823	5,398,978	34	20	46	11,748,845	10,199,445	55.02	1,955,755	0
44	Richmond, Va.[30]	182,929	25,392,814	7,000,546	7,747,740	40,141,100	15,065,527	63	16	21	25,075,573	20,574,238	112.47	N	0
45	Youngstown, Ohio	170,002	9,534,180	1,801,000	662,000	11,997,180	700,189	—	18	—	11,296,991	10,634,991	62.56	262,000	100
46	Grand Rapids, Mich.[31]	168,592	5,568,240	1,740,221	5,055,000	12,363,461	2,067,000	30	N	70	10,296,461	6,694,461	39.71	1,189,000	100
47	Hartford, Conn.[32]	164,072	15,577,000	5,109,000	2,260,000	22,946,000	2,705,296	50	37	13	20,240,704	18,328,354	111.71	N	0
48	Fort Worth, Tex.	163,447	12,974,000	6,502,500	7,496,000	26,972,500	1,554,262	32	65	3	25,418,238	17,966,238	109.92	N	0
49	New Haven, Conn.	162,655	13,328,000	298,000	N	13,626,000	892,778	92	8	N	12,733,222	12,733,222	78.28	N	0
50	Flint, Mich.	156,492	5,789,859	5,377,000	1,756,500	12,923,359	3,283,420	25	44	31	9,639,939	8,902,629	56.89	784,000	100
51	Nashville, Tenn.[33]	153,866	9,770,000	3,984,000	18,025,000	31,779,000	1,750,652	—	—	—	30,028,348	12,003,348	78.01	25,000	100
52	Springfield, Mass.	149,900	8,951,500	1,829,000	5,878,000	16,658,500	N	N	N	N	16,658,500	10,780,500	71.92	N	0
53	San Diego, Calif.[34]	147,995	2,633,806	3,513,625	12,606,134	18,753,565	N	N	N	N	18,753,565	6,147,431	41.54	N	0
54	Bridgeport, Conn.	146,716	10,818,000	2,862,000	N	13,680,000	N	N	N	N	13,680,000	13,680,000	93.24	N	0
55	Scranton, Pa.	143,433	2,140,000	6,241,000	N	8,381,000	112,721	31	69	N	8,268,279	8,268,279	57.65	576,528	0
56	Des Moines, Iowa	142,559	6,199,815	6,722,500	4,178,000	17,100,315	468,094	N	N	100	16,632,221	12,922,315	90.65	—	—
57	Long Beach, Calif.[35]	142,032	6,026,169	8,324,500	24,186,160	38,536,829	N	N	N	N	38,536,829	14,350,669	101.04	—	—
58	Tulsa, Okla.[36]	141,258	7,719,024	4,681,390	3,019,500	15,419,914	4,060,080	—	35	—	11,359,834	8,340,334	59.04	—	0
59	Salt Lake City, Utah	140,267	2,979,000	3,761,000	4,227,000	10,967,000	484,697	87	13	N	10,482,303	6,255,303	44.60	227,700	0
60	Paterson, N. J.	138,513	10,156,364	5,459,600	13,196,000	28,811,964	1,063,748	—	—	—	27,748,216	14,552,216	105.06	—	—
61	Yonkers, N. Y.	134,646	19,505,600	7,540,100	5,252,000	32,297,700	N	N	N	N	32,297,700	27,045,700	200.86	1,722,600	100
62	Norfolk, Va.[37]	129,710	18,742,438	6,347,535	14,523,227	39,613,200	14,477,560	—	—	43	25,135,640	16,774,594	129.32	N	0
63	Jacksonville, Fla.[38]	129,549	5,440,500	3,966,000	4,039,500	13,446,000	1,015,874	37	63	N	12,430,126	8,390,626	64.77	727,000	100
64	Albany, N. Y.	127,412	14,818,450	4,727,650	13,213,000	32,759,100	1,582,132	100	N	N	31,176,968	17,963,968	140.99	290,000	100
65	Trenton, N. J.	123,356	11,475,760	6,179,963	1,178,800	18,834,523	1,491,552	29	46	25	17,342,971	16,542,908	134.11	25,000	100
66	Kansas City, Kans.	121,857	4,088,098	2,952,000	4,148,000	11,188,098	2,614,485	6	N	94	8,573,613	6,891,667	56.56	208,702	0
67	Chattanooga, Tenn.[39]	119,798	13,043,600	2,074,000	13,200,000	28,317,600	767,738	—	—	—	27,549,862	14,349,862	119.78	1,328,972	100
68	Camden, N. J.	118,700	21,240,793	3,898,000	1,143,550	26,282,343	1,446,449	63	30	7	24,835,894	23,785,998	200.39	N	0
69	Erie, Pa.	115,967	4,858,000	4,879,110	1,260,000	10,997,110	139,612	100	N	N	10,857,498	9,597,498	82.76	532,792	—
70	Spokane, Wash.	115,514	2,259,000	580,000	489,000	3,328,000	447,212	17	3	80	2,880,788	2,749,090	23.80	1,565,272	0

[29] **Dayton.** General debt includes $430,000 delinquent tax bonds and $59,000 1932 deficiency bonds, both payable from delinquent tax collections.

[30] **Richmond.** Debt as of January 31, 1940.

[31] **Grand Rapids.** Of the water debt, $2,800,000 is a general city obligation, but entire $5,055,000 is serviced from water earnings.

[32] **Hartford.** Debt as of January 5, 1940.

[33] **Nashville.** Utility debt includes $15,000 electric power revenue bonds issued June 1, 1939.

[34] **San Diego, Saginaw, Wheeling, Augusta, Lancaster.** Utility debt is not self-supporting.

[35] **Long Beach.** Utility debt includes $13,796,410, city's share of metropolitan water bonds, $5,278,750 harbor, $2,245,000 water, and $2,866,000 gas bonds.

[36] **Tulsa, Allentown, Hamilton, Lorain.** Division between city and utility sinking fund not available.

[37] **Norfolk, St. Joseph, Winston-Salem, Roanoke, Plainfield.** Division between school and general city sinking fund not available.

[38] **Jacksonville.** Utility debt includes $2,165,000 dock bonds, not self-supporting.

[39] **Chattanooga.** Debt as of September 30, 1939.

			GROSS BONDED DEBT				SINKING FUNDS				NET BONDED DEBT			GROSS SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS	
		Census 1930	General Improvement	Public Schools	Public Utility	Total	Total	Gen'l Improvement (per cent)	Public School (per cent)	Public Utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita Excluding Utilities	Total	Per Cent Gen'l City Obligation
71	Fall River, Mass.	115,274	4,246,000	904,000	298,000	5,448,000	326,000	100	N	N	5,122,000	4,824,000	41.85	N	0
72	Fort Wayne, Ind.	114,946	501,800	2,582,000	1,691,000	4,774,800	N	N	N	N	4,774,800	3,083,800	26.83	3,000,000	—
73	Elizabeth, N. J.	114,589	6,641,479	5,095,000	4,050,000	15,786,479	713,142	—	—	—	15,073,337	11,023,337	96.19	N	0
74	Cambridge, Mass.	113,643	9,279,500	1,533,000	672,000	11,484,500	2,172,320	98	N	2	9,312,180	8,687,916	76.45	N	0
75	New Bedford, Mass.	112,597	Not Reported												
76	Reading, Pa.	111,171	3,452,000	6,726,000	2,383,000	12,561,000	372,590	51	4	45	12,188,410	9,974,360	89.73	345,000	0
77	Wichita, Kans.[40]	111,110	5,239,195	2,998,500	1,333,750	9,571,445	N	N	N	N	9,571,445	8,237,695	74.14	1,859,290	100
78	Miami, Fla.	110,637	Not Reported												
79	Tacoma, Wash.	106,817	1,939,500	1,104,000	9,871,445	12,914,945	28,812	100	N	N	12,886,133	3,014,688	28.22	729,275	100
80	Wilmington, Del.[41]	106,597	4,648,950	856,000	6,820,000	12,324,950	1,543,628	—	—	—	10,781,322	3,961,322	37.16	—	—
81	Knoxville, Tenn.	105,802	18,994,738	2,063,000	4,672,303	25,730,041	2,368,227	87	N	13	23,361,814	18,990,986	179.50	—	100
82	Peoria, Ill.[42]	104,969	2,416,500	710,000	N	3,126,500	67,132	100	N	N	3,059,368	3,059,368	29.15	778,489	—
83	Canton, Ohio	104,906	3,946,312	4,493,000	664,000	9,103,312	1,860,607	51	49	N	7,242,705	6,578,705	62.71	325,190	0
84	South Bend, Ind.[43]	104,193	2,550,500	2,115,000	675,000	5,340,500	366,087	18	N	82	4,974,413	4,599,872	44.15	2,500,000	100
85	Somerville, Mass.[44]	103,908	3,418,275	1,473,000	163,000	5,054,275	N	N	N	N	5,054,275	4,891,275	47.07	—	—
86	El Paso, Tex.	102,421	3,265,914	1,925,000	1,607,000	6,797,914	498,786	63	27	10	6,299,128	4,741,030	46.29	218,500	0
87	Lynn, Mass.[45]	102,320	4,167,300	1,679,000	335,000	6,181,300	38,862	100	N	N	6,142,438	5,807,438	56.76	N	0
88	Evansville, Ind.	102,249	1,483,200	1,810,500	1,559,000	4,852,700	209,155	66	N	34	4,643,545	3,154,650	30.85	158,991	100
89	Utica, N. Y.	101,740	9,466,078	1,527,696	N	10,993,774	109,600	—	—	—	10,884,174	10,884,174	106.98	—	—
90	Duluth, Minn.	101,463	4,285,000	2,453,000	2,532,000	9,270,000	N	N	N	N	9,270,000	6,738,000	66.41	N	0
91	Tampa, Fla.	101,161	Not Reported												
92	Gary, Ind.[46]	100,426	2,137,296	3,323,000	N	5,460,296	169,742	38	62	N	5,290,554	5,290,554	52.68	—	—
93	Lowell, Mass.	100,234	3,664,690	412,000	348,500	4,425,190	N	N	N	N	4,425,190	4,076,690	40.67	N	0
	Group IV **Population 50,000 to 100,000**														
94	Waterbury, Conn.	99,902	10,062,500	1,142,000	6,216,000	17,420,500	N	N	N	N	17,420,500	11,204,500	112.15	N	0
95	Schenectady, N. Y.	95,692	9,118,000	1,172,000	301,000	10,591,000	90,015	95	N	5	10,500,985	10,203,972	106.63	651,000	100
96	Sacramento, Calif.[47]	93,750	3,620,680	6,198,000	3,703,000	13,521,680	N	N	N	N	13,521,680	9,818,680	104.73	545,489	0
97	Allentown, Pa.[36]	92,563	4,878,400	4,158,000	720,000	9,756,400	1,016,025	—	74	—	8,740,375	8,020,375	86.68	226,300	0
98	Bayonne, N. J.	88,979	Not Reported												
99	Wilkes-Barre, Pa.	86,626	Not Reported												
100	Rockford, Ill.	85,864	600,500	2,368,000	25,000	2,993,500	179,500	39	47	14	2,814,000	2,814,000	32.77	666,424	0
101	Lawrence, Mass.[48]	85,068	2,278,000	422,000	477,000	3,177,000	N	N	N	N	3,177,000	2,700,000	31.74	N	0
102	Savannah, Ga.[49]	85,024	4,028,000	495,000	120,000	4,643,000	235,500	100	N	N	4,407,500	4,287,500	50.43	N	0

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[40] **Wichita.** General debt includes $1,599,000, city's share of county debt for welfare.

[41] **Wilmington, Del.** Debt as of June 30, 1939. School bond redemption assumed by state legislature; city pays interest.

[42] **Peoria.** General city debt includes $1,380,000 sanitary district debt.

[43] **South Bend.** General debt includes $411,000 park board debt, and $675,010 (city's share) township debt for relief.

[44] **Somerville.** Utility debt is not self-supporting.

[45] **Lynn.** Does not include $582,000 tax title loans.

[46] **Gary.** General debt includes $40,000 library debt.

[47] **Sacramento.** Utility debt includes $435,000 wharf bonds, not self-supporting.

[48] **Lawrence.** General debt includes $145,000 state tax funding loan issued in 1939 but not $35,321 tax title loans. Utility debt is not self-supporting.

[49] **Savannah.** Debt as of March 31, 1940.

			GROSS BONDED DEBT				SINKING FUNDS				NET BONDED DEBT			GROSS SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS	
		Census 1930	General Improvement	Public Schools	Public Utility	Total	Total	Gen'l Improvement (per cent)	Public School (per cent)	Public Utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita Excluding Utilities	Total	Per Cent Gen'l City Obligation
103	Charlotte, N. C.	82,675	5,923,895	1,347,000	2,972,605	10,243,500	374,398	17	21	62	9,869,102	7,127,513	86.21	1,550,926	100
104	Berkeley, Calif.[50]	82,109	750,120	1,441,250	7,150,000	9,341,370	62,385	N	N	100	9,278,985	2,191,370	26.69	35,366	100
105	Altoona, Pa.	82,054	Not Reported												
106	Little Rock, Ark.	81,679	Not Reported												
107	St. Joseph, Mo.[37]	80,935	4,315,000	2,646,000	N	6,961,000	120,576	—	—	N	6,840,424	6,840,424	84.52	—	—
108	Saginaw, Mich.[34]	80,715	466,000	374,000	2,010,000	2,850,000	N	N	N	N	2,850,000	840,000	10.41	267,193	83
109	Harrisburg, Pa.	80,339	Not Reported												
110	Sioux City, Iowa	79,183	Not Reported												
111	Lansing, Mich.	78,397	976,000	N	943,000	1,919,000	979,000	11	N	89	940,000	870,000	11.10	N	0
112	Pawtucket, R. I.	77,149	10,171,000	3,403,000	2,763,000	16,337,000	2,553,332	50	34	16	13,783,668	11,434,361	148.21	—	—
113	Manchester, N. H.[51]	76,834	3,084,340	471,040	113,000	3,668,380	N	N	N	N	3,668,380	3,555,000	46.27	—	—
114	Binghamton, N. Y.	76,662	3,189,000	2,950,700	30,000	6,169,700	N	N	N	N	6,169,700	6,139,700	80.09	N	0
115	Shreveport, La.[52]	76,655	7,918,500	540,000	330,000	8,788,500	237,897	94	6	N	8,550,603	8,220,603	107.24	—	—
116	Pasadena, Calif.	76,086	3,023,614	2,897,720	6,000,536	11,921,870	119,917	N	N	100	11,801,953	5,921,334	77.82	2,502,823	0
117	Lincoln, Neb.[53]	75,933	950,750	3,080,500	1,747,000	5,778,250	497,429	7	N	93	5,280,821	3,995,480	52.61	145,902	100
118	Huntington, W. Va.	75,572	1,410,000	—	N	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	N	0
119	Niagara Falls, N. Y.[54]	75,460	8,204,255	6,833,210	1,552,930	16,590,395	228,797	N	N	100	16,361,598	15,037,465	199.28	189,823	0
120	Winston-Salem, N. C.[37]	75,274	8,745,456	3,509,858	2,551,686	14,807,000	349,569	—	—	18	14,457,431	11,969,432	159.01	212,000	100
121	East St. Louis, Ill.	74,347	Not Reported												
122	Troy, N. Y.	72,763	6,272,460	847,275	669,175	7,788,900	N	N	N	N	7,788,900	7,119,725	97.85	—	—
123	Quincy, Mass.	71,983	3,205,500	701,000	239,000	4,145,500	N	N	N	N	4,145,500	3,906,500	54.26	N	0
124	Springfield, Mass.	71,864	Not Reported												
125	Portland, Me.	70,810	Not Reported												
126	Lakewood, Ohio	70,509	1,919,760	2,122,500	112,000	4,154,260	438,081	90	10	N	3,716,179	3,604,179	51.12	15,980	100
127	Roanoke, Va.[37]	69,206	4,419,000	2,650,000	4,900,000	11,969,000	1,406,745	—	—	7	10,562,255	5,754,851	83.16	N	0
128	Springfield, Ohio	68,743	3,309,117	1,087,440	200,000	4,596,557	47,130	97	3	N	4,549,427	4,349,427	63.27	85,000	0
129	Mobile, Ala.[55]	68,202	5,423,818	—	3,897,000	9,320,818	N	N	N	N	9,320,818	5,423,818	79.53	3,421,567	100
130	New Britain, Conn.[56]	68,128	1,545,000	2,358,000	1,536,000	5,439,000	313,469	95	N	5	5,125,531	3,606,120	52.93	N	0
131	East Orange, N. J.	68,020	6,540,500	3,486,945	565,000	10,592,445	893,018	16	62	22	9,699,427	9,328,541	137.14	29,669	100
132	Racine, Wis.	67,542	2,462,000	1,026,000	1,021,000	4,509,000	114,000	100	N	N	4,395,000	3,374,000	49.95	71,022	0
133	Johnstown, Pa.	66,993	3,953,000	4,698,000	N	8,651,000	1,474,134	56	44	N	7,176,866	7,176,866	107.13	N	0

[50] **Berkeley.** Utility debt is city's share of East Bay Municipal Utility District debt.

[51] **Manchester.** Of the water bonds, $53,000 are not self-supporting.

[52] **Shreveport.** General debt includes $73,000 sanitary district debt.

[53] **Lincoln.** General debt includes $73,000 sanitary district debt.

[54] **Niagara Falls.** School debt includes $1,415,000 overlapping debt, specifically excluded by the constitution when ascertaining the debt limit.

[55] **Mobile.** Debt as of February 29, 1940. School debt included in general city debt.

[56] **New Britain.** Revenue anticipation serial coupon notes due within five years of $402,000 for WPA and $170,000 due within four years for welfare not included.

			GROSS BONDED DEBT				SINKING FUNDS				NET BONDED DEBT			GROSS SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS	
		Census 1930	General Improvement	Public Schools	Public Utility	Total	Total	Gen'l Improvement (per cent)	Public School (per cent)	Public Utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita Excluding Utilities	Total	Per Cent Gen'l City Obligation
134	Cicero, Ill.	66,602	Not Reported												
135	Atlantic City, N. J.[57]	66,198	24,073,600	—	2,175,000	26,248,600	N	N	N	N	26,248,600	24,073,600	363.66	—	—
136	Montgomery, Ala.[58]	66,079	4,665,000	2,332,000	2,827,000	9,824,000	N	N	N	N	9,824,000	6,997,000	105.89	2,511,000	100
137	Newton, Mass.	65,276	3,901,000	1,808,000	619,000	6,328,000	N	N	N	N	6,328,000	5,709,000	87.46	N	0
138	Covington, Ky.	65,252	1,503,000	564,000	2,231,000	4,298,000	N	N	N	N	4,298,000	2,067,000	31.68	—	—
139	Pontiac, Mich.	64,928	3,226,250	2,203,275	1,445,000	6,874,525	47,421	89	11	N	6,827,104	5,382,104	82.89	1,257,000	100
140	Hammond, Ind.[59]	64,560	2,849,470	1,626,500	1,123,000	5,598,970	151,237	57	8	35	5,447,733	4,377,733	67.81	4,471,355	0
141	Topeka, Kans.	64,120	782,850	1,750,000	535,000	3,067,850	528,539	N	N	100	2,539,311	2,532,850	39.50	477,691	100
142	Oak Park, Ill.[60]	63,982	1,477,000	1,924,000	1,145,000	4,546,000	375,000	N	100	N	4,171,000	3,026,000	47.29	253,920	0
143	Brockton, Mass.	63,797	Not Reported												
144	Evanston, Ill.	63,338	778,000	2,250,000	37,000	3,065,000	274,174	N	95	5	2,790,826	2,767,826	43.70	966,154	—
145	Passaic, N. J.	62,959	7,229,500	1,871,500	7,195,000	16,296,000	1,327,549	66	34	N	14,968,451	7,773,451	123.47	N	0
146	Terre Haute, Ind.[61]	62,810	962,500	600,000	N	1,562,500	53,306	N	100	N	1,509,194	1,509,194	24.03	N	0
147	Glendale, Calif.	62,736	Not Reported												
148	Charleston, S. C.	62,265	4,638,500	749,000	4,460,000	9,847,500	988,925	13	20	67	8,858,575	5,063,429	81.32	316,000	100
149	Wheeling, W. Va.[34]	61,659	706,900	236,000	1,238,000	2,180,900	N	N	N	N	2,180,900	942,900	15.29	N	0
150	Mount Vernon, N. Y.	61,499	5,955,200	3,887,050	2,720,000	12,562,250	2,070,135	16	N	84	10,492,115	9,524,235	154.87	N	0
151	Davenport, Iowa	60,751	1,918,217	1,607,000	N	3,525,217	131,385	100	N	N	3,393,832	3,393,832	55.86	230,272	0
152	Charleston, W. Va.	60,408	Not Reported												
153	Augusta, Ga.[34]	60,342	2,212,000	989,000	647,000	3,848,000	504,680	81	N	19	3,343,320	2,793,587	46.30	N	0
154	Lancaster, Pa.[34]	59,949	1,455,000	3,205,000	2,651,000	7,311,000	835,400	13	87	N	6,475,600	3,824,600	63.80	—	—
155	Medford, Mass.	59,714	2,745,000	941,000	440,000	4,126,000	20,000	100	N	N	4,106,000	3,666,000	61.39	N	0
156	Hoboken, N. J.	59,261	Not Reported												
157	Chester, Pa.	59,164	Not Reported												
158	Union City, N. J.	58,659	5,634,350	1,589,000	N	7,223,350	362,068	93	7	N	6,861,282	6,861,282	116.97	9,000	100
159	Malden, Mass.	58,036	2,363,000	1,239,000	105,000	3,707,000	200,644	100	N	N	3,506,356	3,401,356	58.61	N	0
160	Madison, Wis.[62]	57,899	2,762.200	2,392,750	249,000	5,403,950	N	N	N	N	5,403,950	5,154,950	89.03	116,900	—
161	Bethlehem, Pa.[63]	57,892	1,540,500	2,755,000	2,850,500	7.146,000	909,289	1	99	N	6,236,711	3,386,211	58.49	N	0
162	Beaumont, Tex.[64]	57,732	4,503,500	1,943,638	2,497,250	8,944,388	402.138	37	24	39	8,542,250	6,203,250	107.45	N	0
163	San Jose, Calif.[65]	57,651	880,650	1,197,000	N	2,077,650	N	N	N	N	2,077,650	2,077,650	36.04	79,696	—
164	Springfield, Mo.	57,527	1,342,135	1,488,500	N	2,830,635	246,055	66	34	N	2,584,580	2,584,580	44.93	—	—
165	Decatur, Ill.[66]	57,510	1,350,000	681,200	153,000	2,184,200	82,200	100	N	N	2,102,000	1,949,000	33.89	900,000	0
166	Irvington, N. J.	56,733	Not Reported												
167	Holyoke, Mass.	56,537	504,000	399.000	819,000	1,722,000	N	N	N	N	1,722,000	903,000	15.97	N	0
168	Hamtramck, Mich.	56,268	3,653,978	2.821,000	491,000	6,965,978	927,255	31	69	N	6,038,723	5,547,723	98.57	N	0

[57] **Atlantic City.** General city debt includes $390,600 bonds issued in lieu of delinquent state taxes. School debt included in general city.

[58] **Montgomery.** Debt as of February 29, 1940.

[59] **Hammond.** General debt includes $1,350,000 sanitary district debt and $590,000 park district debt.

[60] **Oak Park.** General debt includes $682,000 park district bonds.

[61] **Terre Haute.** General debt includes $458,000 debt of park district which is independent of the city.

[62] **Madison.** Of the utility debt, $99,000 is not self-supporting.

[63] **Bethlehem.** $2,150,000 of utility debt are bonds issued by the Bethlehem Municipal Water Authority, a separate corporation.

[64] **Beaumont.** Special assessment notes of $32,000 maturing serially not included.

[65] **San Jose.** Debt as of December 1, 1939.

[66] **Decatur.** General debt includes $339,000 park district and $425,000 sanitary district debt as of March 1, 1940.

			GROSS BONDED DEBT				SINKING FUNDS				NET BONDED DEBT			GROSS SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS	
		Census 1930	General Improvement	Public Schools	Public Utility	Total	Total	Gen'l Improvement (per cent)	Public School (per cent)	Public Utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita Excluding Utilities	Total	Per Cent Gen'l City Obligation
169	Cedar Rapids, Iowa[67]	56,097	1,334,600	1,486,500	976,000	3,797,100	N	N	N	N	3,797,100	2,821,100	50.28	N	0
170	York, Pa.	55,254	957,500	1,933,000	N	2,890,500	251,884	61	39	N	2,638,616	2,638,616	47.75	5,300	0
171	Jackson, Mich.	55,187	1,518,000	1,322,000	1,264,500	4,104,500	N	N	N	N	4,104,500	2,840,000	51.46	181,500	100
172	Kalamazoo, Mich.	54,786	N	1,366,000	N	1,366,000	N	N	N	N	1,366,000	1,366,000	24.93	12,500	100
173	East Chicago, Ind.[68]	54,784	1,104,160	1,510,000	2,069,000	4,683,160	411,988	N	5	95	4,271,172	2,594,160	47.35	—	—
174	McKeesport, Pa.	54,632	Not Reported												
175	New Rochelle, N. Y.	54,000	8,913,000	5,039,676	N	13,952,676	126,634	—	—	—	13,826,042	13,826,042	256.04	14,165	—
176	Macon, Ga.	53,829	975,000	724,000	40,000	1,739,000	N	N	N	N	1,739,000	1,699,000	31.56	—	—
177	Greensboro, N. C.	53,569	Not Reported												
178	Austin, Tex.	53,120	2,981,000	1,954,000	1,471,500	6,406,500	69,919	—	—	—	6,336,581	4,865,081	91.59	N	0
179	Highland Park, Mich.	52,959	1,165,000	2,885,000	155,000	4,205,000	1,972,522	53	43	4	2,232,478	2,158,576	40.76	25,700	100
180	Galveston, Tex.[69]	52,938	6,251,500	—	497,500	6,749,000	377,751	—	—	—	6,371,249	5,873,749	110.96	—	—
181	Waco, Tex.	52,848	Not Reported												
182	Fresno, Calif.[70]	52,513	594,500	2,900,000	2,165,000	5,659,500	433,694	1	20	79	5,225,806	3,404,100	64.82	—	—
183	Hamilton, Ohio[36]	52,176	1,242,861	960,000	931,850	3,134,711	47,421	—	38	—	3,087,290	2,155,440	41.31	81,118	100
184	Durham, N. C.	52,037	3,786,375	1,287,087	3,398,000	8,471,462	397,778	100	N	N	8,073,684	4,675,684	89.85	1,401,174	100
185	Columbia, S. C.	51,581	Not Reported												
186	Cleveland Hts., Ohio	50,945	629,500	4,746,500	N	5,376,000	850,028	30	70	N	4,525,972	4,525,972	88.84	399,458	100
187	Port Arthur, Tex.[71]	50,902	3,340,000	1,974,000	988,000	6,302,000	363,796	70	10	20	5,938,204	5,022,461	98.67	N	0
188	Dearborn, Mich.	50,358	10,998,000	5,866,275	2,218,000	19,082,275	5,638,741	83	1	16	13,443,534	12,135,727	240.98	102,800	100
189	Kenosha, Wis.	50,262	376,000	2,481,000	500,000	3,357,000	N	N	N	N	3,357,000	2,857,000	56.84	120,155	0
190	Asheville, N. C.[72]	50,193	15,390,721	2,776,445	5,221,725	23,388,891	N	N	N	N	23,388,891	18,167,166	361.95	N	0
191	Pueblo, Colo.	50,096	3,621,000	1,330,000	7,821,300	12,772,300	N	N	N	N	12,772,300	4,951,000	98.83	951,000	—
	Group V **Population 30,000 to 50,000**														
192	Pittsfield, Mass.	49,677	1,058,000	501,000	174,000	1,733,000	N	N	N	N	1,733,000	1,559,000	31.38	N	0
193	Woonsocket, R. I.	49,376	5,927,000	1,010,000	826,000	7,763,000	1,434,458	91	9	N	6,328,542	5,502,542	111.44	N	0
194	Haverhill, Mass.	48,710	1,325,000	72,000	145,000	1,542,000	N	N	N	N	1,542,000	1,397,000	28.68	—	—
195	Newcastle, Pa.	48,674	812,000	1,983,000	N	2,795,000	65,581	93	7	N	2,729,419	2,729,419	56.08	N	0
196	Everett, Mass.[73]	48,424	1,232,900	548,000	107,000	1,887,900	95,377	100	N	N	1,792,523	1,697,147	35.05	N	0
197	Jackson, Miss.	48,282	4,298,180	514,000	618,390	5,430,570	179,000	100	N	N	5,251,570	4,633,180	95.96	260,008	0
198	Phoenix, Ariz.[73]	48,118	3,523,000	3,655,000	4,925,000	12,103,000	1,243,122	7	93	N	10,859,878	5,934,878	123.34	322,849	0
199	Stockton, Calif.	47,963	4,881,700	400,000	N	5,281,700	N	N	N	N	5,281,700	5,281,700	110.12	18,211	0
200	Brookline, Mass.[73]	47,490	729,500	750,000	370,000	1,849,500	N	N	N	N	1,849,500	1,479,500	31.15	N	0
201	Elmira, N. Y.	47,397	2,080,000	980,000	360,000	3,420,000	N	N	N	N	3,420,000	3,060,000	64.56	N	0

[67] **Cedar Rapids.** Debt as of March 31, 1940.

[68] **East Chicago.** General debt includes $142,300 bonds of park district.

[69] **Galveston.** School debt included in general debt.

[70] **Fresno.** Debt as of March 1, 1940.

[71] **Port Arthur.** General debt includes sea-wall bonds retired from remission from the state of 8/9 of the state ad valorem taxes.

[72] **Asheville.** School debt includes $192,445 debt of three overlapping districts not included last year. Per capita figure excluding this item is $358.11. General debt includes $1,045,794 sanitary district bonds.

[73] **Everett, Phoenix, Brookline.** Utility debt is not self-supporting.

			GROSS BONDED DEBT				SINKING FUNDS				NET BONDED DEBT			GROSS SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS	
		Census 1930	General Improvement	Public Schools	Public Utility	Total	Total	Gen'l Improvement (per cent)	Public School (per cent)	Public Utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita Excluding Utilities	Total	Per Cent Gen'l City Obligation
202	Bay City, Mich.	47,355	435,000	544,500	1,275,000	2,254,500	231,970	34	44	22	2,022,530	798,401	16.86	192,000	100
203	Berwyn, Ill.	47,027	Not Reported												
204	Clifton, N. J.	46,875	Not Reported												
205	Aurora, Ill.	46,589	631,000	505,000	280,000	1,416,000	N	N	N	N	1,416,000	1,136,000	24.38	—	—
206	Muncie, Ind.	46,548	Not Reported												
207	Stamford, Conn.	46,346	2,815,000	2,365,779	N	5,180,779	355,289	9	91	N	4,825,490	4,825,490	104.12	N	0
208	Waterloo, Iowa	46,191	1,211,500	1,067,000	129,000	2,407,500	N	N	N	N	2,407,500	2,278,500	49.33	21,800	0
209	Chelsea, Mass.	45,816	1,858,700	298,500	N	2,157,200	414,577	100	N	N	1,742,623	1,742,623	38.04	N	0
210	Lexington, Ky.	45,736	1,973,500	919,000	N	2,892,500	420,197	85	15	N	2,472,303	2,472,303	54.06	50,742	—
211	Williamsport, Pa.[74]	45,729	636,000	976,000	N	1,612,000	263,072	31	69	N	1,348,928	1,348,928	29.50	86,300	0
212	Portsmouth, Va.	45,704	5,947,000	651,000	2,974,000	9,572,000	2,680,973	34	N	66	6,891,027	5,691,436	124.53	N	0
213	Jamestown, N. Y.[75]	45,155	601,256	1,773,000	413,000	2,787,256	88,676	N	N	100	2,698,580	2,374,256	52.58	76,000	100
214	Lorain, Ohio[88]	44,512	1,197,763	590,000	100,000	1,887,763	10,953	—	N	—	1,876,810	1,776,810	39.92	271,761	100
215	Chicopee, Mass.	43,930	1,048,000	6,500	287,000	1,341,500	N	N	N	N	1,341,500	1,054,500	24.00	329,000	—
216	Wichita Falls, Tex.[76]	43,690	3,185,000	1,781,000	2,638,400	7,604,400	225,056	5	2	93	7,379,344	4,951,242	113.33	—	—
217	Battle Creek, Mich.	43,523	613,000	861,500	304,000	1,778,500	N	N	N	N	1,778,500	1,474,500	33.84	—	—
218	Perth Amboy, N. J.	43,516	8,430,500	1,322,000	1,659,000	11,411,500	533,788	32	35	33	10,877,712	9,392,508	215.84	N	0
219	Salem, Mass.	43,353	887,500	123,500	215,000	1,226,000	N	N	N	N	1,226,000	1,011,000	23.32	—	—
220	Amarillo, Tex.	43,132	Not Reported												
221	Columbus, Ga.	43,131	1,856,500	678,000	75,000	2,609,500	89,420	100	N	N	2,520,080	2,445,080	56.69	24,500	100
222	Joliet, Ill.[77]	42,993	706,500	1,217,450	87,000	2,010,950	N	N	N	N	2,010,950	1,923,950	44.75	639,000	—
223	Cranston, R. I.[78]	42,911	2,643,500	2,255,000	N	4,898,500	236,465	N	100	N	4,662,035	4,662,035	108.64	—	—
224	Portsmouth, Ohio	42,560	Not Reported												
225	Lima, Ohio	42,287	2,646,900	478,000	414,500	3,539,400	500	100	N	N	3,538,900	3,124,400	73.89	4,000	100
226	Council Bluffs, Iowa	42,048	Not Reported												
227	Montclair, N. J.	42,017	Not Reported												
228	Dubuque, Iowa[79]	41,679	1,220,563	383,000	170,000	1,773,563	340,006	10	39	51	1,433,557	1,433,557	34.40	65,400	0
229	Muskegon, Mich.	41,390	Not Reported												
230	Warren, Ohio	41,062	1,143,600	921,000	322,000	2,386,600	136,706	N	40	60	2,249,894	2,009,894	48.95	62,000	100
231	Kearny, N. J. [80]	40,716	4,053,577	1,900,500	6,381,000	12,335,077	281,500	—	26	—	12,053,577	5,672,577	139.32	N	0
232	Fitchburg, Mass.	40,692	1,178,000	739,000	251,400	2,168,400	N	N	N	N	2,168,400	1,917,000	47.10	N	0
233	Lynchburg, Va.[81]	40,661	3,332,119	—	2,493,083	5,825,202	1,020,163	—	—	49	4,805,039	2,811,956	69.16	N	0
234	St. Petersburg, Fla.	40,425	19,700,000	—	210,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	N	0
235	Poughkeepsie, N. Y.	40,288	3,477,958	1,121,800	357,000	4,956,758	21,679	66	34	N	4,935,078	4,578,078	113.63	161,890	100
236	Ogden, Utah	40,272	Not Reported												

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[74] **Williamsport.** School debt as of March 1, 1940.

[75] **Jamestown.** In computing the city's bonding limit school debt is not included.

[76] **Wichita Falls.** Utility debt, which is issued by water improvement district, has not been self-supporting in the past.

[77] **Joliet.** School debt shown is not an obligation of the city but of the school district.

[78] **Cranston.** Debt as of February 1, 1940.

[79] **Dubuque.** Debt as of March 11, 1940. General debt includes $205,000 dock bonds retired from taxation. School debt is not an obligation of the city.

[80] **Kearny.** Utility debt not entirely self-supporting. Division between general and utility sinking fund not available.

[81] **Lynchburg.** City debt includes school debt. Division between school and general city sinking fund not available.

			GROSS BONDED DEBT				SINKING FUNDS				NET BONDED DEBT			GROSS SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS	
		Census 1930	General Improvement	Public Schools	Public Utility	Total	Total	Gen'l Improvement (per cent)	Public School (per cent)	Public Utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita Excluding Utilities	Total	Per Cent Gen'l City Obligation
237	Oshkosh, Wis.	40,108	610,000	402,000	483,000	1,495,000	N	N	N	N	1,495,000	1,012,000	25.23	N	0
238	Anderson, Ind.	39,804	Not Reported												
239	East Cleveland, Ohio[82]	39,667	951,000	1,503,000	N	2,454,000	809,975	52	48	N	1,644,025	1,644,025	41.44	171,200	100
240	La Crosse, Wis.	39,614	549,000	863,000	23,000	1,435,000	3,000	—	—	—	1,432,000	1,409,000	35.57	51,325	0
241	Butte, Mont.	39,532	Not Reported												
242	Sheboygan, Wis.	39,251	1,192,000	584,000	135,000	1,911,000	N	N	N	N	1,911,000	1,776,000	45.25	38,556	0
243	Waltham, Mass.	39,247	Not Reported												
244	Quincy, Ill.[83]	39,241	N	736,000	220,000	956,000	N	N	N	N	956,000	736,000	18.76	150,820	—
245	Meriden, Conn.	38,481	528,000	825,000	81,000	1,434,000	10,529	100	N	N	1,423,471	1,342,471	34.89	—	—
246	Bloomfield, N. J.	38,077	2,215,000	2,705,500	1,094,000	6,014,500	23,000	65	N	35	5,991,500	4,905,500	128.83	38,331	—
247	Rock Island, Ill.	37,953	Not Reported												
248	Cumberland, Md.[84]	37,747	2,644,000	1,410,000	3,174,900	7,228,900	1,212,971	36	N	64	6,015,929	3,617,914	95.85	N	0
249	San Bernardino, Calif.	37,481	555,417	1,203,000	194,975	1,953,392	87,410	22	67	11	1,865,982	1,680,324	44.83	N	0
250	Green Bay, Wis.[85]	37,415	241,764	1,569,000	776,000	2,586,764	246,780	N	89	11	2,339,984	1,589,984	42.50	—	—
251	Raleigh, N. C.	37,379	Not Reported												
252	Taunton, Mass.	37,355	Not Reported												
253	Santa Monica, Calif.[86]	37,146	1,757,500	1,769,000	5,112,953	8,639,453	242,036	34	19	47	8,397,417	3,397,066	91.45	186,000	100
254	West New York, N. J.	37,107	Not Reported												
255	Hazleton, Pa.	36,765	1,726,000	1,374,000	N	3,100,000	194,414	24	76	N	2,905,586	2,905,586	79.03	—	—
256	Danville, Ill.	36,765	117,000	272,225	N	389,225	N	N	N	N	389,225	389,225	10.59	91,000	0
257	High Point, N. C.	36,745	2,888,792	1,859,000	2,466,000	7,213,792	364,916	—	—	—	6,848,876	4,382,876	119.28	3,765,000	100
258	Auburn, N. Y.	36,652	2,645,770	1,090,000	210,500	3,946,270	21,265	N	N	100	3,925,005	3,735,770	101.93	128,655	100
259	Zanesville, Ohio	36,440	Not Reported												
260	Superior, Wis.	36,113	655,643	1,322,928	N	1,978,571	N	N	N	N	1,978,571	1,978,571	54.79	N	0
261	Arlington, Mass.	36,094	55,000	440,000	26,000	521,000	13,237	—	—	—	507,763	481,763	13.35	—	—
262	Norwalk, Conn.[87]	36,019	2,306,000	1,978,000	850,000	5,134,000	273,890	—	—	N	4,860,110	4,010,110	111.33	N	0
263	Elgin, Ill.[88]	35,929	1,054,500	422,000	145,000	1,621,500	26,629	31	N	69	1,594,871	1,449,871	40.35	237,155	0
264	Norristown, Pa.	35,853	690,000	—	N	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	N	0
265	White Plains, N. Y.	35,830	4,887,532	6,685,000	1,243,000	12,815,532	817,027	59	29	12	11,998,505	10,852,370	302.88	N	0
266	Revere, Mass.	35,680	Not Reported												
267	Steubenville, Ohio	35,422	341,990	844,750	26,000	1,212,740	45,259	40	42	18	1,167,481	1,149,581	32.45	620,340	100
268	Orange, N. J.	35,399	3,195,000	1,217,500	101,000	4,513,500	284,640	41	59	N	4,228,860	4,127,860	116.61	N	0
269	Alameda, Calif.	35,033	135,145	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	70,498	100
270	Lewiston, Me.	34,948	Not Reported												
271	Watertown, Mass.	34,913	759,500	438,000	4,000	1,201,500	N	N	N	N	1,201,500	1,197,000	34.29	N	0

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[82] **East Cleveland.** General debt includes $50,000 library debt.

[83] **Quincy.** Utility debt includes $200,000 sewer and sewage disposal plant not self-supporting.

[84] **Cumberland.** School debt issued by county. Amount reported is city's share (50%).

[85] **Green Bay.** General debt includes $41,000 sewer district and $16,000 park district bonds.

[86] **Santa Monica.** Utility debt includes $5,112,953, city's share of Metropolitan Water District debt and $980,750 water bonds not self-supporting.

[87] **Norwalk.** General debt includes $19,000 public improvement debt for first district and $75,000 for second district which is not a direct obligation of the city. See footnote 37.

[88] **Elgin.** General debt includes sanitary district debt of $236,000.

			GROSS BONDED DEBT				SINKING FUNDS				NET BONDED DEBT			GROSS SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS	
		Census 1930	General Improvement	Public Schools	Public Utility	Total	Total	Gen'l Improvement (per cent)	Public School (per cent)	Public Utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita Excluding Utilities	Total	Per Cent Gen'l City Obligation
272	Amsterdam, N. Y.	34,817	Not Reported												
273	West Allis, Wis.[89]	34,671	1,151,000	955,000	237,000	2,343,000	N	N	N	N	2,343,000	2,106,000	60.74	449,172	0
274	New Brunswick, N. J.[90]	34,555	3,051,100	956,000	1,004,000	5,011,100	N	N	N	N	5,011,100	4,007,100	115.96	N	0
275	Easton, Pa.	34,468	2,565,000	1,375,000	3,569,000	7,509,000	468,170	92	8	N	7,040,830	3,471,830	100.73	N	0
276	Plainfield, N. J.[97]	34,422	2,956,000	1,682,000	N	4,638,000	118,617	—	—	N	4,519,383	4,519,383	131.29	44,317	100
277	Newport News, Va.	34,417	2,401,500	1,177,500	2,898,000	6,477,000	1,306,729	—	—	—	5,170,271	2,272,271	66.02	N	0
278	Santa Barbara, Calif.	33,613	1,054,825	1,361,750	633,500	3,050,075	254,164	29	50	21	2,795,911	2,216,807	65.95	—	—
279	Paducah, Ky.	33,541	1,611,000	150,500	2,205,000	3,966,500	203,693	34	52	14	3,762,807	1,586,613	47.30	—	—
280	Mansfield, Ohio	33,525	Not Reported												
281	Joplin, Mo.	33,454	411,000	821,000	N	1,232,000	118,848	65	35	N	1,113,152	1,113,152	33.27	N	0
282	Waukegan, Ill.	33,499	Not Reported												
283	Norwood, Ohio	33,411	665,036	773,000	83,000	1,521,036	245,665	97	3	N	1,275,371	1,192,371	35.69	N	0
284	Sioux Falls, S. Dak.	33,362	782,500	1,599,500	150,000	2,532,000	1,335,210	10	84	6	1,196,790	1,121,582	33.62	N	0
285	Colorado Springs, Colo.	33,237	447,000	737,000	1,612,000	2,796,000	64,735	N	N	100	2,731,265	1,184,000	35.62	29,000	0
286	Elkhart, Ind.	32,949	50,000	515,900	1,096,000	1,661,900	85,405	12	N	88	1,576,495	555,816	16.87	—	0
287	Kokomo, Ind.	32,843	417,000	464,000	222,000	1,103,000	N	N	N	N	1,103,000	881,000	26.82	—	—
288	Laredo, Tex.	32,618	Not Reported												
289	Tucson, Ariz.[91]	32,506	1,301,000	1,175,000	854,500	3,330,500	639,474	48	19	33	2,691,026	2,047,034	62.97	787,780	100
290	Richmond, Ind.	32,493	590,000	570,000	N	1,160,000	65,801	55	45	N	1,094,199	1,094,199	33.67	—	—
291	Rome, N. Y.	32,338	Not Reported												
292	Wilmington, N. C.	32,270	Not Reported												
293	Moline, Ill.	32,236	670,700	516,000	306,000	1,492,700	31,261	94	N	6	1,461,439	1,157,375	35.90	126,147	0
294	Watertown, N. Y.	32,205	2,181,259	917,000	553,000	3,651,259	220,873	64	36	N	3,430,386	2,877,385	89.35	7,287	0
295	Muskogee, Okla.	32,026	Not Reported												
296	Meridian, Miss.[92]	31,954	1,833,826	862,611	466,000	3,162,437	18,492	98	2	N	3,143,945	2,677,945	83.81	124,407	100
297	Pensacola, Fla.	31,579	2,211,500	782,000	171,000	3,164,500	408,597	100	N	N	2,755,903	2,584,903	81.86	N	0
298	Nashua, N. H.	31,463	Not Reported												
299	Fort Smith, Ark.	31,429	173,500	837,100	1,219,000	2,229,600	322,000	32	N	68	1,907,600	906,600	28.85	N	0
300	Port Huron, Mich.	31,361	934,769	264,000	42,000	1,240,769	169,205	71	29	N	1,071,564	1,029,564	32.83	42,295	100
301	Newburgh, N. Y.[93]	31,275	1,227,002	1,624,344	498,231	3,349,577	41,875	81	19	N	3,307,702	2,809,471	89.83	6,000	100
302	Marion, Ohio	31,084	624,500	—	N	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	32,000	100
303	Bloomington, Ill.	30,930	Not Reported												
304	Hagerstown, Ind.	30,861	2,135,000	—	2,705,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	N	0
305	Bellingham, Wash.[94]	30,823	547,000	431,100	735,000	1,713,100	117,699	67	N	33	1,595,401	898,932	29.16	N	0
306	Baton Rouge, La.	30,729	Not Reported												
307	Newark, Ohio	30,596	Not Reported												
308	Everett, Wash.	30,567	785,000	296,000	1,795,000	2,876,000	222,187	29	7	64	2,653,813	1,000,336	32.73	—	—
309	Santa Ana, Calif.	30,322	411,720	1,623,000	98,970	2,133,690	144,074	22	69	9	1,989,616	1,903,815	62.79	445,342	0
310	Alton, Ill.	30,151	Not Reported												

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[89] **West Allis.** Utility debt is not self-supporting.

[90] **New Brunswick.** Does not include bond anticipation notes of $34,200 for municipal stadium and $27,000 for poor relief.

[91] **Tucson.** Water debt is legally a general city obligation, but is actually entirely self-supporting.

[92] **Meridian.** Debt as of September 30, 1939.

[93] **Newburgh.** Welfare district bonds of $86,000 included in general debt are a joint liability of the city and town of Newburgh.

[94] **Bellingham.** Utility debt includes city's share $129,000 of Port of Bellingham debt.

	Canadian Cities	Population	GROSS BONDED DEBT General Improvement	Public Schools	Public Utility	Total	SINKING FUNDS Total	Gen'l Improvement (per cent)	Public School (per cent)	Public Utility (per cent)	NET BONDED DEBT Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita Excluding Utilities	GROSS SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS Total	Per Cent Gen'l City Obligation
1	Montreal, Que.[95]	818,577	166,596,611	35,697,000	68,061,591	270,355,202	53,640,261	85	13	2	216,714,941	149,704,077	182.88	39,129,036	—
2	Toronto, Ont.[96]	626,674	50,681,603	23,951,361	68,736,097	143,369,061	32,590,753	32	22	46	110,778,308	57,072,906	91.07	14,348,918	100
3	Vancouver, B. C.	246,593	44,116,548	10,306,283	9,640,252	64,063,083	14,395,304	—	—	—	49,667,779	43,787,848	177.57	6,599,758	100
4	Winnipeg, Man.	218,785	11,846,968	8,497,529	39,967,344	60,311,841	33,384,613	20	14	66	26,927,228	8,741,439	39.95	3,823,305	100
5	Hamilton, Ont.	153,507	14,155,209	3,155,358	5,559,200	22,869,767	534,705	3	N	97	22,335,062	17,294,566	112.66	1,165,622	100
6	Quebec, Que.	130,594	Not Reported												
7	Ottawa, Ont.	126,872	10,555,075	3,196,324	5,871,698	19,623,098	4,756,389	32	13	55	14,866,709	11,620,094	91.59	2,116,445	100
8	Windsor, Ont.[97]	103,644	28,415,152	4,180,562	50,000	32,645,714	1,040,496	—	—	—	31,605,218	—	—	—	—
9	Edmonton, Alta.[98]	90,419	20,240,219	3,190,351	5,500,017	28,930,587	5,325,656	93	7	N	23,604,931	18,104,914	200.23	—	100
10	Calgary, Alta.	83,761	2,171,947	1,865,700	10,186,997	14,224,644	1,265,440	—	—	21	12,959,204	2,798,622	33.41	1,989,697	100
11	London, Ont.[99]	71,148	3,933,253	1,842,794	2,860,827	8,636,874	2,745,884	35	23	42	5,890,990	4,182,144	58.78	354,104	100
12	Verdun, Que.[100]	60,745	8,500,491	3,857,139	100,000	12,457,630	2,659,228	89	10	1	9,798,402	9,733,727	160.24	1,752,500	100
13	Halifax, N. S.[101]	59,275	10,990,730	2,743,804	2,233,769	15,968,303	5,874,426	60	28	12	10.093,877	8,583,560	144.81	1,986,376	100
14	Regina, Sask.[102]	53,209	7,027,877	2,350,746	6,124,185	15,502,808	7,212,329	42	10	48	8,290,479	5,646,867	106.13	3,111,028	100
15	St. John, N. B.[103]	47,514	2,700,145	2,261,500	3,726,662	8,688,307	3,263,324	38	23	39	5,424,983	2,981,633	62.75	146,196	100
16	Saskatoon, Sask.	43,291	6,524,777	2,623,073	4,096,317	13,244,167	5,920,000	41	11	48	7,324,167	6,058,629	139.95	2,349,911	100
17	Victoria, B. C.	39,082	8,949,094	110,000	4,730,380	13,789,474	304,846	23	31	46	13,484,628	8,894,835	227.59	N	0
18	Three Rivers, Que.	35,450	Not Reported												

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[95] **Montreal.** Debt as of October 31, 1939.

[96] **Toronto.** School debt includes $2,000,000 issued by Toronto R. C. School Board, a separate corporation.

[97] **Windsor.** Figures shown are total debt for all purposes including special assessments. Segregation of utility from general debt not available.

[98] **Edmonton.** Property owners share of special assessments is $1,332,295, city's share included in general debt, but amount not available.

[99] **London.** Electric Radial debt of $1,633,439 is not self-supporting.

[100] **Verdun.** General debt includes $12,246 consolidated property-tax bonds redeemable from collections.

[101] **Halifax.** Debt as of April 30, 1939.

[102] **Regina.** General debt includes $100,000 airport. Street railway debt of $1,969,318 is not self-supporting.

[103] **St. John.** Does not include city's liability for county debt of $2,244,503 incurred for hospitals and relief.

Contributors in Review

SINCE 1935 **Richard A. Atkins** (*The Old and the New in Massachusetts Towns*) has served on the staff of the Boston Municipal Research Bureau, more recently as assistant secretary. He followed his graduation from Hamilton College with a term as school master, then went back to school himself to do advanced work at Harvard and at the Syracuse School of Citizenship and Public Affairs.

A NEWSPAPERMAN who is not cynical about good government, **Lewis W. Bailey** (*Dallas Weighs City-County Merger*) was a member of the Charter Commission which gave council-manager government to Dallas, Texas, and is now a member of the Citizens Traffic Commission, appointed by the city manager. Besides being editor of the *Dallas Journal,* Mr. Bailey is its chief editorial writer. He began his newspaper career in 1898 in Michigan, and went to Dallas twenty years ago.

TO observe government in operation is a major professional duty of **Edward F. Dow** (*Maine's Political Chickens*). In 1936-37, on leave from the University of Maine where he heads the Department of History and Government, Professor Dow served as special agent for the Department of Commerce, carrying on research in three cities. In 1938 he collaborated in a study of city manager government in Portland for the Social Science Research Council. In 1940 he will serve on the Maine staff of the Brookings institution in making a survey of local relief administration.

HAVING rounded out twenty-five years as director of the Citizens League of Cleveland, **Mayo Fesler** (*Denver Consolidation a Shining Light*) can look back also upon sixteen additional years with citizen organizations in other cities, including the Civic League of St. Louis, the City Club of Chicago, and the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce. A few years ago Mr. Fesler made a swing around the country to find out about city-county consolidation in other jurisdictions besides Cleveland; he collected a mass of material which is still in process of being written down.

IN THE line of duty **Frederick P. Gruenberg** (*Philadelphia's City-County Dilemma*) has been, at various times, a business man, a teacher, a social worker, a financier, a researcher, and a citizen campaign leader. With a background of diverse business and financial experience, he was the director of the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, lectured at Hobart College and the Pennsylvania School of Social and Health Work, served as public service commissioner of Pennsylvania from 1931 to 1937, and has been executive secretary of the City Charter Committee of Philadelphia since 1938.

EXCEPT for an interlude in 1933-36, **Robert A. Martino** (*County Purchasing Methods Reviewed*) has been on the staff of the National Bureau of Standards United States Department of Commerce, since 1923. Now he is chief of the consumer contacts and labeling section. Mr. Martino's work deals with governmental purchasing and consumer activities, commercial standardization, the preparation of publications dealing with standards and specifications and labeling operations. The three-year interlude was as liason officer of the NRA as consumer representative on codes and later as assistant deputy administrator.

(Continued on Page 432)

The Researcher's Digest: June

Research made elementary by Dayton bureau; Washington bibliography of state publications; responsibility of citizens for increasing government costs; distribution of research bulletins; Rochester birthday.

THE popular conception of the expert as one who knows more and more about less and less is often bulwarked by the expert's irritating habit of using big words, high-sounding words, and words with technical meanings. Therefore it happens that the expert frequently finds himself handing out his knowledge to an exclusive audience composed of other experts who neither appreciate his wisdom nor profit by his warnings. And the general public remains in the dark.

To bring light painlessly, nonirritatingly, to the governmentally "unwashed" is the increasingly frequent aim of the research bureaus. Now comes the **Dayton Research Association** with an appealing *Adult Primer of Montgomery County Government* (March 1940).

In twenty-one mimeographed pages, using capital letters exclusively, with a plentiful leavening of simplified maps, pictorial diagrams, and drawings, the association delves into the historical past, tells how the county grew, explains governmental structure and governmental cost, outlines the duties of each of the county departments, and winds up with ten precepts under the heading "So, What About It?"

According to the research bureau, the answer to that question is that improvement in government is gradual, and must result from knowledge of the facts and the realities. Point number 7 is: "A Study of Government Should Begin with an Elementary Outline (A Primer), Disregarding the Extent of Education of 'The Pupil' Along Other Lines." The Dayton Research Associations' *Adult Primer* admirably fills the bill.

Seeing Eye

Streams of publications issue from government offices and John Q. Citizen, as usual in the dark, doesn't realize that the specific information he wants on the care and feeding of moths, the location of vacation camp sites, and the whys and wherefores of the tax collector's office, is available to him at the price of a two-cent stamp and an envelope addressed to "the government."

The **Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of Washington** has therefore constituted itself a seeing eye for blind Mr. Citizen in the state of Washington. Report No. 41 (March 1, 1940) is a list of periodical and other current publications issued by offices, departments, and institutions of the state of Washington.

The foreword to *Publications of the State of Washington* supplies the incidental information that the state publishes "over two hundred biennial, annual, semi-annual, and other periodical publications and has in print approximately 1,250 other individual publications of current and general interest which with few exceptions are available to the public."

Milwaukeeans Want Too Much

An unusual tack on the question of rising government costs is taken by the **Citizens' Bureau of Milwaukee** in its bulletin of May 4. Instead of reviling government officials for their spending ways, the Bureau admonishes: "Milwaukeeans should STOP DEMANDING INCREASED EXPENDITURES!"

The bureau studied the *Financial Statistics of Cities* of the United States

Bureau of the Census and found that Milwaukee's per capita operation and maintenance expenditures for general departments was 15 per cent more in 1937 than in 1926, comparing with a 7 per cent increase in the costs of the twenty-five largest cities in the United States. Pensions to public employees, health and hospitals, police, recreation and sanitation, were among the items whose cost increased in greater proportion than similar costs in other cities.

Transmission Belt for Research

A new arrangement which it deems to have vast potentialities for increasing the circulation of research bureau publications has been developed by the **Citizens' Bureau of Governmental Research of New York State.** The bureau offers to taxpayer and civic groups in the state, at minimum prices, copies of its bulletins in bulk, for distribution to members of the interested groups through their own channels. There are two price schedules: one for copies of the bulletin on the bureau's own masthead; another for copies on the masthead of the distributing organization, with a special message from the organization to its own members printed above the body of the bulletin.

Says the bureau: "The advantages of this arrangement are: a saving to the bureau of more than $9,000 a year in printing and mailing costs; the securing of select mailing lists; the actual or implied endorsement of the distributing organizations; and the awakening of interest in government of many people who would not otherwise receive data on administrative improvements and economy in public affairs."

GRA Constitution Fails

A proposed new constitution for the Governmental Research Association was turned down by fifty-four votes to sixty-nine in a mail balloting, reports the GRA's April *Bulletin.* Tabulated as part of the negative vote were fifty-nine nonvoters. The organization is now considering amendment of its old constitution. Fundamental question before the membership is the delimitation of membership.

Silver Anniversary

The **Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research** was twenty-five years old on Saturday, April 20.

Research Bureau Reports Received

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Publications of the State of Washington. Compiled by Lloyd W. Schram. Bureau of Governmental Research, University of Washington, Seattle, March 1, 1940. 35 pp. mimeo.

County Government

An Adult Primer of Montgomery County Government. Dayton, Ohio, Research Association, March 1940. 21 pp. mimeo.

Finance

Pertinent Financial Data, City of Baltimore. As at January 1, 1940. Baltimore, Md. Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Inc., 1940. 15 pp.

Personnel

Progress with a No-Hiring Policy. Boston Municipal Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* May 6, 1940. 8 pp.

Proportional Representation

Baltimore Elections and Proportional Representation. A report by the staff of the Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Inc., April 1940. 28 pp. mimeo. (For a review of this publication see page 431 of this issue.)

News in Review

City, County, State Progress in Brief

(Continued from Page 355)

ing and within the protection afforded by the courts."

Initiative Proposals in Washington

State-wide attention is being directed toward Initiative No. 145, providing a complete reorganization of the state of Washington's administrative code, reducing the number of policy-determining departments under control of the governor from thirteen to eight, providing budgetary control by a board of finance consisting of the governor, state auditor, and treasurer, and also providing increased responsibilities for other elective department heads.

Other initiatives for which public support is sought would provide a unicameral legislature, increased old-age pensions (from $30 to $40 monthly), and state regulation of the gasoline industry, and would require public utility districts to submit proposed bond issues to a vote of the citizens in each district, a majority of 50 per cent of the number voting in the last previous general election being needed to authorize.

Ewen C. Dingwall
Municipal League of Seattle

Personnel Aid for Cities

New York municipalities will soon be able to obtain advice and technical assistance on personnel management from the state under a new amendment to the state civil service law which authorizes the State Civil Service Commission to furnish cities and other local governments, at their request, with technical personnel services on job classifications and civil service examinations for such compensation as may be agreed upon.

The California State Personnel Board in Sacramento is now preparing examination material, giving examinations, and performing other personnel functions, in varying degree, for Los Angeles County and for seven of the smaller municipalities of the state.

Minnesota, Rhode Island, Tennessee, and Wisconsin, have also provided that the state may furnish personnel facilities to local governments at their expense, according to the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada.

Americans Moving to Suburbs

Because of many different factors, cities of the United States are "flattening out," according to Director William L. Austin of the United States Bureau of the Census. The census chief made this statement recently after studying field office reports for the 1940 census—the nation's sixteenth decennial enumeration—which indicate that a tremendous migration of city residents to suburban areas has taken place since the 1930 census.

Among the factors recited by Director Austin in this significant population movement are: improved roads and transportation facilities which enable people to live farther away from their work; cheaper housing in rural areas near cities; opportunities to supplement wage and salary income by raising poultry and garden produce; and expansion of electric and water service to rural areas in recent years. Probably the greatest factor, however, was the desire to own a home and a plot of ground out in the country.

There is little doubt that this flattening out process will be reflected in 1940 population figures of many cities, Director Austin said. The rate of growth in hundreds of cities has slowed down. Some cities will show an actual decline in population. This development was forecast by the test census last summer in two

Indiana counties. A slight decrease in the population of South Bend and Mishawaka, the leading cities in the two counties, was more than balanced by a sharp increase in the number of residents living in adjacent areas.

These population losses did not affect the economic strength of the cities, the census head explained, since the suburban residents still worked and spent their money in the urban areas. In fact, a whole new market was created for such commodities as gardening tools, sports equipment, and lawn and porch furniture.

Additional indications of this movement were found in the returns of the 1935 farm census which revealed a sharp increase in the number of small farms located in the neighborhood of industrial areas, and in the number of part-time farmers.

Council-Manager Plan News

The council-manager plan was adopted by **Silverton, Oregon**, by a vote of 551 to 368 on May 17. Five other local governments in that state are reported to be studying the plan, namely, **Klamath Falls, Roseburg, Salem, Grants Pass, Clatsop County,** and **Clackamas County.**

In **Arcadia, California**, the manager plan was defeated by a vote of 1,923 to 635.

A petition seeking to place Plan E—the council-manager plan with P.R.—on the ballot in **Cambridge, Massachusetts**, for the second time next fall, was filed May 7 by Dean James M. Landis of the Harvard Law School, leader in the movement. It was reported to contain more than 9,000 names, whereas only 4,600 are necessary, this being 10 per cent of the vote cast in the last gubernatorial election.

Lowell and **North Adams, Massachusetts**, have joined the list of cities in that state which are working toward a charter change to provide for council-manager government.

Newport, Rhode Island, which in 1926 voted almost three to one in favor of the city manager plan (an advisory vote only), has again become actively interested in the subject. The committee on municipal affairs of the Chamber of Commerce has recently sent out questionnaires to Newport citizens asking if they favor a change in the present form of government and if so, whether they favor the manager plan. The committee has already expressed itself unanimously as favorable to the latter.

In **Fayetteville, North Carolina,** a committee representing a number of civic organizations has been discussing a proposed change to the manager plan. I. M. Richardson, secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, recommended the plan to the Kiwanis Club in May, on the basis of his experience in Sumter, South Carolina, where the plan is in effect.

In **East Lansing, Michigan,** at a meeting of the Commercial Club on May 7, the city manager form of government, as compared with East Lansing's aldermanic type, was praised by William J. Balgooyen, city attorney of Muskegon Heights. The club has petitioned the city council to submit to the voters the question of revising the city charter and one of the changes that many supporters of the proposal favor is the establishment of the manager form of government in East Lansing.

In **Illinois** both the Democratic candidate for governor, Harry B. Hershey, and the Republican candidate, Dwight H. Green, have signed the petition calling for a referendum as to whether the legislature shall make it possible for any city to adopt the council-manager plan if it so desires, according to Mrs. Philip Ringer, city manager petition chairman of the Illinois League of Women Voters.

The village of **St. Louis Park, Minnesota,** may have opportunity to vote on the manager plan. A charter drafted by a citizen committee calls for a manager of village affairs to be employed directly by the village council and responsible to it, according to Marlowe Stevens, chairman of the charter committee. It is expected that the council will submit it to the voters of the village for a referendum.

The new council of **Kansas City, Missouri,** has appointed as city manager L. P. Cookingham, manager at Saginaw, Michigan, since 1936, and president of the International City Managers' Association. He is expected to take office early in June. In May the council voted to hire four experts to gather technical and personnel information to be available for Mr. Cookingham.

The city of **San Benito, Texas,** although not provided with a manager charter, has a city manager through appointment by the city commission on April 22. He was instructed by the commission to make a survey of all city departments immediately and to prepare a report, with recommendations, on conditions, costs, etc.

Lynn, Massachusetts; **Waterbury, Vermont**; **Thompsonville, Connecticut**; **Dunkirk, New York,** and **Vernon, Texas,** are among American communities that are showing interest in the plan.

City Manager Meetings

City and town managers in **Vermont** met at Rutland on April 18, elected officers, and discussed management problems. The next meeting is planned for early July in Montpelier.

Southeastern Michigan managers held a dinner meeting at Pontiac on April 19, with the city manager as host. The main topic of the evening, aside from professional matters, was a discussion of the factors that should determine an essential municipal service.

The **Florida** managers met at Orlando on April 21, with fourteen managers in attendance. New officers were elected and a committee was appointed to draft a constitution to be submitted at the next regular meeting, to be held in December.

San Jose Charter Amendments

Four out of five charter amendments that were voted on in San Jose, California, on May 6 were adopted. The successful measures provide that:

1. Council members shall be elected for four-year terms instead of six. Elections will continue to be two years apart, with four councilmen chosen at one election and three at the next, instead of 2-2-3 as at present.

2. The question of retaining or discharging the incumbent city manager shall be placed on the ballot every two years.

3. The civil service commissioners shall be appointed for life by the council, but are subject to removal by the council and also, every four years, by the voters. They may also be paid, whereas now they are unpaid.

5. Members of the Board of Education are to be elected at a municipal election, instead of being appointed by the manager. No method of nomination and election is specified. Protection of non-teaching employees against dismissal is weakened.

The one amendment that was defeated was No. 4, which stated that the civil service commission "shall provide for the promotion to all positions in the classified service based on competitive written examinations with due consideration to the records of efficiency, character, and seniority." It did not apply to initial employment.

All five amendments were opposed by the Citizens' Charter Association. They must still be passed upon by the state legislature, where one of the obstacles will be certain defects in wording.

Los Angeles Charter Consultants Board

Mayor Fletcher Bowron of Los

Angeles has recently appointed a board of consultants to assist the citizens' committee already named by him,[1] in the proposed revision of the city's charter. The consultants are Edwin A. Cottrell of Stanford University, L. Tilton Deming on the staffs of the State Planning and Natural Resources Boards, William B. Munro of California Institute of Technology, and John M. Pfiffner of the University of Southern California.

Edwin A. Cottrell
Stanford University

New Municipal Training Bulletin in New York State

Four agencies—the New York State Department of Civil Service, the New York State Conference of Mayors, the Municipal Training Institute of New York, and the Bureau of Public Service Training of the State Department of Education—are coöperating in the preparation and circulation of a new bulletin called *Municipal Civil Service Information and Training Extension Service,* the primary aim of which is to contribute to higher standards and other permanent improvements in local administration.

In-Service Training for Municipal Employees

The total number of firemen, policemen, finance officers, and other municipal employees taking in-service training in order to learn more about their work is now approximately 50,000 according to a report of the International City Managers' Association.

All but ten states had some sort of public service training program last year for local government employees, and grants from federal funds for this purpose amounted to $90,000. Most of the courses were for firemen and policemen. About 30,000 firemen went to school in thirty states, and 9,000 policemen attended courses in twenty states.

Fifteen states extended training programs to other jobs, each conducting one or more courses for officials such as assessors, city attorneys, city clerks, finance officers, food inspectors, justices of the peace, park employees, and swimming pool operators.

Public employees are being taught at zone schools, central schools, and by itinerant instructors—all programs designed to meet the training needs of small cities at minimum cost.

Long-term programs for public service training were started or continued in twelve states in 1939, and by the end of the year full-time supervisors of training were at work for state boards in Arkansas, California, Michigan, New York, and Pennsylvania. Many state leagues of municipalities, which originated training programs for public employees before the George-Deen act was passed, advise the state vocational boards.

Municipal administrators also sought training on the job. Approximately 150 public officials last year enrolled in courses offered by the Institute for Training in Municipal Administration conducted by the International City Managers' Association. City administrators in Oklahoma and key administrators of the Los Angeles city government were given training under an experimental program originated by their respective vocational boards. Massachusetts initiated a training course by conference method for fire department command officers.

A number of universities were active in in-service training in 1939, offering night courses or periodic institutes. The University of Southern California held a one-week institute of government which enrolled more than 3,200 public employees from 138 cities, a dozen states, and other governmental jurisdictions.

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[1] See National Municipal Review for May 1940, p. 329.

Training Finance Officers

The finance officers' training program in Michigan, sponsored by the State Board for Vocational Education, the Michigan Municipal League, the University of Michigan, and the Municipal Finance Officers' Association of the United States and Canada, is getting under way on a broad basis with the completion of instructional material on accounting for receipts, expenditures, assets and liabilities, and preparation of the budget and reports.

In Texas and Alabama, according to the American Municipal Association, state boards for vocational education, in coöperation with the state leagues of municipalities, are also planning programs of training for finance officers.

West Virginia League Establishes Publication

Volume 1, No. 1, of *The West Virginia City,* official organ of the West Virginia League of Municipalities, appeared under date of May 1, 1940. The purpose as announced by Walter F. Ball of New Martinsville, president of the league is "to bind ourselves more firmly together as a fighting unit, and to bring the activities of the league closer to the mayors, councilmen, and other city officials of West Virginia." The managing editor is Orren L. Jones, at Middlebourne, and the league editor is Hume K. Nowlan, of Hinton.

Pan-American Intercity Cooperation Makes Headway

The movement toward coöperation among the municipalities of the twenty-one American republics has produced definite results in the creation of a national union of cities in Costa Rica and the appointment of organizing committees for such unions in five other countries. Such coöperation among city governments of different countries should be an important aid in the effort to foster international good will.

The American Municipal Association reports that since the Pan-American Commission on Intermunicipal Coöperation held its first meeting in Chicago last November, its president, Dr. Antonio Beruff Mendieta, of Havana, Cuba, has appointed organizing or liaison committees for Argentina, Brazil, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, and Haiti. The Costa Rican national municipal union held its first Congress of Municipalities in San Jose in March.

National unions of municipalities had already been set up in Cuba and the Dominican Republic.

The first national union or league of city governments was founded in Norway in 1838. Since that time municipalities in the leading countries of the world have organized leagues or associations to help solve their common problems.

The Pan-American Commission on Intermunicipal Coöperation was established by act of the first Pan-American Congress of Municipalities, which met in Havana in November 1938. The Congress was founded with the approval of the Pan-American Union.

Colorado Conference

A Citizens' Conference on Government Management, sponsored by the Department of Government Management of the University of Denver School of Commerce, Accounts, and Finance, under a grant from the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation, will be held at Estes Park, Colorado, June 17-22. Subjects to be discussed are: measuring the quality of our government, conserving the credit of our local governments, balancing the state and local tax structures, the function of citizens' groups in self-government, national and state pressure on local government, personnel standards in civil service, the administration of public relief, and how shall business be taxed.

Montclair Citizens Elect Full Slate

Women voters meet; Citizenship Day spreads

Edited by
ELWOOD N. THOMPSON

The Montclair Association of Montclair, New Jersey, was organized in 1934 for the purposes expressed in its charter:

"1. To further the cause of good government in the town of Montclair;

"2. To arouse and maintain the interest of its citizens in the public affairs of the town."

The association believes in carrying this program straight to the ballot box.

At elections for the Board of Commissioners it gives its active support to the election of five of the best qualified candidates and has enlisted the services of over three hundred volunteer workers for house-to-house canvasses, the maintenance of headquarters, and other election activities. At the recent May 14 election it succeeded in electing its entire slate of citizen-supported candidates against machine opposition, thus insuring Montclair another four years of efficient government.

Between elections the association encourages the attendance of its members at commission meetings; holds periodical meetings of its executive committee of fifty members; publishes each year five or six issues of *Montclair Matters,* to give unbiased information on various town problems and the administration of the town government. This publication is mailed to about 5,000 households, the expense being borne by membership dues and voluntary contributions.

Four of the five members of the Town Commission, who were elected in 1936 with the support of the association, have been faithful to the principles of the association and have been unusually alert to encourage citizen participation in the government. The commission, acting through its majority members, has appointed, in all, twenty-six advisory committees enlisting the services of over three hundred citizens, including an advisory committee of real estate men in connection with a re-assessment program, a committee of insurance men to revise the town's insurance program, a committee of engineers to study the water and lighting system, citizens' advisory committees for the Town Planning Board and the Relief Administration. In the last two years it has created a Citizens' Budget Committee composed of representatives of thirty civic organizations which has made recommendations to the commission with respect to the proposed budget after weeks of intensive study. It has also taken several post-card ballots to obtain the views of the taxpayers on town problems.

In this manner the Montclair Association is endeavoring to demonstrate in its community that democracy can and does work.

ERNEST G. FIFIELD, *Secretary*
Montclair Association

League of Women Voters Adopts National Program

Science made one of its important contributions when it unleashed women from household drudgery and gave them time for political life, President Karl T. Compton of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology explained recently to an audience of women in New York City.

The meeting at which Dr. Compton spoke gave evidence to support the speaker's conclusions. It was the twentieth anniversary convention of the National League of Women Voters (April 29-May 3, 1940).

A speaker at the same meeting (there were few "set speakers" at the rest of the meetings) harked back to the days when an all-woman prayer meeting was frowned on by a certain gentleman who was reputed to have said, "Who can tell what those misguided females will pray for?"

The females at these League of Women Voters' meetings were praying for a catholic number of things. For five full days the delegates of local and state Leagues of Women Voters all over the nation gave concentrated attention to a program whose scope was the approximate equivalent of the entire range of the American governmental scene.

The program adopted under the league's Department of Government and Its Operation (league work is divided into five departments) will give some indication of the league's prayers with regard to local government and governmental structure. The ladies voted to advocate:

1. Qualified personnel in government service;
2. Executive responsibility for the preparation of budgets and for effective control of their operation;
3. Development of a coördinated tax system through scientific research procedure with increasing regard to the principle of ability to pay;
4. Administrative organization to promote efficiency and responsibility;
5. Suffrage for the District of Columbia;
6. The manager plan for local governments, preferably with legislative body elected by proportional representation;
7. Strengthening of representative government through permanent registration, the short ballot, and direct nomination of candidates for office;
8. Organization of state legislatures to promote efficiency and responsibility;
9. Opposition to discrimination in public employment based on sex or marital status;
10. Improved juries and jury administration;
11. Opposition to the proposed equal rights amendment.

The debate on item number 3 may serve to illustrate the searching quality of the discussions. As originally presented by the program committee, this item lacked the final clause, "with increasing regard to the principle of ability to pay." In the course of the consideration of the item, not only was the amendment hammered in, but there was an earnest debate on such matters as sales taxes and hidden vs. non-hidden taxes.

In previous years item number 6 had read: "The municipal manager plan, preferably with council elected by proportional representation." The change was made, the chairman explained, because many members of the league were working for adoption of the county manager plan in their areas.

It was notable in all the meetings devoted to discussion of the proposed program that attention was strictly to business. One morning the delegates convened at 8:30 A.M. and the chairman remarked that it was the fullest session of the entire convention. Discussion was at all times very much to the point. No one wasted time arguing about points on which there was obviously agreement. Convention addicts will realize that such a sensible rule does not *always* prevail at men's meetings.

Significantly, there was no discussion of items 1, 2, and 6, which were passed unanimously.

Perhaps the best commentary on the League of Women Voters is a remark attributed to Miss Marguerite M. Wells, the organization's president (who is, incidentally, a vice president of the National Municipal League). Said Miss Wells, in a relaxed moment, "You know, there's only one thing I want—and that's to improve the electorate!"

MIRIAM ROHER

Citizenship in Four Patterns

Citizenship Day, inaugurated last year in Manitowoc County, Wisconsin, as a program of study classes and formal initiation for new voters, has spread throughout the country in at least four distinct patterns in 1940, a National Municipal League survey indicates. Newspaper clippings and correspondence show that "Citizenship Day" has emerged in various localities as:

1. A program of study classes for twenty-one-year-olds culminating in induction ceremonies, following the Manitowoc precedent;
2. A day of formal exercises for new voters and newly naturalized citizens, without benefit of study classes;
3. A day on which high school students "take over" city hall;
4. A day formally known as "Citizenship Day" without any special observance.

The day itself has been called by at least three names—Citizenship Day, New Citizens' Day, and I Am an American Day. The latter designation was given impetus by the formal declaration of Congress and the President, when they set aside May 19 as I am an American Day. Exercises this year were held on various dates in May.

Nineteen of Wisconsin's thirty-five counties, as well as a good many other localities, carried out the full program of open forums and discussion groups, classes in citizenship meeting several times over a period of some weeks or months, and, in some cases, a day of "open house" in the city offices preceding the induction ceremonies. This group included Alexandria and Indianapolis, Indiana; Lyon County, Kansas; Birmingham, Dearborn, Holly, Muskegon, and Oakland County, Michigan; and Brooklyn, New York.

Some of the activities which were added in a few communities included the showing of free movies of the 1939 Manitowoc exercises, and various social events for the young people designed to acquaint the future citizens of the community with their neighbors and fellow-workers.

The Citizenship Day celebration itself was variously marked with such activities as flag-raising, the pledge of allegiance, patriotic songs, parade of floats depicting different aspects of community life, and a formal address of welcome given by the mayor or some outstanding member of the community.

Conventions of "21-ers" met in a number of Wisconsin counties. Celebration of Citizenship Day by the awarding of certificates of citizenship "with appropriate ceremonies" is mandatory in Wisconsin by a law passed by the state legislature in 1939. The conventions set up permanent organizations to help plan the educational program for the following year and to take charge of the ceremonies.

Among the communities which held formal exercises for the awarding of certificates of citizenship to their twenty-one-year-olds and naturalized citizens voting for the first time this year were: Bisbee, Miami, and Tucson, Arizona; Chula Vista, Coronado, Long Beach, Pasadena, San Diego, San Francisco and Vallejo, California; Sterling, Colorado; Greenville, Hazel Park, Lansing, Pontiac, Royal Oak, and St. Johns, Michigan; Jefferson City, Missouri; Cincinnati, Columbus, Dayton, and Sandusky, Ohio; Tulsa, Oklahoma; Barnwell County, South Carolina; Amarillo and Lamesa, Texas; Seattle and Tacoma, Washington; and Belmont County, West Virginia.

A few cities marked the day with broadcasts addressed to the young people, or by simply setting aside an hour in their honor. While such activities did not incorporate formal exercises this year, it is possible that in future years they will develop into a well rounded program of citizenship training culminating in induction ceremonies.

Citizenship Day as a part of National Boys and Girls Week was celebrated in many California communities, as well as in Atlanta, Georgia; Beaumont, Texas; and in some other cities and towns. Offices of the town or city were turned over to high school students for an hour or so during the day. While this idea has its own merit, as has California's Citizenship Week celebration, neither is part of the program set out for national application in the Manitowoc Plan.

Elizabeth R. Brown

Seattle Membership Quadruples in Two Years

The Seattle Municipal League concluded its spring and winter educational program with an annual membership dinner on May 21. During the year the league sponsored nine local government forums on county government, three on the city, two on school administration, and one on the Port of Seattle. In addition the league interviewed approximately sixty-five speakers over twenty-one quarter-hour radio programs, on matters of civic interest. Wide public interest in the problems of local government was created as a result of the forums, as well as a large group of competent, well qualified speakers to carry on next year's programs. Shortly after the re-election of Mayor Arthur B. Langlie by a large majority, the mayor and city council spoke at a league dinner, promising continued coöperation to bring about immediate revisions in the city's accounting system and more effective city planning. Plans for the coming winter include new series of forums, probably to be held before local city and county community groups.

Membership in the Seattle Municipal League has quadrupled during the past two years under the leadership of President George LaFray who retires this month, J. W. Clise, treasurer, and Glen B. Eastburn, executive secretary.

Ewen C. Dingwell
Municipal League of Seattle

County Legislation Lags in New York

States ease county public assistance burdens; New York City tries for county reform; health awards

Edited by
ELWYN A. MAUCK

Recent events in the New York legislature indicate that the problems involved in the modernization of local government are destined to harass the people of that state for many years to come. Although the opponents of reform apparently won temporary victories in the constitutional convention of 1938, it is reasonable to assume that they will be unable to oppose successfully the inexorable requirements of a modern society. In this era of mobility and change the problem of allocating functions to those units most capable of performing them is one which is pressing most persistently for a solution. Its implications are much more fundamental, for example, than those embraced in plans of improving the administrative structure and procedure in any level of government. Probably soon the constitutional provisions virtually prohibiting the reallocation of functions will be subject to reconsideration and modification.

The constitution of New York prior to 1939, in its county home rule provisions, permitted considerable latitude in the transfer of local functions. The major obstacle to the adoption of a county charter lay in the provision that where the county included a city containing one-fourth or more of the population of the county, the proposal had to secure an affirmative vote (1) in any such city and (2) in the county outside any such city.

The restrictions in the new constitution do not include the provision above, but they embrace all counties attempting any transfer of functions. The provision states:

> If any such form of government provides for the transfer of any function of local government to or from the cities, the towns or the villages of the county, or any class thereof, it shall not take effect with respect to such transfer unless the transfer, or the form of government containing it, shall also receive a majority of all the votes cast thereon in such cities, towns, villages, or class thereof, as the case may be.

Thus not only major cities, but the towns (townships) or small villages can prevent the adoption of a county charter that might impinge on their prized prerogatives. The doctrine of home rule appears to suffer most from those who claim to be its friends.

Present legislative efforts are being directed to bringing the three optional county government laws into conformity with the 1938 constitution. The laws are popularly known as the Fearon optional county government law of 1936 and the Buckley and Desmond optional county government acts of 1937. Two of the three laws still contain clauses which state that proposed charters must secure an affirmative vote by a split referendum as required by the old constitution.

The legislature has attempted no real solution to the problem of restoring a substantive county home rule plan capable of operation. Although the 1940 legislature adopted a constitutional amendment restoring the old split referendum, such referendum now would become merely an additional restriction. The proposal must be passed by a succeeding legislature and by a popular referendum before it becomes part of the new constitution.

Bills amending the Buckley and Desmond acts to make them conform to the new constitution were introduced in the 1939 legislature, but were not enacted into law. Bills to amend the Desmond and Fearon acts in the same manner were brought before the 1940 legislature, but only the one amending the Fearon act succeeded in passing. The bill to amend the Desmond act passed the Assembly only in 1939 and the Senate only in 1940.

Miscellaneous local government acts of the 1940 legislature include a law authorizing counties to create and maintain soil conservation districts. A proposal requiring publicity for county budgets failed to pass.

Public Assistance Burdens Shifted from Counties

Experience under the public assistance provisions (grants-in-aid for the aged, dependent children, and for the blind) of the social security act has demonstrated that counties were given burdens beyond their ability to bear. The fact that the amount of assistance and the type of service varied greatly in different counties within a state, in spite of the purpose of the social security act to provide the same quality of care to individuals in similar circumstances, illustrates the sheer inability of many counties to meet their obligations. States, in recognition of this problem, are groping for solutions. In the past year thirteen states have decreased the proportion of public assistance costs to be borne by local units. Furthermore, there is a tendency to shift part of the local administrative costs to the states.

The costs of all three types of public assistance have been shifted completely from local units to the state governments in Idaho, Louisiana, and Washington. Decreases in the proportion of old-age assistance contributions borne by local units have been instituted in Indiana, Oregon, and North Dakota. The local share for aid to dependent children has been decreased in Vermont. In Maryland the law relating to aid for the blind has been changed reducing the burden on counties. Henceforth, of the 50 per cent to be borne by the state and local units, the state will bear 15 per cent and the county 35 per cent.

In Colorado the county share of administrative costs has been reduced in all three programs, while in Wisconsin the administrative cost of the dependent children's aid program only has been shifted in part from the county to the state. The state of Oregon is authorized now to assume the total administrative costs of the county agencies for all three programs.

In Utah, although the counties' share of assistance costs remains fixed at 15 per cent, the county tax levies for assistance purposes now are limited to five mills, and the state government is obligated to supply any deficiency. It has been provided in Montana that the counties' share for aid to dependent children is to be reduced in proportion as federal aid is increased. Nebraska has changed its basis of distribution of aid to counties from population to that of needs. Maine has established local contributions for old-age assistance at 25 per cent of the total cost, but with the proviso that local contributions must not exceed the maximum of $800,000 per year.

Another County Reform Campaign in New York City

The Citizens' Non-Partisan Committee has launched a campaign to reorganize the five county governments in the city of New York. This objective is similar to that embodied in the county reform bill sponsored by the minority party in the City Council,[1] but now it is proposed to achieve the end by charter amendment. Petitions are being circulated, and if at least 50,000 signatures are secured by September 6 the proposal will be submitted to the people in the November elections. The work is being organized for the committee by the Citizens Union of New York City.

The proposal would abolish the five elective sheriffs and the four elective registers replacing them with a single city-wide sheriff and a single city-wide register appointed by the mayor after competitive civil service examinations. The present competitive county employees would be transferred, but in the future all appointments and promotions would be made on the basis of competitive examinations. The sheriffs' criminal jails and custodial functions would be transferred to the city department of correction. If adopted the new plan will go into effect January 1, 1941, except that county officers in office on January 1, 1939, will be allowed to serve out their terms as required by the state constitution.

County Health Awards Given

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States and the American Public Health Association have announced the results of the annual public health contest conducted under their joint sponsorship and financed by the W. K. Kellogg Foundation. For purposes of the contest cities were classified by population and counties by regions.

County winners of the bronze plaques given as first prizes were Alger-Schoolcraft Unit, Michigan; Fayette County, Kentucky; Lauderdale County, Mississippi; St. Mary's Parish, Louisiana; and Wasco County, Oregon.

Three hundred thirteen units, representing 438 counties, participated in the 1939 rural health contest. All counties or county districts having full-time health service were eligible to participate.

The purpose of the annual contest is to promote rural public health work. All contesting counties must have public health committees with representation from business, industry or agriculture, and the professions. Such committees are expected to coöperate with local health, educational, and civic agencies in an effort to improve health conditions, educate the public in disease prevention and decrease loss of life in the area.

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[1] See National Municipal Review, February 1940, p. 131.

The data used as bases for the awards include many factors in addition to the structure and activities of the county health unit. Other major criteria include present status and improvement in: (1) Control of diphtheria, smallpox, typhoid, scarlet fever, whooping cough, measles, pneumonia, tuberculosis, syphilis and gonorrhea; (2) services in maternal, infant, preschool and school hygiene; (3) laboratory services found in the county; (4) milk, water and sewage controls; (5) number of stillbirths and loss of life including automobile accidents; (6) public health work of private physicians and dentists; and (7) extent of citizen participation and interest in public health work.

California County Studies Charter

A grand jury committee of Sanoma County, California, has revived interest once again in a charter to modernize its local government. Several similar attempts at county reform in the past two decades have resulted in defeat for the reform forces. The committee is investigating the operations of the Sacramento County manager charter government in order to secure a firm factual basis for whatever recommendations it may make.

It is believed that the committee will recommend that a committee of freeholders be appointed to draft a charter for submission to the people for final adoption. What the charter will provide is open to conjecture, but there is considerable discussion regarding the manager plan and a merit system of appointments.

County Civil Service Referenda Unconstitutional in Wisconsin

The Risser civil service law for Wisconsin counties, under which a petition could be presented to a county board compelling it to hold a civil service referendum, has been declared unconstitutional by the circuit court in Dane County. Judge Alvin C. Reis stated: "This is not a question of civil service, but the fundamental issue of what body in the county must govern the county, the board of supervisors or the people. It happens to be the board of supervisors, according to the constitution as construed by our Supreme Court, which held that the grant of power to the county board was exclusive and forbade action by the people."

County boards in Wisconsin have the right to establish civil service systems merely by their own action.

Pari-Mutuels Pay Million to New York State

Old bonds plague towns; war and the bond market

Edited by
WADE S. SMITH

Legalized in 1939 by constitutional amendment, implemented by legislation adopted by the 1940 legislature early this year, pari-mutuel betting has now passed the million-dollar mark in revenues to New York State coffers. The spring racing season opened April 15 at Jamaica, and in the succeeding five and a half weeks betters placed nearly $20,000-000 across the cashiers' windows, of which the state's share through May 22 was $1,068,276. Governor Lehman had estimated for the legislature that $1,000,000 would be received from this source in the current fiscal year, or before July 1.

Under the New York pari-mutuel law, the track and the state split 10 per cent of the amount wagered, plus the breakage—the latter amount representing the difference between winnings arithmetically computed and winnings actually paid off to the nearest five cents. In the four weeks of the Jamaica meeting $14,060,508 was wagered. The "take" was $1,406,050 and the breakage $115,891, netting the state $760,970. The Belmont meeting, which began May 13, has had wagers of $5,700,000 in the first week and a half, with a "take" of $568,889 and breakage of $45,724, netting the state $307,306.

In 1938-39 the state's revenue from horse-racing was $635,944, according to the Tax Policy League's May 22, 1940, release on horse-racing taxes. This return was from licenses and taxes on admissions. California last year received nearly $3,000,000 and Florida just over $2,000,000, revenues in each instance, largely pari-mutuel takes. Massachusetts received over $2,000,000 also, while Rhode Island, where pari-mutuels attracted considerable attention during their early tenure, received only $1,100,000. If New York continues at the pace it has already set, its pari-mutuel revenues will outstrip those of any other state.

Old Bonds Raise Problem in New York Towns

Nearly every governmental unit is troubled at some time or other by the problem presented by matured bonds and coupons which are not presented for payment. Few, however, face quite the situation now confronting the New York towns of Little Falls, Manheim, and Danube, in Herkimer County, where bonds issued seventy-one years ago have been presented for payment, according to the Fort Plain, New York *Standard.*

Supervisors of the three towns are deep in conference about the status of forty-eight bonds, each of $100 denomination, part of issues sold in 1869 to finance a bridge across the Mohawk River. No records have been found as yet to disclose whether the bonds had been retired. The six present owners believe the bonds are worth par and accrued interest.

Most cities and other local units set aside funds for bonds and coupons which have matured but not been presented for payment, but pay no interest from the date of maturity. Best practice is to require the posting of an indemnity bond by the person presenting long past due bonds, to insure the payee against the loss which would result from error or fraud.

Bond Market Resists War Shock

Although the stock market reacted violently to the German invasion of Belgium and the Netherlands, and fell still further as the Nazis pushed toward the British Channel after breaching the Little Maginot Line, the bond market held up remarkably well. Says the *Daily Bond Buyer,* "Municipals of the better grade have given almost as good an account of themselves as treasury issues, without the benefit of federal reserve support."

The *Bond Buyer's* index of municipal bond yields, based on twenty leading bonds, fell to 2.59 per cent on May 1, as compared with 2.62 per cent on April 1, 2.70 per cent on March 1, 2.63 per cent on February 1, and 2.59 per cent on January 1. On May 18 the *Bond Buyer* estimated that, on the average, municipal prices were off about 30 basis points, which is a decline of about one-third as sharp as that which occurred last September. The index of bond yields rose last year from 3.21 per cent at September 1 to 3.30 per cent at October 1. While the yield index for June 1 will probably be several points higher than that of May 1, it will also be considerably under that of October 1, 1939.

A factor preventing any great decline in municipal bond prices is the constantly increasing amount of excess bank reserves. Some observers hold that there is no industrial expansion in sight, including even great plant additions to carry out the administration's rearmament program, which will sufficiently drain reserves to place municipal creditors in such competition with other borrowers as to greatly increase municipal interest rates.

Wisconsin Tax Sales Decline

Private bidding for tax liens in Wisconsin increased last year, according to figures compiled by the Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance in its May 15, 1940, bulletin. Taxes for 1938 sold last year, which amounted to 11.1 per cent of all taxes levied, went 21.1 per cent to private bidders while 78.9 per cent were bid in by the counties. In 1938 taxes for 1937, amounting to 14.7 per cent of the levy, had been sold 10.2 per cent to private bidders and 89.8 per cent to the counties. The total amount of real estate taxes sold last year was just over $11,000,000, as compared with just under $14,000,000 in 1938. The peak was in 1933, when $24,000,000 of taxes were sold, comprising 27.9 per cent of the real estate levy for that year.

Revenue Problems on the Radio

The United States Office of Education has recently prepared a series of radio scripts on problems of municipal government which are available for the use of schools and civic groups. Of fifteen scripts already issued three deal with public finance:

> The Business of Budgets—How do citizens raise funds to finance their municipal services? What does the tax dollar buy? How is it apportioned?
>
> Budget Bludgeoneers—How do pressure groups agitate for special consideration in the municipal budget? How demands are met.
>
> The Pros and Cons—How the efficient local government acts as mediator in the plea for "reduced local government costs" on the one hand and the demand for "more and better service" on the other.

Application for the scripts should be made to the Educational Radio Script Exchange, United States Office of Education, Federal Security Agency.

Cambridge to Vote Again on P. R. and Manager

Other cities plan referenda too; P. R. bills at Trenton; P. R. considered in Baltimore

Edited by
GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.

On May 6, 1940, another movement was launched to obtain a so-called Plan E or city manager-proportional representation type of charter for the city of Cambridge, Massachusetts. On that date Dean James M. Landis of the Harvard Law School, continuing chairman of the Cambridge Plan E Committee, filed petitions containing 9,078 signatures with the city clerk to place the proposal on the ballot next November. Only 5,285 signatures, 10 per cent of the registered voters at the 1938 gubernatorial election, were required. Much credit for this fine result is due the Cambridge League of Women Voters.

An accompanying statement by Dean Landis indicated extraordinary interest in the new charter as reported by volunteer workers who solicited signatures in all fifty-five precincts of the city. "Two years ago late passage of the optional 'Plan E' statute delayed us in organizing a wide educational campaign. Early filing of this year's petition will give greater time to acquaint the voters with all features of the plan." He urged local organizations to arrange for Plan E speakers between now and election day.

In 1938 the Plan E movement failed by the close margin of 19,955 in favor and 21,722 against. The whirlwind campaign, with many humorous touches and an appeal to the courts, attracted much publicity and helped to educate the voters.

This year publicity promises to be equally good. Another favorable element for a new charter is the threat of a six-dollar increase in this year's Cambridge tax rate, as to which city authorities and the Cambridge Taxpayers' Association are engaging in a legal suit.

Herman C. Loeffler
Boston Municipal Research Bureau

Other Massachusetts Referenda

The city of Chicopee, which two years ago narrowly missed adopting Plan D (the manager plan without P.R.) is to vote this year on Plan E. Petitions have already been filed.

Massachusetts' second city, Springfield, is likely to have a vote on Plan E also. Petitions have been printed, and a long program of education conducted by the Springfield Taxpayers Association should facilitate collection of the required signatures.

Interest is reported also from several other cities, including Quincy, where a P.R.-manager proposal was defeated in 1938, Worcester, Lynn, North Adams, and Leominster.

Campaign Launched in White Plains

The City Government League of White Plains has started its campaign to secure the city manager form of government and the election of a council by proportional representation. The veto by Governor Herbert H. Lehman of the bill banning referenda on charter changes in successive years cleared the ground for action.[1] George H. Hallett, Jr., of the Citizens Union of New York City, addressed an organization meeting in early April.

On May 17 Mrs. Edith P. Welty, member of the Yonkers city council, elected last fall by P.R., opened the public campaign. She told of the accomplishments already secured in her city. Short-term money has been borrowed at three-tenths of one per cent by the city manager government. Automobile tires are now purchased at a saving ranging from five dollars to fifty dollars a tire. Savings in all purchases are being effected. Unnecessary jobs have been abolished, and the city is on its way to the first treasury surplus Yonkers has ever had. "What Yonkers has done, White Plains can do," was the sentiment of the meeting.

The petitions were given out at the meeting and nearly one hundred workers are getting them signed up. Workers report warm sympathy on the part of the public toward the campaign.

The City Government League is already building up its membership for a vigorous campaign. Joseph Allen, a professor in New York City College, is president of the league. Mrs. Carl E. Whitney is chairman of the membership drive. All those who participated in the campaign of 1939 for proportional representation in White Plains have re-enlisted in the campaign for city manager with P.R. and the increasingly heavy tax burden is making recruits for city managerial efficiency.

The charter changes, drafted locally, were based on the mature study of those who made the *Model City Charter* for the National Municipal League, together with expert advice from Mr. Hallett.

A. V. Brisson
White Plains

P. R. Bills in New Jersey

Senator Crawford Jamieson of Mercer County introduced two P.R. bills in the New Jersey legislature on April 29. One of these merely sets up a set of P.R. provisions in the state election law, suitable for adoption in any other law by reference. The second proposes the first use of this machinery by providing P.R. as the standard method of electing the council in municipalities which adopt the manager plan of government. Municipalities which have already adopted the manager plan with the plurality elections at large prescribed by the present law would hold referenda at the fall election to decide whether they should change to P.R. or not.

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[1] See National Municipal Review for May 1940, p. 343.

There is particular interest in these bills in the city of Newark, where the Citizens Union—a new civic body with some 8,400 dues-paying members—is promoting the city manager plan with P.R. after an unsuccessful attempt this spring to get the manager plan under the present law. It is not expected that the bills can pass this year.

A Report on P. R. for Baltimore

The Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy issued in April a comprehensive staff report on *Baltimore Elections and Proportional Representation.* The report is really a survey of the entire electoral situation in the city, with special but by no means exclusive reference to P.R. The survey is presented "in view of Baltimore's growing interest in this subject."

The first part of the report contains a study of Baltimore's present election system to see how far it meets the criteria that "A good election system should assure these basic results: (1) Wide participation of citizens in voting; (2) Representation in proportion to voting strength; (3) Election of outstanding and capable representatives."

Numerous tables, charts, and maps are given to bring out the facts on these and related questions in various parts of the city. It is shown that only 40 per cent of Baltimore's voting age population vote in mayoralty elections, with a somewhat smaller percentage voting for council, and that the always successful "Democratic candidate for mayor is selected in the primary by the vote of less than a third of that party's registered voters."

On the second question it is shown that "Representation in city council is not in proportion to the voting strength of like-minded groups. Democrats with 72 per cent of the registered voters obtain 95 per cent or seventeen members of the city council, while the Republicans with 25 per cent of the registered voters obtain only 5 per cent or one member of the city council."

Other anomalies are brought out. Because of gross inequalities in the size of the six districts, which elect three councilmen each, "a city councilman in a smaller district often is elected by fewer votes than a defeated candidate receives in a larger district." The districts are obviously gerrymandered also. At present, however, no equitable division of the city into six districts would give the Republicans or the large Negro population a normal majority in any one of them. Minority representation in Baltimore can only be secured regularly by some such means as P.R.

Because of its policy of avoiding comment on individual officeholders, the commission does not discuss at length its third criterion in regard to the calibre of the representatives elected. "The generally known fact should not be overlooked, however," it says, "that candidates for city council often are unknown to many voters even within their own particular districts. Under the present system of district representation, city councilmen do not depend for election upon a city-wide appraisal of their outstanding qualifications and civic-mindedness. The tendency rather is to produce councilmanic candidates whose interest is centered in their own districts rather than in the city as a whole, because they are dependent for election upon the support of only their own particular districts."

The Hare system of P.R. is described and its suitability to cure the defects of

Baltimore's present election system examined. With regard to participation in elections the report says: "The often expressed opinion that many 'Republicans' register as 'Democrats' in Baltimore in order to vote in the Democratic primary, claims further that such voters then seldom bother to vote in the general election as they look upon such vote as usually futile in Democratic Baltimore, but that under a nonpartisan or P.R. system wider voting would be encouraged on candidates for all offices."

The report warns that "politics is not automatically eliminated by the P.R. system . . . if the people as a whole do not vote," but adds, "if more people actively concern themselves with municipal elections and actually vote, candidates representing the so-called independent thinking voter, will have a much better chance of election under the P.R. system."

In regard to its other criteria for a good election system the commission reports: "During this study the staff consulted various interests, official and private, in the cities using the proportional representation system, in order to discover particularly any objectionable features that had developed in actual experience with the system. All except one of these sources of practical experience agreed that the theoretical advantages claimed for the proportional representation system actually are obtained in practice—that it is the only method for securing a strong minority in city council, and that the character of councilmanic work on the whole had noticeably been improved under the P.R. system."

It then gives a reasonable summary of drawbacks which must be balanced against these advantages, starting with the necessity for a continuous educational campaign to get the best results. It also lists other advantages of the plan, such as the elimination of primaries and the fact that "it allows a voter to express a free choice among numerous candidates without the fear of 'throwing his vote away'."

Whether the Baltimore city charter is amended to provide for P.R. or not, the commission recommends consideration of a number of other electoral changes, including the nonpartisan ballot, election of councilmen at large, a reduction in the size and an accompanying increase in the salaries of the council, nonpartisan civil service appointment of local election officials, a reduction in the size of the permanent election staff, and the use of more public buildings as polling places.

CONTRIBUTORS IN REVIEW

(Continued from Page 413)

STATISTICAL mainstay of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, **Rosina Mohaupt** (*The Bonded Debt of 272 Cities*) has appeared semi-annually for several years in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, which publishes her regular debt and tax rate studies. To add to her already extensive equipment, Miss Mohaupt spent last summer at Columbia University, studying advanced statistics, and expects to get a new degree this month.

TWENTY years background in public school work girded **Jesse J. Pugh** (*A Civics Course for Today*) for the project in citizenship education which he originated. Dr. Pugh is supervisor of citizenship and vocational education in the Zanesville, Ohio, public schools and wrote "Our Community in Action," the civics course used in Zanesville schools. He is an Ohioan by birth and education, and has contributed to numerous educational magazines.

Books in Review

EDITED BY ELSIE S. PARKER

Government of Cities in the United States. By Harold Zink. New York City, Macmillan Company, 1939. xii, 636 pp. $3.50.

Ordinarily the publication of a new textbook is considered a suspicious, rather than an auspicious, event. In most fields there are too many textbooks, and regrettably many of them are pot-boilers filled with warmed over stew.

This book is different. For one thing, there are surprisingly few textbooks in the field of general municipal government. For another, the field changes so rapidly that the lapse of a few years makes a new book altogether justifiable. Finally, municipal government is becoming more and more a respectable subject for university teaching, and textbooks are a real need.

Professor Zink's book is admirably complete. It covers, in a manner which should be entirely intelligible to college students, the political and social place of cities in the United States and their place in the governmental system of the country, the legal aspects of city government with adequate attention to charters, municipal elections and politics not forgetting pressure groups, the forms of city government, the various functions of city government, and the question of citizen apathy. There is also an interesting outline in the appendix of a municipal survey which may be assigned to students by way of the project method of learning.

Physically, this is a handsome and readable book. The literary style does not descend to textbook dullness, although there is a certain circumspection in the measured sentences which suggests that the author may be keeping in leash both his prejudices and his sense of humor.

M. R.

The Municipal Yearbook, 1940. Edited by Clarence E. Ridley and Orin F. Nolting. Chicago, International City Managers' Association, 1940. x, 629 pp. $5.00.

The Municipal Yearbook needs no introduction to those whose work or interest is municipal government and administration. It is the familiar all-useful compendium of information on local governmental units, on municipal personnel, on municipal finance, municipal activities, municipal officials. This year the editors have instituted innovations of subject matter and arrangement which further increase the book's helpfulness.

New material includes statistics on civil service agencies in cities over 30,000 population, number of local taxing units in the United States, centralized purchasing, annual municipal reports, city planning data for cities over 30,000, a complete list of registered municipal hospitals in the country, detailed data on all low-cost public housing projects, a list of all cities with parking meters and revenue therefrom, accident record and traffic safety activities in the 415 cities in the 1939 traffic safety contest, and detailed information on refuse collection and disposal practices in 165 cities.

Arrangement of the material has been altered so as to group into a single section all the articles and tabular information pertaining to a particular function or activity. This is a particularly logical change.

At the risk of coining a phrase, it must be said that the *Municipal Yearbook* is a "must" for your library.

M. R.

The Government of New Hampshire. By Thorsten V. Kalijarvi and William C. Chamberlin. Durham, N. H., University of New Hampshire, 1939. 283 pp. $2.50.

New Hampshire is neither a large nor a populous state and, consequently, has been able to govern itself with governmental organizations, both state and local, that are not only outmoded but intricate and inefficient. In adhering to the traditional forms of government which set up many checks and balances and which have many and sometimes relatively large governing bodies, the citizens of the Granite State seem to have secured popular democracy and citizen control, but one wonders whether or not they have obtained good government.

Kalijarvi and Chamberlin present an objective treatment of state, county, and local government. While it is true that the material has been presented in a form that carefully avoids controversial issues, this survey of New Hampshire government nevertheless makes it clear that there is much that could be improved.

The book consists of a simple, straightforward recitation of the organizations that make up the government of New Hampshire and the duties and services that they perform. At the end of each chapter is a bare summary of governmental trends. In concluding the work, the authors present a list of problems that seem to them most significant in the immediate future of New Hampshire government. Their analysis is supplemented with the state constitution, copies of primary and official ballots, a chart of New Hampshire government, a map of the state, and a printed reproduction of the state flag. The book has been well footnoted and indexed.

As a secondary reference for those who wish to learn about the government of New Hampshire this book should serve very well. Many studies of state and local government fall into the same category. Without in any way wishing to disparage the writing of more books of this kind—which are sorely needed in a field generally covered only by official manuals or comparative studies or isolated functions of state government—it seems there is a great need for the publication of critical and sometimes iconoclastic studies of governments of particular states. For the national government this need is met by several excellent studies. For the government of particular cities, one can turn to a number of volumes written by municipal experts. There is nowhere to be found, however, any single volume on the government of a state that is both scholarly and uninhibited.

Roberts Chickering
Indiana University

Kentucky Government. A Report on the Executive and Administrative Work of the Kentucky State Government, 1935-1939. Frankfort, 1940. 64 pp.

Governor A. B. (Happy) Chandler stepped out of office with a handsome gesture. Without a doubt, it is high time that the states as well as the cities began to offer a public accounting of their activities in behalf of the taxpayer.

Here the progress of Kentucky state government over four years of Chandler rule is most attractively related, with generous use of such physical properties as a celluloid ring binder, numerous excellent photographs, plenty of pictorial charts and opulent slick paper. The literary style is also geared to a voter's non-technical mental equipment. A welcome feature is a final section titled "Looking Forward," which with apparent frankness sketches some of the broad problems to be faced in Kentucky government during the coming years. Another interesting section is on "Federal-State-Local Relationships," although it is regrettable that only two pages are devoted to a subject of such comprehensive importance.

M. R.

Additional Books and Reports Received

Education

Education and Economic Well-Being in American Democracy. By The Educational Policies Commission. Washington, D. C., 1940. 227 pp.

Some Aspects of School Administration in Cook County. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, Research Department, 1940. 67 pp. mimeo.

Elections and Voting

Calendar of Annual Town Meetings and Elections in Massachusetts. By Charles J. Rohr. Amherst, Massachusetts State College, Bureau of Public Administration, 1940. 9 pp. mimeo.

The Poll Tax. By Frank P. Graham, Barry Bingham, George C. Stoney, James C. Morrison, H. Clarence Nixon, and Tarleton Collier. Washington, D. C., American Council on Public Affairs, 1940. 23 pp. 25 cents.

Fee System

The Fee System as a Method of Compensating County Officials. By the Research Division of The Kentucky Legislative Council. Lexington, Kentucky, 1940. 134 pp. mimeo.

Initiative and Referendum

The Initiative and Referendum in Colorado. Prepared by the Legislative Reference Office. Denver, Colorado, 1940. 26 pp. mimeo.

Municipal Government

City of Ironton, Ohio. Annual Report, 1939. Ironton, City Manager, 1940. 29 pp.

City Problems of the West. The Proceedings of the Western Regional Conference of the United States Conference of Mayors, Portland, Oregon, April 8-9, 1940. Edited by Paul V. Betters. Washington, D. C., United States Conference of Mayors, 1940. iii, 88 pp. $2.00.

The Powers and Duties of Mayors in Wisconsin Cities. A Summary of Wisconsin Statutory Requirements. Madison, League of Wisconsin Municipalities, 1940. 13 pp. mimeo.

Planning

Federal Relations to Local Planning. Prepared for the Local Planning Committee by Melville C. Branch, Jr. Washington, D. C., National Resources Planning Board, 1939. 364 pp. mimeo.

Politics

1940. By Jay Franklin. New York City, The Viking Press, 1940. 319 pp. $2.75.

So You Want to Be a Politician! Or how to be an effective Republican Precinct Worker. By William Harrison Fetridge with a Foreword by John Hamilton. Chicago, Young Republican Magazine, 1939. 48 pp.

Public Welfare and Relief

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Social Relationships and Institutions in Seven New Rural Communities. By Charles P. Loomis. Washington, D. C., United States Department of Agriculture, The Farm Security Administration and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 1940. 82 pp. mimeo.

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News in Review

City, County, State Progress in Brief

New York Court Furthers Community Control of Property

Another city joins manager roll; states increase old age assistance; WPA funds insufficient

Edited by
H. M. OLMSTED

Planners and their friends who believe that planning, zoning, and regulation of private property may constitutionally be based upon aesthetics and on the values inherent in the good appearance of towns, may now chalk up an additional mark as the result of a decision by Justice Hooley of the New York Supreme Court in Nassau County. In *Preferred Tires, Inc.* v. *Village of Hempstead,* 173 Misc. 1017 (decided March 28 and reported in Advance Sheets, June 1, 1940; also 19 N. Y. Supp. (2nd) 374), Judge Hooley sustained an ordinance of the town of Hempstead which prohibited all types of vertical signs in the village and also all other signs which project from the face of any building over any sidewalk or street in the village and required the removal of all such signs at the end of a period of slightly over one year from the enactment of the ordinance.

The plaintiff in the case sought an injunction to prohibit the application of the ordinance to his property upon the grounds, among others, that the ordinance is both unreasonable and unconstitutional, in part because it made an exception in favor of projecting signs upon hotel and theatre marquees.

Judge Hooley sustains the ordinance, including its exceptions, nothwithstanding its so-called "retroactive" effect or application to existing signs.

He found the ordinance to be based both upon public safety and upon the promotion of beauty but added:

"This court is not restricted to aesthetic reasons in deciding to sustain the validity of the ordinance in question, *but if it were so restricted, it would not hesitate to sustain the legislation upon that ground alone.* The court cannot believe that, with the legislature of the state specifically delegating the power to regulate or prohibit signs in the public streets, a municipal board in this day and age can be so restricted, as plaintiff contends, in thus promoting the happiness and general welfare of the community."

The opinion of Justice Hooley strengthens the doctrine now gaining recognition in the courts that aesthetic considerations are inextricably woven into the value of private property, the interest of the community in the subjects of taxation, good planning, and the right of the public to have the amenity of places preserved for its enjoyment—in short, that aesthetic considerations concern the public welfare and that good appearance may be made the basis of restrictions and regulations under the police power, whether by zoning or simple regulation.

This newest opinion recalls the decision in *Monterey County* v. *Bassett,* reported in a note in the December 1938 issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW (p. 619), where Judge Dooling of the California Superior and Appellate Courts upheld the constitutionality of a county ordinance designed to protect the natural beauty of the San Simeon Highway along the California coast. That decision overruled a demurrer interposed by the defendant attacking the constitutionality of the ordinance. The case recently came on for trial and a further decision may be expected soon.

Although both these opinions are by courts of first instance, both refer to the new attitude with respect to aesthetics as a basis for the exercise of the police power, and both decline to follow the old unrealistic doctrine that communities may not plan for appearance and may not impose aesthetic restrictions upon private property.

ALBERT S. BARD
National Roadside Council

Council-Manager Plan News

Clawson, Michigan, by a vote of 704 to 125 on June 3, adopted a council-manager charter which supersedes a city manager ordinance that has been in effect since January 1, 1937.

Directors of the Lynn, Massachusetts, Taxpayers Association favor a Plan E charter—city manager and P.R.—for **Lynn.** On May 21 they unanimously endorsed Plan E as the modern form of city charter to replace the present political management, which, they stated, gives no hope of improvement. Plans will be launched in the near future to organize a Plan E charter committee.

Petitions are being circulated in **North Adams, Massachusetts,** for a vote on Plan E. The *North Adams Transcript* stated on June 6: "An aggressive campaign for the adoption here of Plan E at the state election in November has been definitely decided on by a group of local men including several members of the city council and of both political parties. While petitions to put the Plan E question on the ballot were started in circulation here two weeks ago, they had been held up while the group weighed the question whether to go ahead on the basis of Plan E, which is the readymade city manager charter contained in Massachusetts statutes, or to try to draft a special city manager charter for North Adams. The conclusion was reached last night following a thorough study of Plan E that the special charter would offer no advantages which would warrant the delay and the effort involved in its preparation."

Haverhill, in the same state, is evidencing interest in Plan D—city manager without P.R.

The proposed manager charter for **Central Falls, Rhode Island,** failed of passage in the state legislature.

The town planning commission of **Thompsonville, Connecticut,** held an open meeting early in June at which the possibilities of the town manager plan were discussed.

Petitions to rescind the manager plan are being circulated in **Schenectady, New York.**

The Municipal Manager Form of Government Association of **Bayonne, New Jersey,** has now secured sufficient signatures to place the proposed adoption of the manager plan on the ballot. Former Recorder Daniel J. Murray, who heads the movement for a new charter, recently declared: "It is my opinion that the only possible way that we will have a return of confidence by industries here and provide encouragement to new industries is to adopt the city manager form of government, and by its operation in a businesslike, efficient manner dig this city out of the financial mire into which it has been plunged by politicians." Bayonne now has the commission form of government.

Grosse Pointe Park, Michigan, recently appointed the former purchas-

(Continued on Page 491)

The League's Business

League Members in the News

The annual award of the City Club of New York for public service by a non-elective official of New York City has been made to **Russell Forbes,** commissioner of purchases, former secretary of the National Municipal League, and an authority on centralized purchasing methods. The award was made in recognition of the organization and development of an efficient purchasing agency, which with the use of specification standards, competitive bidding, and sound purchasing principles has saved the city many thousands of dollars.

Ex-Mayor Murray Seasongood of Cincinnati, formerly president of the League and now a member of its council, has recently made several addresses on local government. On May 23 he addressed the University of Louisville student convocation on "Local Government and Politics," and on June 17 he appeared before the Quincy, Massachusetts, service clubs to discuss "Your Opportunities and Responsibilities Towards Your Government." Quincy has been interested in the adoption of the Cincinnati plan—the city manager plan with proportional representation.

Dr. A. R. Hatton, an honorary vice president of the League, retired in June from his position as head of the department of political science at Northwestern University. A farewell dinner was given in his honor by colleagues and students. **Dr. Joseph P. Harris,** now with the department of political science, University of California at Berkeley, will succeed Dr. Hatton in the fall.

Robert C. Hendrickson, of Woodbury, New Jersey, a member of the League's council, was nominated for governor on the Republican ticket in the recent New Jersey primary contest. Mr. Hendrickson, who is President of the New Jersey Senate, defeated former Governor Harold G. Hoffman who was seeking re-election.

HOWARD P. JONES, *Secretary*

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

A Secret in Rochester

ON MAY 28 Harold W. Baker, city manager of Rochester, New York, was ousted by the city council by a party vote of seven to two. The action came without warning, without charges, and without explanation. It dumped a manager who for eight years had provided an administration which civic and business leaders of Rochester had characterized as outstandingly efficient and effective.

It is reported that the reason for the action was Mr. Baker's refusal to play ball with some of the local political leaders. If this is true, City Manager Baker was merely adhering to one of the fundamental principles of his profession—that an administration cannot be efficient if it is to be continually pulled up by political considerations.

Even though the council chose as Mr. Baker's successor the able and well qualified former comptroller and auditor of the city, the people of Rochester have every right, if not duty, to know why Mr. Baker was fired. Was he, in truth, less able than he seemed? Was he derelict in his duty? Did he thwart the selfish interests of politicians?

If he was discharged because he interfered with subversive political interests, then notice has been served on every succeeding manager that he cannot be manager in fact but merely the errand boy of a political organization, as was once the case in Kansas City.

The Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research, in its monthly bulletin, reports widespread indignation over Mr. Baker's removal. It expresses the opinion that, "if the election of councilmen were to be held in the near future, this indignation would make itself felt." It adds the old truism, however, that "practical politicians believe that popular resentment is short-lived. In this case they are putting their belief to the test."

This recalls a somewhat similar situation which burst suddenly on the unsuspecting public of Toledo, Ohio, in the autumn of 1938. It became known that certain elements in the council were preparing to oust able City Manager John Edy.

There was indignation in Toledo, too, and it was vociferously articulate. Civic leaders, press, and radio filled day and night with protests. When the fateful council meeting was called to order, thousands of alert citizens filled council chambers, halls, stairways, and even the walks surrounding the city hall. The crowd cheered the hero and hissed the villain. Only the two ringleaders stuck by their guns, and Edy was not fired. It was good exercise for the voters, and it was a good lesson for two politicians who didn't have to wait sixteen months to know how their constituents felt about it. The voters weren't taking any chances on forgetting.

The Rochester city councilmen who voted Mr. Baker out may feel they have valid reasons for their action. If so, the people should be told these reasons. It does not help self-governing democracy to survive these dangerous times if popular will is circumvented, if public indignation is ignored, and if important official acts are not explained to a people who must be well informed if they are to vote intelligently.

Test of Patriotism

DURING the war period of 1914 to 1918 the council-manager form of government experienced its most rapid growth. Today, as the world faces what seems to be an even more fundamental crisis, there are more cities than ever before interested in this and other means of progress toward sound management.

In this country we are suddenly impelled to frantic, strenuous effort. It becomes plain to us, in the light of other democracies' failures, that our basic need is to "make democracy work"—to so organize it, to so clearly see the job it must do, to so thoroughly shake our people from cynical indifference, that our way of life will survive.

The other day it was reported that the Citizens Good Government Association of Worcester, Massachusetts, had abandoned plans to campaign for a manager charter with proportional representation on the grounds that "heated political activity must give way at the present to patriotic action in view of the nation's preparedness goal."

There is just a shade of suggestion in this statement that there is something unpatriotic in an effort by the people of a community to equip themselves with instruments for efficient administration under democratic control. It just isn't so and, of course, the public-spirited citizens of Worcester don't really believe it is so or they wouldn't have started their movement in the first place.

If good management and genuine democracy were important in normal times, how much more important are they at a time when the very system of self-government is undergoing its severest test.

There are at least these two highly important needs: to encourage all our people to participate intelligently in the process of government, and to give the people the tools to make that participation effective.

The second begets the first. Such ideals as the Citizens Good Government Association of Worcester advocate almost invariably have caused a greatly needed revival of civic spirit and sense of citizen responsibility. If we are to have these desirable attributes, there is no better place to develop them than in our cities, towns, and villages. A tree with rotten roots will fall when the storm strikes; but if we make democracy work efficiently, honestly, and effectively at the local level, we need worry less about reaching this goal on a national or international scale. After all, this country is made up of some thousands of local governments.

The City Manager Plan Passes Its "Exams"

"Nearly everywhere they (ideals of city management) added to the prestige of city government, lessened its preoccupation with trivial details or factional interests, and increased its ability to render service to the public."[1]

By **RICHARD S. CHILDS**
Chairman of the Council, National Municipal League

AFTER reaching its 500th city and after more than twenty-five years of trial in some of them, the council-manager plan has now been made the subject of its first scientific scrutiny on the basis of candid objective field observations by competent and impartial observers.

The survey was organized in 1937 by the Committee on Public Administration of the Social Science Research Council. The constituent organizations of the council are the American Anthropological, Economic, Historical, Political Science, Psychological, Sociological, and Statistical Associations. The committee consisted of William Anderson, chairman, Louis Brownlow, Rowland Egger, Luther H. Gulick, Lewis Meriam, Lindsay Rogers, Leonard D. White, and George F. Yantis.

The field work and reporting were done by Harold A. Stone, Don K. Price, and Kathryn H. Stone who spent two years in the field, staying several weeks in each of eighteen city manager cities interviewing all manner of local people and getting the raw facts. They wrote a monograph on each of nine of these cities; these monographs are already published in orange-colored pamphlets by Public Administration Service and together constitute a book *City Manager Government in Nine Cities*. Seven more monographs by collaborators have likewise been secured and the seven pamphlets (a hundred pages or more each) will presently appear as a book, *City Manager Government in Seven Cities*. The stories of twenty-five more cities were written up by other collaborators but not published.

Now comes the subjective study, point by point, of the consolidated evidence from the whole fifty cities. The fifty include nearly half the city manager cities of over 50,000 population and one third of those over 25,000. This study, just published by Public Administration Service, Chicago, is a book of 279 pages entitled *City Manager Government in the United States; a Review After Twenty-five Years.*

It will be noted that in the list of sponsors of this massive study the names of active characters of the National Municipal League are conspicuously absent. As the city manager plan has been a centrally important project of the League since the plan's earliest days, this is as it should be. The examiners were passing judgment on our theories and their outcome in practice; the value of this appraisal lies in the impartiality of the examiners.

---

[1] *City Manager Government in the United States,* Chicago, 1940.

Now, let's look into the book and see what the findings are and whether we need revise our fond *a priori* theories of yesteryear!

The opening chapters narrate the early history of the plan from its start as "The Lockport Plan." My scrapbooks and recollections were fully tapped and it has been an exhilarating experience to me to read my personal epic thus set forth and assigned its spot in history. The scrapbooks are brittle and yellow with age, and so am I, but here the record is rejuvenated.

In the record of early days they uncovered one controversy in theory that I had long forgotten—a certain difference between my idea of the structure of the plan and that of William Dudley Foulke and others of the National Municipal League as to the protection of the manager from the city council. I advocated leaving the manager without protection and the council without alibis; the League foresmelled politics and corruption in councils and concocted words designed to make the council keep its hands off the administrative patronage and other details below the manager. It never seemed to me a thing to argue about since the council's power to fire carried with it such powerful control as to override any attempt in the charter's language to separate the fields of duty. The issue came to head when the League, which had looked coldly on the commission plan then (in 1912) sweeping the country, switched its Model Charter from the strong mayor plan to the city manager plan.

Indianapolis Star Photo

RICHARD S. CHILDS

"Father" of the city manager plan

At that time both sides were theorizing. Now comes the experience in abundance, detailing the fate of managers who, in one way or another, felt free to stand up to their councils. Such managers rose or fell with their policies, and the turbulence of such loggerhead situations repeatedly damaged the stability of the government. The most successful experiences, we now are told, were in those cities where managers were docile to councils and thereby achieved great influence and length of service. I doubt, however, if on this point, or indeed on any other, the present edition of the Model Charter requires any alteration to bring it into accord with the findings of this survey.

Leaving the history of the beginnings and spread of the plan, the surveyors proceed to add up the experience of the fifty cities on the administrative side. They find, as we could have confidently assured them they would, that full-time managers have been more effective than their predecessor mayors or commissioners and have had a better grasp of technique. The growth of the new profession is described and its improving concept of its proper role. The managers, of course, covered the whole human gamut, but the surveyors find that they characteristically did many desirable things: they coördinated departments, established orderly procedures and rules for employees, planned programs of capital investment, introduced budgets, centralized purchasing and close financial controls, enlarged services and fostered city planning. They made firm and speedy peace with hold-over personnel, never had the wholesale cleanouts of municipal staffs that the latter feared, usually but not always disregarded politics in appointments, kept turnover low, and built morale as executives do who know the business. "The majority of employees who had had experience under earlier governments preferred the city manager plan largely because of the greater security of employment."

As to public relations "most cities started publishing annual reports soon after the adoption of the manager plan."

MANAGER AND POLITICS

Part III, the longest and to me the most illuminating division of the book, is headed "Politics." Here we find the composite story of the councilmen whom, an early manager complained, he found so hard to herd, the spoils system before and after, petty politics, red tape, and the conflict of political ideas. The surveyors in sorting out the forty-eight cities found that they had three types of political conditions under their view—a most interesting discovery: (1) machine-ridden cities, (2) faction-ridden cities, (3) community-governed cities, i.e., non-contentious cities without machines and factions. Obviously, the city manager plan enjoyed better chances for peaceful progress in type 3 cities than the others and was subjected to milder strains; their stories are undramatic—"happy is the land that hath no history." Indeed, a major lesson of these books is the advantage of having a community unified in social character, free of mutual distrust, unseparated by railroad tracks or religious or racial cleavages. And it is news, to me at least, that we have so good a proportion of such towns in America; in England, I understand, they are far more common than here.

The city manager plan brought changes into the work of councilmen; they switched attention from details to policies, their business came before them in good order and with better technical preparation. In the machine-ridden cities, abrupt abandonment of "spoils" in conflict with local tradition was frequent but constituted a contentious issue in itself which rocked local politics for several years thereafter, resulting eventually in settling to a new equilibrium on a higher plane. Managers steadily progressed in getting the hands of councilmen out of patronage and administrative detail although many charters forced more matters of perfunctory detail before councils than was necessary.

The evidence somewhat upsets the classic theory that all groups should be represented in the council; facilities for that are in America an unused safety valve, it seems. The classic conflicts in our municipal governments are, as we know, between some classless synthesized clan and the general interest.

"The whole idea of group representation depends upon certain assumptions that are not truly applicable to city government and overlooks what is usually the most important issue of municipal politics. It assumes that the policy determined by the council will depend more on what groups or factions the councilmen belong to than on how much public spirit and intelligence the councilmen have. A councilman elected by the votes of a neighborhood of underprivileged citizens, according to this theory, should be more active in promoting that neighborhood's welfare than a councilman elected at large by some other group of voters. In the cities covered by this survey, however, real changes in municipal policy were rarely brought about by competition among self-interested political groups. The most conspicuous changes were not made by representatives acting on mandates from a group of their constituents that stood to benefit by the new policies; on the contrary, they were made by leaders of the community as a whole, acting out of public spirit on the proposals of a trained administrator. For example, there were the inaugurations of the comprehensive health, recreation, and welfare programs in Dayton, in Austin, and Janesville. These programs were established on the recommendations of city managers by councilmen, most of whom were well-to-do and important businessmen, in the face of bitter political attacks from the traditional political leaders of the lower-income neighborhoods, the very neighborhoods that needed the new programs most."

AN EFFECTIVE PLAN

Finally, here is the verdict, documented as such an appraisal of an outdoor subject was never documented before in American political science:

"By comparison with the preceding forms of government the city manager plan brought a diminution of partisan or factional influence over the government. Councils appointed city managers without regard for their political affiliations, and the city managers, influenced by the nature of their jobs and the ethical standards of their association, threw their influence to the support of impartial administration. In half the cities studied the city manager's tenure was uninterrupted by political considerations, and in general the tenure of the city managers was steadily increasing.

"The city managers improved the organizations left them by the preceding forms of government. They brought to their jobs a scientific, or at least a businesslike, attitude and brought about far more coördination in their governments than had existed before. The opportunity to concentrate leadership of administration in one person was one of the most conspicuous improvements afforded by the city manager plan.

"The city managers furthered long-range planning in city government and encouraged the employment of experts to advise cities on technical problems. The city manager plan brought about conspicuous improvements in personnel administration, raising the standards of public employment and heightening the interest of the employees in their work. The city managers provided more adequate financial information so that the councils could more intelligently determine fiscal policy, and they made it possible to put such policy into effect by improving the methods of financial management.

"These administrative improvements were effected through city managers by more public-spirited political leadership than many of these cities had known before. Some cities failed to maintain their early enthusiasm for the principles of city manager government, but their reaction was not great enough to destroy the improvements that had been made.

"The establishment of the city manager plan increased the prestige of the council and improved the status of expert administration in municipal government. It brought about a greater degree of separation between politics and administration, while increasing the control of the elected governing body over all aspects of municipal affairs."

There may never in our time again be so voluminous and thorough a study of the working of the city manager plan as in these three volumes. Certainly the doctrinaires and pip-squeaks who oppose the plan in local contests are smothered in competent evidence. The burden of proof is henceforth all on the opposition to the movement.

After Thirty Years

Milwaukee "will be free of debt by 1943," predicts Dan Hoan as he steps down from mayor's chair; advises other cities to go and do likewise.

By LLOYD GLADFELTER
The Milwaukee Journal

THE name of Daniel Webster Hoan was magic in Milwaukee up to April 2, 1940. The next day's election extras proclaimed Hoan's defeat as mayor by a thirty-two-year-old newcomer in politics, former Assistant City Attorney Carl F. Zeidler. Thus ended Dan Hoan's thirty years of public service to the city of Milwaukee, twenty-four as mayor and six as city attorney.

In 1910 Hoan, then twenty-nine, became Milwaukee's first Socialist city attorney. Still a comparative youngster he entered the race for mayor in 1916 and defeated Gerhard A. Bading. Thereafter he won another two-year term in 1918 and five four-year terms beginning in 1920. His record of successive—and successful—campaigns and administrations is unprecedented in the annals of American metropolitan cities. That record built him up as a power in his party, a leader among American mayors.

Now that his long reign is over, a rule that was made possible more by non-Socialists than by the party itself, Dan Hoan is not allowing himself to go to seed. He still is interested in good government and the other day signified his intention of continuing many of the activities that engaged his vigor while he was mayor.

He will remain as president of the Great Lakes Harbors Association as long as his services are needed; he will continue with the Pan-American Congress of Municipalities, an organization of municipal officials embracing representatives of city governments in North, South, and Central America. He will still preach good government from the lecture platform. And between times he will practice law in Milwaukee, a profession for which he had prepared himself at the University of Wisconsin and Kent College of Law at Chicago.

One must view the full canvas of Dan Hoan's life to appreciate his contributions to good government. He was born of Irish parents in Waukesha, Wisconsin, March 12, 1881. His father was a blacksmith, made pumps and drove a four-horse rig between Milwaukee and Waukesha. When Dan was fourteen his father died and much of the support of the family fell upon the lad's shoulders. He went to work in a Waukesha hotel, learned how to cook so well that his services were demanded in Milwaukee and Chicago.

Fired by a desire to gain more knowledge he entered the University of Wisconsin in 1901 as a special student. His fame as a cook spread over the campus and he soon was engaged as cook at the Kappa Sigma fraternity, a group he later joined. He organized the first Socialist club of Wisconsin, entered school politics and in his first venture ran for senior class president—and was elected. He was graduated in 1905.

After completing his university course he went to Chicago, studied law at nights, and ran a restaurant during the day. In 1907 he was admitted to the bar in Wisconsin, soon opened an office in Milwaukee. Three years later he became the Socialist candidate for city attorney and won in the landslide which swept into office Mayor Emil Seidel and a complete slate of Socialist administrative officers.

Milwaukee Journal Photo
DANIEL W. HOAN
Former Mayor of Milwaukee

Recovering from the recent shock of his first political defeat, Hoan made plans for his future. At fifty-nine he still considered himself good for many more years of constructive work. His first inclination was to sever the ties that linked him with public and semi-public associations. First he consulted William George Bruce, Milwaukee's eighty-four-year-old elder statesman who for thirty years has been active in developing the city's port, determined to offer his resignation as president of the Great Lakes Harbors Association. Bruce convinced Hoan that his experience was of great value in the fight to develop the St. Lawrence deep waterway to the sea.

"The association is made up both of public officials and private citizens interested in extending ocean shipping to the Great Lakes. I still am intensely interested in achieving for Milwaukee and its sister cities the benefits of cheap water-borne transportation. The whole middle west will benefit from the waterway development. So I decided to remain as long as I can be of service," Hoan said.

In the Pan-American Congress of Municipalities Hoan sees the possibility of developing more understanding between cities in the Americas. Close coöperation among municipal governments in the western hemisphere, he believes, will bring the national governments and peoples into closer harmony and build up the "good neighbor" policy so consistently advocated by President Roosevelt.

"The United States fought to free Cuba from Spanish tyranny," Hoan said. "In Cuba we have a friendly link with South and Central America. This link is important and should not be overlooked."

At the first session of the Pan-American Congress in Havana, November 14-19, 1938, Hoan met and discussed problems of local and international scope with mayors and officials from every South and Central American country.

"In Latin America conditions are not the same as they are above the Rio Grande," he observed. "While the individual's interest in government in this country starts with the city, village, or town, the reverse is true in Latin America. There the cities are of minor importance; everything is controlled by the federal government."

If the town meeting idea of democracy could be cultivated in Latin America, he added, there would need be no fear in this country of our southern neighbors succumbing to dictatorships.

"The Pan-American Congress has brought about an exchange of ideas that should prove mutually beneficial," Hoan continued. "By building up mutual understanding we will eliminate the need for battleships in the future."

As a member of the commission for international coöperation, a sort of steering committee for the conference, Hoan suggested that American cities honor South and Central American national heroes, such as Simon Bolivar, by naming streets, boulevards, and parks in their honor.

"These small tributes to the great men of other American nations will serve as beacons of good will," he said.

On the home front, Hoan urged all cities to put their financial houses in order, "the way Milwaukee has done," and to take steps to own ultimately all of their public utilities.

Ownership of public utilities long had been one of Hoan's platform planks. Even though he frequently urged it, conservative Milwaukee, which repeatedly elected him in spite of his Socialist label, consistently refused to yield to his demands. Milwaukee liked Hoan for his honesty, his efficiency, and his ability. It enjoyed its own municipally-owned water works. But it would not vote to take control of its street railways, electric and gas services.

In defense of his utility stand, Hoan said there was "no reason why cities in this country should not gain the control that municipalities in Europe have long had. It has been amply proved that municipal ownership not only promotes civic pride but also results in tax reduction."

"And," he added, "it keeps local money at home instead of sending it to the financial centers for distribution in dividends."

MILWAUKEE SOON DEBT-FREE

Other American cities were urged to pattern their finances after Milwaukee's.

"Our city will, in effect, be free of debt in 1943. From that time on all of our construction programs will be on a strictly cash basis. What we have done, others also can do," he asserted.

How has Milwaukee pushed itself so far along the road to a debt free estate?

"First by creating in 1923 a public debt amortization fund," Hoan explained. "We decided to set apart definite portions of interest and pen-

(Continued on Page 487)

Learning by Doing

Pennsylvania Intercollegiate Conference on Government a training school for students interested in politics; constitutional conventions, model legislatures, and political conventions demonstrate democracy in action.

By **LEONARD B. GERSON** and **IRVING J. ZIPIN**
Department of Political Science, Temple University

LEARNING by doing" has been the theme which has dominated the field of education for the past fifty years. The chemistry laboratory, the practice teaching curriculum have taken a permanent place in the educational process. Until recently, however, students of government have always been denied the opportunity of "feeling the pulse of politics" through direct participation in the making of our laws.

The Pennsylvania Intercollegiate Conference on Government has demonstrated that it is an integral part of the education of Pennsylvania college students who show an active interest in politics. Every year, for three days in April, from two to three hundred students representing from thirty to forty colleges and universities throughout the Keystone state, assemble in the state capitol at Harrisburg as a model unicameral legislature, a model constitutional convention, a model governors' conference, or a model political convention. The conference met in its seventh annual meeting on April 18-21 of this year.

These sessions are "model" not because they represent what a more perfect deliberative body should be, but rather because the sessions are "small editions of the real thing"; in fact they are very much "the real thing."

The purpose of this conference has been to foster an interest in governmental problems among the students in colleges and universities by dramatizing the activities of the government in an unbiased and nonpartisan manner. Ever since its inception the conference's keynote has been "—not to preach; not even to teach; but merely to provide a means whereby students may learn how their government operates."

The students represent not only the various geographical areas of the state but also the different segments of our society. There are the religious groups, and such controversial measures as birth control have consistently aroused the violent opposition of the Catholic institutions.

Finally, the student representation may be classified according to small schools versus large schools, teachers and normal schools versus urban universities, and it is not unusual to find the urban-rural conflict prevalent in the regular legislature also persisting at these student meetings. In every respect, therefore, the students are a cross section of the political, economic, and social life of the commonwealth.

In the early fall of 1933, because

of the inadequacy of the anachronistic Pennsylvania constitution and the inability of their elders to obtain the convocation of a constitutional convention, Miss Genevieve Blatt and John P. Bracken, then students at the University of Pittsburgh, communicated with interested persons in other colleges and universities throughout the state about the possibility of staging a model state constitutional convention.

In April 1934, the first meeting of what is now the Pennsylvania Intercollegiate Conference on Government was held.[1] While the convention bore no practical fruits in the sense that political leaders in the commonwealth followed its example, so enthusiastically was the idea received that at this first meeting a movement arose among students and delegates participating for the establishment of a permanent organization to foster and maintain some form of state conference on government each year. A continuation committee composed of one representative from each of the twenty-nine charter-member schools represented at this first meeting was then delegated to work with the founders in formulating plans for an annual intercollegiate conference on government.

ORGANIZATION

This committee requested that Miss Blatt and Mr. Bracken serve as directors. Headquarters were established in Pittsburgh where they remain to the present day. A very great measure of the success of the conference is due to the patient and intelligent efforts of its directors, and especially Miss Blatt who has served as executive director for the past five years.

Any college or university in the commonwealth of Pennsylvania offering courses in the social sciences may obtain membership in the conference. Schools outside the state may be admitted as associate members. Since 1934, some fifty-three schools have attended, of which ten were state teachers colleges. Between thirty-five and forty of these schools are represented every year. Few member schools have been entirely lost, and those which do not send a delegation one year usually ask that their names be continued on the conference rolls. Roughly, about 50 per cent of the individual students return to the conference at least one year, while about 25 per cent have come back for two years. There are exceptional cases among the larger schools and universities where delegates attend the conference all through their undergraduate years.

The organization consists of an executive committee of two student representatives and one faculty representative from each school. This committee selects and controls the programs and policies of the conference, determines the form of the convention from year to year, and elects the executive director, the secretary, and the treasurer. This committee meets immediately after the last general session of the conference. The executive director is in complete control of all matters between sessions, and appoints regional directors for each section of the state to promote the program and policies of the conference in that area and to act as a liaison officer between the director and the member schools in that vicinity. These directors also sponsor district "tune-up" meetings, see to pre-conference preparations and arrangements and, if possible, recruit new schools. There have been between five and six such regional directors, representing usually the northeast, southeast, north central, south central, northwest, and southwest regions. At the last executive committee meeting provision was made for the selection of a historian, appointed by the director, to keep the records of the conference. A publicity force also assists the director in public relations work.

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[1] See also "Collegians Steal Legislators' Fire," by Malcolm Webb, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, July 1936.

FACULTY ADVISORS

Each school delegation has a faculty advisor who assists in the preparations for the conference and generally accompanies the delegation to the state capitol. Certain of them are consulted by the executive director on matters of conference policy; otherwise, they have very limited official powers at the meetings, for it has always been felt that students should "run" this conference and that faculty participation should be reduced to a minimum. At the convention faculty members have no voice or vote, and are not permitted on the convention floor.

The only real participation of faculty advisors is in the recommendation of appointees for committee chairmanships and in the selection of candidates for the general chairmanship of the conference, the most important student office at these sessions. Appointments to the former positions are made by the executive director on the basis of faculty recommendations. Election to the latter position is by the conference from among two or three candidates, selected by a faculty interviewing committee, which considers the various candidates' experience and training. Even this careful method of selection is no assurance that the students designated as candidates are capable of holding in check an unusually well informed and enthusiastic body of students, and while most of the chairmen have been able to do so, a few have been unable to cope with the job facing them.

Since 1934, the Conference has met in the following forms:

1934—Model constitutional convention
1935—Model unicameral legislature
1936—Model political convention
1937—Model unicameral legislature
1938—Model governors' conference
1939—Model unicameral legislature
1940—Model political convention

Delegates seem more enthusiastic about the model unicameral legislature than any other form of meeting. This is because the state government field has dominated the conventions, since the students are more intimately concerned with the immediate problems facing their own state.

It is now an established policy that the conference meet as a legislature of one house in every odd-numbered year—these being the years in which the Pennsylvania legislature convenes. When the conference met as a legislature for the first time, in 1935, the constitutional prescriptions which controlled its scope of activity were those in the model constitution adopted at the 1934 convention. The 1937 legislative meeting operated under the present constitution of Pennsylvania, adopted in 1874, nevertheless acting as a unicameral body. The 1939 session was the same as that in 1935, and the coming legislative meeting in 1941 will again be under the present Pennsylvania constitution.

The first two unicameral sessions consisted of only one hundred members—each delegation usually obtaining representation in proportion to its size. The excess delegates had a right to speak on the floor but no vote. It has been proposed that in the 1941 legislature all delegates shall be allowed to vote.

In the years in which the conference met as a political convention the Republican and Democratic parties were likewise meeting to choose presidential nominees and draw up party platforms. The collegiate meetings, however, draw up a platform only, although in the 1940 convention a straw poll of presidential prospects of both the Republican and Democratic parties resulted in an overwhelming vote for President Roosevelt. As a national party convention the school delegations represented different states in accordance with a preference indicated to the executive director early in the year. These meetings were extremely colorful, many of the delegations coming dressed in the apparel familiar to their native state; many of them bore placards espousing the scenic beauty and industrial supremacy of their particular states.

CONFERENCE IN ACTION

Ordinarily member schools begin the business of selecting their delegations and preparing material for the conference around the first of the year, if not earlier. Preparation in some cases is rather sketchy, in others it is very complete. In some of the more active institutions, weekly meetings of the delegation are held in order to sift through the various proposals, discuss their merits, and map out strategy to secure their adoption. The executive committee in recent years has required that the member institutions mimeograph sufficient copies of all proposals to provide one copy for each member of the conference committee to which any given proposal shall be assigned.

In advance of the delegations themselves the student leaders or chairmen representing the various schools arrive in Harrisburg the evening before the conference convenes. There, friendships and alignments are begun and promises exchanged. There, also, the director discusses the policy and general conduct to be followed at the meeting. Finally, on this evening, the faculty committee interviews prospective candidates for the general chairmanship. The next morning the full force of the delegations arrive by automobile, bus, and train. In the last several years, because of the size of its delegation, one of the larger universities has hired a railroad car.

Early in the first day of the conference, the delegates convene in open session in which they are usually addressed by some prominent figure either in the state or national government or in the academic field. Thus, the conference has been addressed by the Governor of Pennsylvania, and, on several occasions, by the Secretary of the Commonwealth. The year of the model governors' conference, Dr. Henry W. Toll, then executive director of the Council of State Governments, was the guest speaker. At both sessions of the model party convention, before the delegates themselves sat down to draw up a model platform, they were addressed by representatives of the various political parties including a keynote speaker from among their own group.

COMMITTEES MEET

Following the addresses the delegates retire to the regular committee chambers in the state capitol building. The number of these committees has never run above ten. For the unicameral legislatures a representative list of committees includes: education, finance, governmental organization (state and local), labor and industry, natural resources, public utilities, social welfare (including public assistance and social insurance), and agriculture. The scope of subject matter is, of course, enlarged and the type of committee changed when the convention sits as a model political convention to include such subjects as foreign affairs, social security, and intergovernmental relations.

Reclining in the easy chairs of the senior solons of the state, the discussion of the committee members is usually informal and productive, but when basic issues are treated debate sometimes becomes acrimonious. Often two or three schools will line up together to force through their combined proposals and measures; pet ideas are sometimes sold across the bargain counter. Such issues as state ownership and operation of coal mines, public ownership of utilities and natural resources, questions of war, peace, and foreign relations, and state sales taxes are extremely provocative and the lines of battle are sharply drawn not on the basis of partisan politics, but rather on the grounds of personal conviction and principle. The gavel of the committee chairman raps often to quiet some eager and over-zealous delegate bent on getting his program adopted.

As proposals are passed by the several committees, they are sent to a rules committee consisting of one delegate from each school. This committee occupies itself with the important functions of editing the proposals for presentation to the general or plenary sessions, determining on the basis of the total measures the amount of time to be allotted to each. This committee also recommends the order for submission of committee reports to the plenary session and provides rules under which they are to be considered.

Sessions of the regular committees often extend into the late evening as the students weigh, debate, and compromise. The use of subcommittees is often resorted to when valuable committee time would be taken up in redrafting or harmonizing bills and proposals. The amazing feature about these committee sessions is the prodigious amount of material which is discussed and voted upon, considering the fact that few bills are "railroaded" through.

Following committee adjournment the delegates, in recent years, have rejoined the members of their own delegation for the purpose of caucusing on issues and men. By this time, delegates have been able to strike up friendships with other schools and have been able to "line up" votes and support for particular measures and candidates.

It is in these caucuses that delegations decide either to support or "knife" the proposals that have been introduced into the committees earlier in the day.

CHAIRMAN CHOSEN

Candidates for the office of general conference chairman have by this time made themselves well known to the leaders of the several delegations and the caucuses decide whom they will support in the election the next morning. The pledges and promises broken are exceeded only by the number made, and bargain is the keynote of the hour. Alignments shift, delegation leaders exhort their members to vote as a solid bloc. A little patronage in the form of secretaryships, tellers, and parliamentarians, is often used by the candidates as a means of prying doubtful delegations "off the fence."

The general or plenary session convenes early Saturday morning, the second day of the conference, and the election of a general chairman is the first order of business. This election is hotly fought. Recently, one of the larger universities began the use of whips to see that its own delegation and all other delegations promised to its candidate were awakened in time to attend the election in the morning. After the successful candidate assumes the chair, the session gets down to the business of issues and platforms. The plenary meeting continues throughout Saturday until dinner time, and Sunday morning until noon, when the conference adjourns and the delegates start for home.

The sessions are characterized by surprisingly adept parliamentary maneuvers. Delegates are most exacting on procedural questions, and twice in the history of the conference chairmen have been forced to withdraw, unable to cope with the parliamentary situation which arose. Partly because of the short period of time in which the youthful solons meet, there are few long-winded addresses, more debates being germane to the issues discussed. Only when a matter becomes extremely controversial have the delegates been able to obtain a waiver of the rules and permission to discuss the question at length. In one year the question of state ownership and control of mines almost broke up the session when a bloc of delegates headed by the son of a local mine owner threatened to leave the conference and go home. A compromise measure settled the issue. Among the larger urban universities, with delegations of twenty to forty members, strict delegation discipline is most essential, and is very often enforced through the use of delegation whips. Voting is viva voce except when a division is called, which is frequent.

LEGISLATION AND PROPOSALS

The liberal and progressive attitude of college students in general has permeated the work of this conference. Whether or not the students are imbued by the New Deal philosophy, invariably they favor such New Deal measures as social security, the TVA program, stronger protection and security for labor groups, abolition of holding companies, subsidization and credits to farmers, slum clearance and housing, and similar measures. In the field of Pennsylvania politics such modern trends in government were proposed as a judicial council, city-county consolidation of large urban areas, and the right to vote for a manager type of local government. Graduated income taxes were provided for, a state tax commission was established, as was also a social security commission to concern itself with matters of social insurance in the commonwealth. A more efficient administration of the public school system was another measure passed, as well as provision for compulsory automobile liability insurance.

The model state constitution adopted at the first meeting in 1934 follows very closely the *Model State Constitution* drafted under the auspices of the National Municipal League. In those years in which the conference meets as a legislature, bills of the nature previously mentioned are invariably passed, except that with changing social and economic conditions, the legislation adopted is made to fit new problems. In the federal field, the model national party conventions responded to similar changes in national issues. Thus, the platform adopted by the 1940 party convention, while in many ways containing provisions similar to those in the 1936 platform, is in tune with the new situations confronting the nation today, especially with regard to labor, war, national defense, etc.

It can be said that these students are definitely for a "stay out of war" policy, for strong Pan-Americanism, and adequate national defense. They are pro-labor, feel that industry and capital must be given every aid and encouragement, and support government reorganization and efficiency, social security and unemployment legislation, and widening of the tax base and abolition of tax exemptions.

In 1938, when the group met as a model governors' conference, each delegation represented a different state, the chairman of which served as Governor, other members being assigned the title of some important state official. Each delegate prepared proposals dealing with interstate aspects of his official duties and responsibilities in that field of government. Delegates were divided into fourteen committees, and, at adjournment time, accomplishments of the conference had been embodied in seventy-eight resolutions calling for coöperation among the states in the solution of problems in almost every field of state government.[2]

A GENERAL EVALUATION

A definite interest and enthusiasm is generated by student participation in a conference of this sort. This is aptly illustrated by the fact that a number of former student delegates, now graduated and in professional fields, have come back to these meetings every year since the creation of the conference, to sit as spectators on the sidelines. This interest has also seeped across Pennsylvania boundaries into other states and regions; letters have come to the executive director from colleges and government agencies throughout the nation desiring information on the work of the conference. Public officials as well as students in governmental fields have expressed their enthusiasm. That the Pennsylvania conference has had any influence in developing student-participating bodies elsewhere is hard to say, although these letters would seem to indicate such a fact.

The conference itself is slowly becoming institutionalized. Students who attend once are more than eager to return the following year, and colleges and universities, whether successful or not at the sessions, face the coming one with greater zeal.

These meetings have also served to develop a deep sense of pride and responsibility among students in their handiwork. They must necessarily have a definite influence on the later life of the delegates attending, for many are students preparing for the study of law, entrance into the public service or the teaching profession. Their participation in actual debate and discussion will help to train them for these fields as well as teach them to think on their feet and for themselves. For this reason, these meetings fill a long felt void in the average college curriculum.

Not only has actual participation served to instruct and teach the issues and principles being discussed, but it has given youthful legislators an understanding of the way in which their government operates. It serves as a clinic for practical politics and government. It teaches that the spirit of compromise and the value of discussion are essential principles of our representative democracy. It sounds the true democratic keynote in that it demonstrates the method by which laws and public principles are enacted.

Finally, these meetings are in no way radical gatherings, but are, in fact, an important means of combating the spread of influence both from the left and from the right. For, besides giving to the youthful delegates an appreciation of the manner in which their representative bodies function, they teach the student how to operate within the regularly constituted channels of our democratic system. It is therefore safe to say that if students, through conferences of this nature, can see that democracy works by being shown how it works, respect for their government will increase greatly.

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[2] For a more detailed discussion of this particular conference see "Student Solons Demonstrate Coöperation," *State Government,* June 1938.

Los Angeles Attacks Metropolitan Problem

Finds in functional consolidation a compromise between advantages of unified administration and local self-government which can be put in operation gradually with no political upheaval.

By **JOHN McDIARMID**
University of Southern California

THE government of large metropolitan areas unquestionably offers one of the most significant of the contemporary challenges to American political inventiveness. The duplications, conflicts, and inefficiencies which result from a multiplicity of political jurisdictions in an urban region which is in many respects a social and economic unit are painfully evident in each of our ninety-five metropolitan centers. As officials in numerous fields—police, fire, health, water supply, and transportation—can eloquently testify, governmental problems are no respecters of artificial corporate boundaries. The challenge has been underscored and broadcast as a result of many recent intensive studies of metropolitan problems,[1] but progress toward meeting that challenge is still relatively slight.

That Los Angeles is no exception to the general rule a long succession of studies, reports, and proposals with respect to its metropolitan governmental relationships clearly indicates. Best known are the 1932 and 1935 studies of the city and county official research agencies, the detailed report of the county-supported Committee on Governmental Simplification, 1935, and the 1936 report of Mayor Shaw's Citizens' Committee on Governmental Reorganization. Most recently the entire problem was made the subject of a week's discussion at the University of Southern California's Institute of Government, June 1940.

Los Angeles is still groping toward a solution. At one time or another since 1900 some use has been made of all but two of the methods enumerated by Studenski as the principal steps in the direction of integration.[2] Coöperation, annexation, expansion of county services, extraterritorial services by the central city, special purpose authorities—all these have been utilized in varying degree. Only city-county consolidation and the federated or borough plan have been spurned, although interestingly enough the Los Angeles city charter authorizes a borough system which has never been put into effect.

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[1] See especially the series of detailed studies of the Chicago area made under the direction of Professor Merriam; Paul Studenski, *The Government of Metropolitan Areas in the United States,* National Municipal League, 1930; the current studies of the Princeton Local Government survey under Professor Carpenter; and the forthcoming monograph on Metropolitan Government by Dr. Victor Jones.

[2] *Op. cit.,* p. 42.

In its shotgun attack upon the problem, Los Angeles has relied heavily upon annexation in the past. Over seventy times the city has resorted to this procedure in increasing its 1850 area of twenty-eight square miles to the 451 square miles of 1940. However, the increasing difficulty of effecting further consolidations as suburban cities solidify their political independence[3] makes it probable that annexation will play a relatively insignificant rôle in the immediate future. A complete city-county consolidation, as occasionally proposed, would be practically and politically impossible. Even if it could be achieved such a plan would carry a price in the loss of local autonomy which many observers believe is unjustifiably high.

Minor political consolidations will no doubt continue in Los Angeles, but it is in another direction that Angelenos are now striving for the solution of their metropolitan ills. Functional consolidation, or the centralization of governmental services which can best be discharged by a single agency, does not disturb existing political boundaries or powers, and thus is a compromise between the advantages of unified administration of common activities on the one hand and local self-government on the other. As a compromise it will not measure up in efficiency to a single metropolitan government nor in the values of democratic control by interested citizens to a system of completely autonomous local communities. It is thus subject to criticism by the philosophers of both camps. However, like many other famous American political compromises, it has the all-important quality of acceptability, and furthermore can be put into operation gradually and cautiously without any sudden or startling political upheaval. Los Angeles has already made significant strides in consolidating functions, and an increasing number of informed students of the Southern California scene believe that continued progress in this direction represents the most profitable attack on local problems.

LOS ANGELES BACKGROUND

It is well to remember that the solution to metropolitan problems in any given region must be worked out with due regard to existing local characteristics and peculiarities. A plan found profitable in one center will not necessarily be successful if transplanted in another. Consequently, before examining more closely the Los Angeles experience in the consolidation of governmental functions, one should take note of three outstanding general features of government in the area. In the first place, the metropolitan region lies entirely in one state and almost entirely in a single county. In the latter are located forty-five incorporated cities, about as many unincorporated towns ranging in population up to 175,000, and a total of over 450 separate taxing agencies. Yet, as stated by the

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[3] On this point, see Victor Jones, "Politics of Integration in Metropolitan Areas," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* January, 1940, p. 161.

Simplification Committee, "the Los Angeles metropolitan area and the county of Los Angeles are so nearly identical as to make the terms substantially synonymous."[4] This is a significant contrast to other large urban areas which spill over into several counties and several states, thus complicating the pattern of political jurisdictions and powers. It lends weight to the Simplification Committee's conclusion that the county is the "logical agency" for the performance of whatever governmental functions it may be desirable to administer on a metropolitan-wide basis.

A PROGRESSIVE COUNTY

Secondly, the Los Angeles County government is unique among county governments in many important respects. It has an annual budget of over $80,000,000, and thus is the only metropolitan county with a budget exceeding that of its central city. Its government is progressive far beyond most American counties, a fact illustrated by a merit system which embraces even department heads, and by recent adoption of a county manager plan which gives promise of permanence.[5] It has for many years been performing numerous services of a municipal or urban nature, including health protection, street lighting, welfare and hospitalization, engineering, fire protection, sewage disposal and various others.

In the third place, the governmental units in Los Angeles are well provided with legal authority for effecting important functional consolidations. California counties as well as cities over 3,500 have the constitutional right to adopt home rule charters. The significance of this fact is apparent when one discovers the Los Angeles County charter provision authorizing the county to assume and discharge any municipal function legally transferred by a city or town within the county.[6] Similarly, city charters such as that of Los Angeles authorize transfer of city functions, by contract or otherwise, to the county or state government.[7]

For the non-home rule cities incorporated under general laws, enabling legislation is needed for functional transfers, and many such laws are in effect, covering among other fields assessment and collection of taxes, library service, health service, sanitation, personnel administration, and police protection. The unincorporated sections of the county, some of which are densely populated, automatically receive county-administered "municipal" services. Other types of legal authority for metropolitan-wide services are illustrated by the 1915 flood control act and the metropolitan water district act of 1927. The former established a single flood control district which covers the metropolitan region, is governed by the County Board of Supervisors and served by other county officers, and generally is an integral part of the county structure despite its separate finances. The water district act has empowered cities to associate voluntarily for the purpose of bringing Colorado River water to Southern California. At present thirteen cities are members of the district, which has a separate governing board with taxing and borrowing powers. Other cities may join if and when they find it desirable.

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[4] Committee on Governmental Simplification, *Report*, Los Angeles, 1935, pp. 7-8.

[5] See "Streamlined County Government—Los Angeles Style," by John McDiarmid, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, November 1939.

[6] Article XII, sec. 56½.

[7] Article I, sec. 2.

PAST ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Consolidation of functions in Los Angeles County has been completely effected in some fields, has made very substantial progress in others, and has achieved relatively minor successes in still a third group of activities. These three classes cannot always be clearly distinguished but they will serve as an outline for a discussion of the Los Angeles picture.[8]

Consolidations which are complete or virtually so include the services of the following agencies or officials: registrar of voters, recorder of documents, superior court, district attorney, coroner, public administrator, public defender, probation department and juvenile hall, flood control district, department of charities and welfare, general hospital, Olive View Sanitarium (tubercular hospital), Rancho Los Amigos (county farm), sealer of weights and measures, and Los Angeles Museum.

It is readily apparent that a number of these services are of a type frequently rendered by county governments in the United States. For example, the county-wide prosecution of felonies by a district attorney, the coroner's investigations, and a single county farm are familiar to most Americans. On the other hand, some of these Los Angeles consolidations are exceptionally noteworthy. Public welfare activities within the city of Los Angeles were transferred to the county by an agreement of 1915. Today, though the administration of relief to unemployables is a county responsibility throughout California, many visitors from other sections of the United States are surprised to find such cities as Los Angeles without any responsibility for welfare administration.

Also in 1915, the inspection and regulation of weights and measures was consolidated in a county department, and existing agencies in the cities of Los Angeles, Pasadena, and Santa Monica were disbanded. The words of the head of this county department have a significance far wider than the specific field to which they refer: "Placing all of this work under one department enables us to give more efficient and economical service, and to maintain inspection outfits for all branches of the work that a smaller department could not have."[9] Unified administration of flood control projects, probation and juvenile detention activities, and voters' registration are other outstanding instances among those enumerated above.

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[8] A monograph on governmental cooperation in the Los Angeles area is to be published by the Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of California at Los Angeles in the near future.

[9] Los Angeles County Employees' Association, *Los Angeles County Government*, 1934, p. 25.

PARTIAL CONSOLIDATION

Activities for which consolidation is substantial but not complete include: assessment and collection of taxes, health administration, library service, sanitation, regional planning, and the municipal courts. Since the county has to assess and collect county taxes on all taxable property within the county, there is no logical administrative justification for duplicating these activities in city governments. Under general law and charter provisions the forty-five incorporated cities in Los Angeles County have authority to contract with the county for these services. Los Angeles City made the transfer in 1917, and thirty-seven other cities have followed suit. School districts and various other special assessment districts are also served by the county assessor and county tax collector so that a high degree of consolidation actually exists today. The fact that the city of Los Angeles pays annually some $22,000 for services which it could not duplicate for less than $700,000 gives some indication of the advantages of the arrangement.[10]

In health administration, the large well equipped county department performs health services for the unincorporated sections of the county as well as for thirty-nine of the forty-five incorporated cities. Until 1935 services to cities were on a contract basis, standards were far higher than most of the cities could have provided themselves, and the amounts paid by the cities were small, usually far below cost to the county. An act of 1935 required the county to furnish free upon request basic health services prescribed by state law and regulation. Since that time contracts are necessary only when a given city desires services in excess of the standard type. Los Angeles, Pasadena, Long Beach, and Beverly Hills are the chief cities which retain and support their own health departments, but they pay heavily for the privilege, since they contribute approximately two-thirds of the county property tax revenues from which the county health department is financed, yet receive relatively few direct benefits in return.

Library service is furnished by the county to all unincorporated areas and to twenty-five of the incorporated cities. A uniform library tax is paid by all areas, both incorporated and otherwise, which receive the standard service. Additional services may be made the subject of special contracts between the county and cities or library districts set up for the purpose in unincorporated territory. In contrast to the health field, cities supporting their own libraries are relieved of any taxes for the financing of the county system, yet have the option of accepting county library service whenever they so desire. The Simplification Committee pointed to "attendant economies and substantial increase in service by reason of larger and more mobile book collections," and concluded that this was an "excellent pattern and foundation for centralizing library and other administrations."[11]

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[10] While this is a bright picture from the administrative point of view, it has another side. Saddled with a charter tax rate limitation of $1.25 per $100 assessed valuation, the city has been hard hit for revenues as the county assessor reduced valuations some 37 per cent from a 1929 peak. With no charter limitation the county increased its rate from $.88 to $1.51 during this period. Pasadena, one of the cities retaining assessment functions, though also with a charter rate limitation, was able to raise its valuations from approximately 45 per cent (the county standard) to 75 per cent of true value for city tax purposes. Los Angeles City officials were helpless as tax revenues fell off some $9,000,000 during a period when the desirability of correspondingly large cuts in expenditures was, to say the least, questionable.

In the field of sanitation, especially sewage collection and disposal, the pattern of consolidation is confused, but important economies have been achieved by coöperative effort. An integrated trunk sewer system has been constructed in the southern section of the county through the cooperation of nine sanitation districts embracing over a dozen cities as well as numerous unincorporated sections. The work of all nine districts is carried on by one central agency under general county supervision. Also in this field numerous cities and districts contract with the city of Los Angeles for sewer connections with the central city sewer system. The Simplification Committee discovered over eighty contracts relating to sanitation matters in which Los Angeles City was involved.

PLANNING PROGRESS

The Los Angeles County Regional Planning Commission was established in 1923 and thus became the first county agency of its kind in the nation. With a capable technical staff it has developed into one of America's outstanding local planning organizations. In addition to developing regional plans for the entire county it has exercised the functions of a local planning and zoning agency in the unincorporated thickly settled communities. Outstanding achievements have been the development of a master county highway plan, a comprehensive traffic survey, and more recently a detailed land use survey of over five hundred square miles of the metropolitan area. The plans prepared, however, require voluntary coöperation of the incorporated cities for their execution. The county highway plan has been adopted by practically all of the incorporated cities as it relates to their territory, and generally speaking informal coöperation in planning matters has been substantial. The Committee on Simplification, while commending past achievements in this field, recommended the substitution of "legally sanctioned coöperation or unification for the present practice that depends so largely upon personal initiative and compatibility among officials."[12]

The municipal courts of Los Angeles and Long Beach deserve some mention in a recounting of functional consolidations primarily because they fit into a county judicial system in which there are no serious duplications or conflicts in jurisdiction. A good example of an integrated municipal court having minor civil and criminal jurisdiction, the Los Angeles Municipal Court was established in 1926 by the consolidation of the Justice Court of Los Angeles Township and the Los Angeles City Police Court.

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[11] *Op. cit.*, pp. 15, 69.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 100.

Additional functions which have been consolidated at least to some degree include: personnel administration, water supply, police protection, legal services, engineering, provision of jail facilities, and purchasing. In most of these instances the potentialities of consolidation have hardly been scratched, and some of them could be cited as activities in which effective coördination is sadly lacking. Nevertheless a beginning has been made in each case.

Following an enabling act of 1935, seven cities have contracted with the County Civil Service Commission for personnel services. With respect to the immediate future this field is unquestionably the most promising in this third category.

Many disputes and conflicts still exist in the field of water supply, which is so vital to the survival of the Southern California plain, but the Metropolitan Water District is a notable effort at coöperation in which thirteen cities are now engaged.

POLICE CONSOLIDATION

In the police protection field the principal consolidation has been brought about by the county charter of 1913, which abolished the elected constables in the forty-odd townships of the county and substituted an appointive constabulary under the direction and control of the sheriff. This was an important move, but the sheriff and the forty-five city police departments today still lack a central records system, an effectively coördinated communication system, and the advantages of legally effected coordination or unification. Of some interest are the following minor instances of consolidation: legal advice furnished the 150 school districts within the county by the county counsel, engineering activities in the unincorporated sections carried on by the county surveyor, the offering of county jail facilities to a few cities on a contract basis, and the services of the county purchasing agent to approximately one hundred school districts.

Conditions in Los Angeles County are exceptionally favorable for experimentation with functional consolidation, and significant steps have already been taken in this direction. While many persons agree that a number of major governmental problems in the metropolitan area demand a unified or coördinated attack, the exact functions which should be consolidated, the degree of rapidity with which such consolidation should be pushed, and the exact procedure or method to be followed all are subject to controversy and differing points of view.

LOCAL AUTONOMY RETAINED

A large measure of policy-determination and self-expression in local matters will probably be retained by individual communities regardless of future administrative consolidations, and properly so. Standards and variety of service demanded by local residents will necessarily vary with such important social factors as wealth, racial pattern, and location. Pasadena and Beverly Hills, for example, demand and are willing to finance such a high quality of local health services that their uniform application to the entire region would be prohibitively costly.

There are several inequities in existing relationships in Los Angeles. Densely settled unincorporated areas receive excellent services of a municipal nature from Los Angeles County, and generally pay a tax bill which is proportionately less than that of their city neighbors. They feel no need to incorporate, and are actually being partially supported by city residents who contribute taxes to the county general fund. Again, where the county renders free or below-cost service to some of the forty-five cities, the remaining ones are penalized financially for maintaining their own departments. Health is the prime illustration of this situation, as indicated above. In general, these inequities, together with a dispute over the allocation of gasoline tax funds received from the state, have prompted several movements on the part of city representatives for separation of Los Angeles City from the county. Such a step would be a catastrophe for the region as a whole, and has few proponents today, but the abuses at which it aimed have not been wholly removed. The extension to other fields of the pattern of county library service, based upon payments for benefits received, is worth serious consideration. It would be an extremely grave mistake, however, to attempt a complete and inflexible application of the benefit theory, as we learned in the general taxation field long ago. The resources of the entire metropolitan area must be pooled if major governmental problems of the community are to be solved satisfactorily.

It would be far from correct to leave the impression that all significant pressures in Los Angeles point toward functional consolidation. Some obstacles are personal, some practical, and a few legal. All three can be illustrated in the field of health administration. Both city and county of Los Angeles have large, well established health departments, headed by forceful directors of many years service. Who is to absorb whom? A county charter provision which makes it impossible for the technicians of the city department to retain their civil service status upon transfer to the county intrudes a serious legal obstruction.

It is worth repeating that the county government is the logical agency for the assumption of most centralized functions in the Los Angeles area. With enlarged duties, however, it becomes increasingly essential that this unit be as well organized and administered as possible. It is no mere fortuity that the county's Committee on Simplification and the city's Committee on Governmental Reorganization both devoted major portions of their reports to proposals for improvements in the county structure and administration. Subsequently, a modified county manager plan has been inaugurated with marked success, but further reform

(Continued on Page 508)

City-County Separation in Virginia

Overlapping of political authority and confusion of responsibility have been avoided in Virginia by complete political separation of municipal and county governments.

By RAYMOND B. PINCHBECK
University of Richmond

WRITING in 1926, Dr. Thomas H. Reed points out that, "In England, whence we derived the fundamentals of our county system and our general conception of the relationship of city and county, it was the custom, even centuries ago, to confer county powers on specially favored boroughs. From 1835 until recently it was the practice to make every borough of 50,000 population or more a separate county. In this country, however, the general tendency has been to leave the cities, irrespective of their size, in the county where they territorially lie. *Virginia alone among the states of the union has systematically followed the English practice. In that commonwealth all first-class cities (over 10,000 population) are at the same time counties. Elsewhere there have been only scattered instances of city-county consolidation.*"[1]

In other states than Virginia there have been isolated cases of county-city consolidation such as in the case of Baltimore in 1849, San Francisco in 1856, St. Louis in 1876, and Denver in 1902. The counties and cities bearing the names of New Orleans and Philadelphia have the same boundaries while Boston and Suffolk County are almost identical. The waste of duplicated services and offices and the confusion of responsibility of overlapping political authority have led to generations of struggle and many attempts to consolidate American counties and adjoining cities, or to achieve what has been done from the beginning in Virginia, to effect complete political separation of counties and cities.

In 1634 the Virginia colony was divided into eight shires or counties with the creation of many other counties to follow. The county court was the legislative and judicial governing body. This county court, composed of justices of the peace appointed by the governor on the nomination of the encumbent justices, appointed the sheriff who served as a police and court officer, the tax collector and treasurer, the county clerk, the county coroner, and other county officials and employees.

This county system, in which the sheriff was a type of county manager and which provided for no direct local citizen control, was continued without material change by the Virginia constitutions of 1776, 1830, and until 1850 when the constitution of that year created thirteen elective county offices. The fundamental framework of Virginia county government provided in the constitution of 1850 continues to the present time although the constitution was revised in 1869, 1902, and 1928. The latter constitution permits the General Assembly to provide optional forms of county government different from that detailed in the constitution.

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[1] *Municipal Government in the United States.* New York, 1926, page 364.

FIRST CITY CHARTERED

In spite of the fact that the Virginia county has been from the earliest beginnings of the Virginia colony the basic unit of local government, the Colonial Council and the General Assembly (begun in 1619) were deeply interested in the creation of Virginia cities and towns. This is evidenced by the names of some of the early counties such as James City and Charles City. Williamsburg was the first city chartered in Virginia when it received its charter from the council in 1722, after its approval by a formal petition of freeholders and inhabitants. The late Governor of Virginia, John Garland Pollard, himself a former mayor of Williamsburg, writes as follows relative to the importance of the creation of this first Virginia city:

> Thus was created a new type of government in Virginia. In the matter of representation it broke the old custom which made the county the unit. For a long time it remained unique; how unique is shown, years later, by Jefferson's adoption of the slogan: "Divide the counties into wards!" The counties still were the bases of government. Williamsburg takes on significance as the first successful attempt to provide a smaller unit for Virginia.[2]

The founding and evolution of the city government of Richmond, the third and present capital of Virginia, demonstrates the development of the independent city. Colonel William Byrd, in April 1737, laid out the cities of Richmond and Petersburg. Five years later, in May 1742, the town of Richmond was established in the county of Henrico by a statute "enacted by the lieutenant governor, council, and burgesses of the present General Assembly."

It was not until May 1782 that Richmond was chartered as the sixth Virginia city. The new charter provided that all freeholders of improved or unimproved lots in the city, regardless of whether they were resident in the city, and housekeepers and inhabitants who had resided in the city at any time for three months without the intermission of any twelve months, and who possessed movable or immovable property valued at one hundred pounds or more, should meet and elect by ballot twelve able and fit freeholders and inhabitants of the city. These twelve officials publicly elected, by ballot among themselves, one of their number to act as mayor, another as recorder, and four others as aldermen of the city. The other six members served as the common council. The twelve popularly elected officials were known as the Common Hall.

It will be noted that Richmond, now one of fourteen cities in the United States still using the bicameral type of large council, originally had a unicameral council. It was not until the charter of April 1874 that Richmond had its present large bicameral council.

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[2] *Modern Government in a Colonial City,* by Luther Gulick. New York, 1932, page 24.

Virginia now has twenty-four cities each of which is politically independent of the county or counties in which it is situated. At the same time each of the one hundred Virginia counties is entirely independent of political control by the city or cities which adjoin the county. In the case of the state's 179 towns the property of town citizens is still subject to county taxation and the town citizens vote for county officials who serve the towns and the counties. From the earliest colonial times this policy of city-county separation has prevailed in Virginia. For the same period county political control of Virginia towns has prevailed.

Prior to the Virginia constitution of 1902 only the state legislature, by special act, could change the boundaries of a city to permit it to annex additional territory from adjoining counties. Since that date the General Assembly has by statute provided a special three-judge annexation court before which an annexation suit may be brought by a city against its adjoining county. The city's action is brought by the city attorney at the order of the city council.

ANNEXATION PROCEEDINGS

In order to annex additional territory the city must prove that, in the reasonably immediate future, it needs the added area for its proper and normal expansion; that municipal services are needed by the citizens of the county area proposed to be annexed which cannot be properly provided by the county concerned; that present county services to the area are deficient; that moral, physical, welfare, health, or sanitary hazards to the city welfare exist in the proposed annexation area; and that the remaining portion of the county will not be seriously impaired financially by the loss of taxable values annexed by the city. Citizens in the annexation area have no voice in the matter. The annexation court, however, is enjoined by the annexation statutes to take cognizance of informal citizen votes or polls and petitions in the rendering of their decision. Any county citizen may appear before the court and petition for or against annexation. While the testimony of expert city planners and engineers, as well as that of expert educational, health, welfare, public administration, and other competent authorities, is admissible and traditional in annexation suits in Virginia, the whole annexation court procedure takes the form of litigation before a three-judge court whose decision may be appealed to the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia.

The Virginia city is forbidden to ask for annexation of county territory on the ground that the city needs the additional taxable values in the proposed annexation area.

In the main the complete independence of the Virginia city has proved to be a wise political policy during the past 228 years of experience. Certainly it has obviated the controversy which continues in other states where this complete separation does not prevail. It eliminates duplicated offices, services, and equipment, and completely avoids overlapping of political authority. This has on the whole permitted the citizens of Virginia cities a larger measure of home rule than could prevail if county political authority overlapped city political authority. It has placed responsibility for the efficient administration of Virginia city government squarely on the city officials who cannot allege county official interference in municipal affairs or costs. The General Assembly of Virginia grants charters to Virginia cities by special acts and these home rule charters are subject to adoption by the voters of the city. Most Virginia cities have managers and small unicameral councils.

COUNTIES LOSE TERRITORY

On the other hand, the complete separation of Virginia cities and counties is not an unmixed blessing. Between 1890 and 1930 there were forty-six annexations or incorporations of county territory by Virginia cities. Within twenty-five years Henrico county has twice lost 50 per cent of its taxable values by annexation of its territory to the city of Richmond in 1914 and 1940, respectively. Other Virginia counties have lost as much as 50 per cent of their taxables by annexation by an adjoining city. Usually the county loses a much larger percentage of its revenues than the percentage of its governmental costs taken over by the city. In the recent Richmond annexation of Henrico County territory, now pending before the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia, the city took nearly 50 per cent of the county revenues but only about 20 per cent of its operating costs. This will result in the serious impairment of county services in the remainder of the county, a 66 per cent increase in school tax rates, and a nearly proportionate increase in the general tax levies, or a combination of restricted county governmental services and considerably higher taxes.

This serious effect of annexation on the county which loses its taxables is a grave problem in Virginia. On the whole the counties adjoining the twenty-four Virginia cities are making some progress in improving their organizational structures and administrative procedures. They have larger revenues due to large suburban taxable property values. Virginia sanitary district laws and fire zone laws permit these suburban counties to establish water and sewer systems, fire protection systems, street lights, and other municipal services, supported by special district tax rates applicable only to the areas of the county receiving these services. On the other hand, in the cities the citizens in all parts of the city pay a uniform tax rate irrespective of the variation in specialized city services in any portion of the city.

It should be pointed out that water, sewer, fire zone, and street lighting districts in Virginia counties are administered by the county board of supervisors and county officials. These special districts are not independent subdivisions of the county, do not have independent officials, tax-levying powers, or tax-expending authority.

At its 1940 session the General Assembly of Virginia, on the recommendation of the Virginia Commission on County Government, adopted a resolution asking the Virginia Legislative Advisory Council to make a study of the annexation problem and recommend changes in the Virginia annexation laws. It was pointed out that at least two approaches to the problem could be made. First, the present laws permitting cities and counties to enter into contracts whereby adjoining cities would sell the counties specific municipal services at a profit might be made more practicable. In this connection it was suggested that in addition to, or in lieu of, specific prices for city water, sewer, fire protection, garbage collection, and other city services, by mutual agreement the county might pay the city a "service charge" equal to a certain tax rate per $100 of taxable property values in the suburban area served. This service charge could be loaded to cover not only the specific municipal services provided but also to cover the "unearned increment" of county suburban citizens resulting from proximity to the city. This presumes that the county is not already rendering these municipal services to its suburban citizens with the use of county owned and operated facilities. It was also suggested that further provision be made for county-city joint operation of municipal utilities.

The second suggestion was that substantially the same present annexation laws be continued with the city granted permission to levy for an indefinite period of time lower tax rates in the newly annexed area as is now permitted the counties. The present Virginia laws permit the city to levy the same county rate of taxation in the annexed territory for a period of five years provided it expends all revenues collected in the area for capital improvements in the annexed area. The present law permits the city to raise the ratio of assessed to sales value of the real estate in the annexed area immediately following the final court decree ordering annexation. However, the city cannot immediately levy the general city tax rate until it has expended for capital improvements in the annexed area a sum equal to 12 per cent of the county assessed values in the area annexed.

NEWPORT NEWS LAW

While in the vast majority of the Virginia annexation trials the cities have won their cases and the counties have lost their territory and taxable values, after long and costly legal battles on the part of both cities and the counties, there have been exceptions. The city of Newport News recently lost its annexation suit against an adjoining county. As a result the county representative in the 1938 General Assembly secured the passage of a special act, drawn in the form of a general act, forbidding a Virginia city to annex any part of a county the size of his county unless it annexed the whole county. Because this made annexation almost impossible, since the city does not want to annex rural and semi-rural areas, the 1940 General Assembly enacted a special metropolitan area statute for Newport News. This statute permits a popular election by the citizens in the area proposed to be annexed as to whether they desire annexation. Special studies are now being made preliminary to the formulation of a plan to be submitted to the citizens of the area for their approval or rejection.

ANNEXATION OPPOSED

The League of Virginia Counties is vigorously opposed to the present annexation laws and their effects on the taxable values of the counties. Since there are far more county senators and delegates than city representatives in the General Assembly the opposition of the League of Virginia Counties finds support in that body. To some degree this situation is acting as a stimulus to the counties to improve the organization of their governments as well as their administrative procedures. Considerable interest is being expressed in a number of suburban counties in the manager and executive optional forms of county government made available by the General Assembly in 1932. Improved county government is the best defense in an annexation court trial.

From the Virginia city point of view the problem is equally serious. Good roads, the telephone, the radio and telegraph, the automobile, electricity, and modern sanitary facilities, all available in areas far from the city, have combined to disperse the population, formerly included within city boundaries, far beyond city limits. New industries no longer settle in the cities but seek locations out in the counties where the tax rates are low. Real estate values in the cities tend to decrease with serious effects on revenues while fixed city operating costs and debt service remain at substantially the same level.

While the Virginia city levies business and professional licenses and franchise fees in addition to real estate and tangible personal property taxes, real estate continues to bear the principal portion of the municipal tax burden. The 1926 Virginia "segregation law" permits only the state to tax intangible property, incomes, and inheritances. State grants-in-aid represent more than one-third of all county expenditures while they represent only a very small fraction of Virginia city expenditures.

While considerable discussion of metropolitan area government is taking place in Virginia as these problems of city and county are faced, no tangible proposals other than those suggested above have been made as a basis for legislative action. Perhaps in this direction may lie some solution of the problems of the "dispersed city" and the county faced by repeated "piece-meal" losses of territory. It has been specifically suggested that counties adopting and operating modern efficient forms of county government be protected by law from city annexation unless the entire county is annexed.

Twenty Years of Town Management in Vermont

"Thoughtful men and women have become convinced that this type of local government is simpler and more efficient, that it is a type of government which is entirely in accord with the principles of democracy."

By K. R. B. FLINT
Norwich University

THE first step taken in Vermont towards the manager form of government was made in 1917. That year a bill was introduced in the upper chamber of the General Assembly, authorizing the employment of municipal managers by towns and incorporated villages. The measure was sponsored by Senator Eddy of Windham County, was reported favorably by the committee on municipal corporations, and was passed by the Senate on the 4th of April. Contrary to what might have been expected, in view of the fact that the proposed legislation was in no way mandatory, the House Committee on Municipal Corporations reported the bill adversely. On April 6, however, this report was overridden by the lower chamber and on the following day the bill was signed by the Governor.

Apparently the act of 1917 was drafted with foresight. During the more than two decades since its adoption it has been deemed necessary to amend it on but three occasions. In 1921 the law was so changed as to preclude the manager from calling special or annual town meetings and signing orders on the general fund of the town. He was, however, given specific authority to sign orders as road commissioner and overseer of the poor when performing the duties of those officers. By the same amending legislation he was required to do the accounting for all the departments of the town and of the town school district. Furthermore, it was his duty, unless otherwise voted, to supervise and expend all special appropriations.[1]

In 1927 the statute was again amended so as to forbid the manager to act as purchasing agent for the town school district or to make repairs upon the school buildings unless requisitioned by the school directors to perform such service.[2]

The last change came nine years ago when the session of 1931 extended the provisions of the enabling act to include cities and prescribed the way in which voting should be carried on under the Australian ballot system.[3]

As the law stands today any city, town, or incorporated village can avail itself of the provisions of the enabling act. When voters, equal in number to 4 per cent of the total vote cast in the municipality at the last gubernatorial election, petition the governing board, there must be inserted in the warning for the annual meeting, or for a special meeting called upon such petition, an article to the effect that the municipality will vote on the employment of a manager in accordance with the provision of Chapter 149 of the Public Laws. A majority vote authorizes the inauguration of the plan. It can be abandoned by a majority vote in any annual meeting provided a proper article is inserted in the warning.

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[1] *Laws of Vermont, 1921,* P. 90.

[2] *Laws of Vermont, 1927,* P. 57.

[3] *Laws of Vermont, 1931,* P. 86.

The manager is chosen by the city council, town selectmen, or village trustees. He does not have to be a resident of the municipality, but the law states that he shall be selected with special reference to his education, training, and experience and without reference to his political belief. His pay is determined, unless otherwise voted, by the council, selectmen, or village trustees. In general it may be said that the manager is the administrative head of all departments of the government. He is the general purchasing agent, the custodian of all public buildings, and the overseer of the poor. He is sworn to the faithful performance of his duties and is required to furnish a bond. The library and schools are not under his control.

SPRINGFIELD PIONEERS

The first place to operate under the plan was Springfield, an industrial community having at that time a population in town and incorporated village of 7,202. By a coöperative arrangement which was permissible under the law the town and village agreed in 1920 upon the same manager for the two municipal corporations and that coöperative spirit has continued to the present time. As the pioneer in the movement in Vermont, Springfield's experiment has been followed with particular interest by other communities throughout the state and in general it may be said that the plan has been successful.

The first manager, John B. Wright, was a non-resident engineer who voluntarily resigned in 1924 following a series of unpleasant incidents. His successor was R. M. Wilcomb, the proprietor of a dry goods store, whose interest in municipal affairs was evidenced by the fact that he was at the time of appointment serving as treasurer of both town and village. For thirteen years Mr. Wilcomb was an exceedingly able and conscientious administrator whose public service did much to advance the manager movement, but in 1937 he was forced to resign because of a sickness which soon after resulted in his death.

The present incumbent in Springfield is J. Leslie Giddings, who at the time of his appointment was night superintendent in the local Jones & Lamson Machine Company. In a period of twenty years the managership has been in the hands of three men—a fairly good record in stability.

During the twenties the movement spread slowly. On February 14, 1921, the charter of the city of St. Albans was so amended by the General Assembly as to permit the employment of a manager and the following month A. B. Edwards was engaged to serve in that capacity.

In June 1923 the plan was put into effect in St. Johnsbury, town and village coöperating for the purpose. In May 1926 Ludlow began operating under the system and the following month Windsor fell into line, an incorporated village participating in each instance. The next addition came in April 1927, when Rockingham and the village of Bellows Falls engaged Sidney L. Ruggles as manager, the plan having been declared in operation the preceding January.

BRATTLEBORO CONSOLIDATES

It was at this time, 1927, that Brattleboro made a sweeping consolidation of municipal units by authority of a special legislative act which did away with the village of Brattleboro, the Brattleboro School District, and the West Brattleboro Fire District, leaving a single municipal corporation—the town of Brattleboro. In May 1928 the plan was put in operation there, and then for some unknown reason the movement bogged down completely, little agitation appearing anywhere for the manager system during the next seven years.

In 1935 interest was again given positive expression when Troy, including the village of North Troy, established manager government under the shadow of the Canadian frontier. Two years later Middlebury and Hardwick, including in each case an incorporated village, endorsed the system with Barre Town and Castleton following suit in 1939. In that same year Hardwick village decided to act independently and maintain its own manager.

With the beginning of another decade two more managers were authorized at annual meetings held last March—one in Vergennes, smallest city in the state, the other in Randolph, town and village uniting for the purpose.

In addition, it might be noted that Waterbury and Fairhaven voted this year to appoint committees to report in 1941 regarding the desirability of installing the system in those towns. Furthermore, civic groups in several other Vermont communities have shown considerable interest in the manager idea, particularly in the town of Northfield and the city of Montpelier.

The system has been abandoned by the city of St. Albans, the town of Brattleboro, the village of Windsor, the town and village of Ludlow, and the village of Hardwick.[4] St. Albans was under a handicap at the outset because of a charter provision which called for both a city manager and a city commissioner with duties somewhat conflicting. Soon after the first manager was chosen it was officially reported that "the first task of the new government was the preparation of a nine-year program of improvements with estimated budgets covering the entire period to 1930."[5] Yet within six months from the time Mr. Edwards took office he was out and his successor selected. Add to this the fact that by April 1923 a third man had been appointed, and some idea can be had of the early confusion which characterized St. Alban's experiment.

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[4] See also *Manager Plan Abandonments,* by Arthur W. Bromage, New York, National Municipal League, 1940.

[5] *Seventh Year Book of the City Managers Association* (1921), p. 54.

The Brattleboro failure was a bitter disappointment to those in Vermont who believed in the manager form of government. The setting had seemed just what was needed for success. The consolidation of municipal units, mentioned in a preceding paragraph, had done away with conflicting jurisdictions. A thorough-going study of the system as it operated elsewhere in New England had been sponsored by civic groups. The selectmen had engaged as manager, at a salary of $5,500, a man with a successful record as town manager of Mansfield, Massachusetts.

In spite of this promising background, however, the new type of government came abruptly to an end in 1931. Naturally many varying opinions have been put forward as to the reasons for the collapse. The most plausible seem to be the following: that a determined opposition had worked quietly, but effectively, to spring a surprise; that the manager advocates had entirely underestimated the strength of this opposition and consequently were caught napping; that the manager was over-zealous in the performance of his duties.

The village of Windsor discarded the manager system at its March meeting in 1931 after a five-year trial. There was never too good an understanding between the manager and those who employed him as to his duties and Mr. Farmer had already resigned as manager of the town when the village took its action. The village voted on the manager system again in 1938, but the article was tabled as there was a plan under way at the time to consolidate town and village. Unfortunately the consolidation was defeated in the legislature when undercover opposition made a last-minute appearance.

Ludlow is the only place in Vermont which has re-established the manager system after abandoning it. The first venture was of short duration, two men serving as manager during the period, and the fact that the first incumbent was in office only eight months is ample evidence that the movement was off to a bad start. There is quite general agreement that the major reason for the failure was a decided lack of coöperation between the manager and those who employed him. Apparently a new school of thought is in control. Town and village have united as before for administrative services and authoritative reports indicate that a greater degree of success can be hoped for than when the plan was first adopted.

HARDWICK DROPS PLAN

The rejecting of the plan by Hardwick village at the annual meeting last February emphasizes some interesting points. In 1937, both town and village having voted for the system, Ira K. Fuller was called to the managership from Troy where he was serving in a similar capacity."[6] Mr. Fuller's initial salary of $2,500 was later increased to $2,700, but a few months before the end of the second year he tendered his resignation. The work of management was taken over temporarily in the town by L. E. Griggs, farmer and member of the board of selectmen; while in the village the year was finished by L. S. Robie, president of the village, grist mill operator, and dealer in farm machinery.

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[6] Mr. Fuller's work in the village of Hardwick was of a limited character.

At the annual meetings in 1939 the coöperative idea was abandoned and the men temporarily serving in town and village were elected managers of their respective municipal corporations, Mr. Griggs at a salary of $1,800 and Mr. Robie on a per diem basis—an unusual arrangement anywhere and the only instance of its kind in Vermont.

The population of Hardwick, including the village, is 2,720, a size which would warrant under favorable conditions the employment of a manager. However, the population of the town exclusive of the village is but 1,053 and it will be interesting to note how long it will seem desirable for a place of this size to continue with the system.

At this writing there are in Vermont eleven municipal managers and in the not distant future the number will be increased to twelve, the city of Vergennes having voted in favor of this system at its annual meeting in March, although the manager has not as yet been selected.

TOWNS AND VILLAGES COÖPERATE

In seven instances the manager is employed by two governmental units—the town and an incorporated village within the town. The dean of this Vermont group is C. S. Sumner, manager of St. Johnsbury town and village and for some time manager of the city of St. Albans. Katherine E. Conlin, manager of the town of Windsor since 1936, is believed to be one of two women managers in the world, the other being Wilma D. Murdaugh of Fort Meade, Florida. Six of these managers were non-residents at the time of their appointment and four of them lived outside the state. When selected they were employed as follows:

City manager	1
Assistant manager	2
Traffic engineer	1
Construction engineer	1
Civil engineer	2
Lawyer	1
Farmer	1
Night superintendent of machine shop	1
Insurance agent	1

One of the number, Robert Baumberger of Castleton, was educated for public administration, having spent two years in the Graduate School for Public Service Training at the University of Cincinnati, from which he received his master's degree in public administration in 1938.

Of the places in Vermont which have experimented with the manager system no one has had a population of 10,000. While Brattleboro had the plan it held first place with a population of 9,816 in 1930. Today St. Johnsbury holds that distinction with 9,696. The smallest is the town of Hardwick with 1,053.

Naturally there has been a wide range in salaries. Springfield paid John B. Wright, the first manager in the state, $3,600, and Roy M. Wilcomb, his successor, received $4,000, an amount which eventually was increased to $6,000, the highest paid in Vermont. St. Albans paid its first manager $3,600, its second $4,200, and its third $2,800. St. Johnsbury also started with $3,600. The highest initial salary—$5,500—was paid Mr. Plattner when he was engaged as manager at Brattleboro. The initial salary at Windsor was $2,200. Randolph, the population of which is 3,166, has just selected its first manager at a salary of $3,500, and the town of Hardwick is now paying $1,800.

COURTS PASS ON PLAN

In 1926 the manager statute was questioned in the courts. The litigation grew out of a misunderstanding between Alfred L. Farmer, manager of the town of Windsor, and the town school directors over the nature of his authority.[7] The main points at issue related to the purchasing of school supplies, repairs upon school buildings, control of school janitor service, and financial accounting with regard to school affairs.

Holding that the town and the town school district in Vermont are distinct corporate entities, the Supreme Court of the state agreed to a mandamus in which the following points of law were established: that school directors still retained exclusive authority to purchase supplies for the town school district; that the manager had the duty, formerly belonging to the school directors, of making repairs on school property; that the manager had no authority to draw orders on the school fund and consequently orders for repairs on school property must be drawn by the directors; that hiring of janitors still remained with the directors under the provisions of the general school law; that the town manager must do all accounting and because of that fact he has a right to all books and papers necessary to the proper performance of his duties; and finally that the treasurer of the town had no authority to pay orders drawn for repairs unless and until approved by the manager.

It is difficult to appraise the working of the manager form of government in Vermont. The manager's job in the small town or village is not an easy one and perhaps it is not too much to say that the hazards in the way of success are as great as in a city of considerable size. Some would say that they are greater. There is yet a widespread and deeply rooted notion throughout the state that the century-and-a-half-old town form of government is good enough and, strange as it may seem, there is in many quarters a real attitude of resentment against efficiency. Efficiency demands that the fellow who does not pay his water bill be shut off the system, but he still has left a voice strong enough to convince his friends that the manager is an autocrat and a memory long enough to carry his own vindictiveness to the ballot box. This disgruntled element has a bad enough effect anywhere, but in the small community it can be poison to the success of the manager plan.

An exceedingly difficult problem is

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[7] *Alfred L. Farmer* v. *Edward W. Haley et al.* 100 Vt. 75 (1927).

presented by the existence in many Vermont towns of one or more incorporated villages. This makes it necessary, if a single manager is to be employed, for town and village to coöperate, the selectmen and trustees agreeing to hire the same individual. It is not easy for two independent boards to agree thus and it certainly is most difficult for a manager to serve two masters. Fortunately there is a growing sentiment in favor of the consolidation of municipal units as was done in the case of Brattleboro in 1927 and attempted unsuccessfully by Windsor in 1939.

RELIEF A PROBLEM

Unquestionably the manager's toughest problem is the administration of poor relief. Before the real force of the depression had hit Vermont it was the opinion of every manager in the state that his load would be comparatively easy if he could shake himself free from the duties which formerly had been performed by the overseer of the poor. This statement is not intended to give the impression that Vermont has had an inordinate amount of poor relief. In fact, quite the contrary has been true. The point is made merely to show that the nature of this problem is such as to keep the manager and the manager plan in constant jeopardy. There are plenty of people who reason that they can "get away with things" under an easy-going overseer whereas their schemes would be blocked by an efficient manager—and these people have votes.

It is clear that success cannot be expected immediately after the plan has been inaugurated. This point is amply demonstrated by Springfield's experience. The system was dangerously near failure there at several times during the first three years following its adoption, but the sponsors stayed with it through the danger period. It takes time to get results and it is well to remember that there must be back of the manager a strong reserve of public opinion if he is to succeed in his task.

It has been well said that an expert may do something with a municipality that is down and out financially, but he can do nothing with one that is down and out in public spirit. Incidentally, it has been noted in Vermont as elsewhere that he is a wise manager who avoids playing the rôle of community leader, but attempts rather to enlist in his cause the service of all those civic agencies which are able to arouse and sustain public opinion.

In spite of all these obstacles—resentment against imagined autocracy, faulty political structure, the hostility of many upon relief, and impatience on the part of the electorate—the movement has gone forward steadily in Vermont. It is not difficult to find the reason. Thoughtful men and women have become convinced in increasing numbers that this type of local government is simpler and more efficient than any other which thus far has been devised. Furthermore, they are of the opinion that it is a type of government which is entirely in accord with the principles of democracy and there is every reason to believe that the next decade will witness a considerable extension of the system.

Budget Program vs. Bankruptcy

"If our municipalities will recognize that hasty and extravagant capital improvement ventures are a major source of financial difficulty, an increasing number will turn to long range budget programs."

By IVER C. OLSEN
Bureau of the Census

AN INCREASING number of experts in municipal finance are advancing the prophecy that some of our municipalities are faced with bankruptcy unless positive corrective measures are taken. It is stated that the volume of municipal indebtedness, accumulated in response to an incessant demand for a wide variety of public services, has increased to the point where it is totally disproportionate to the tax base that supports it, and that the tax structure itself is seriously threatened. Unless a more enlightened effort is made to effect a workable balance between municipal expenditures and available income, these observers believe that a collapse of the present high level of municipal credit is inevitable.

In fairness to the majority of communities, it should be stated that they have been quite conscious of their difficulties, particularly as the depression years brought new and graver problems, and they have set about to restore order to the best of their individual capabilities. Most of them have discovered, however, that it has not been possible to correct in a year or two the financial pressure that had its roots in past decades, and they have either permitted this discovery to discourage them altogether from the house-cleaning to be done, or they simply have attempted to brighten up the picture with a none too durable coat of whitewash.

Only a few communities have realized the urgency of making a thorough analysis of their financial structure with a view to projecting a budgetary program most suitable to their needs and pocketbooks. Since these few have discovered their problems to be not at all insoluble if attacked systematically, this article will concern itself with the methods of budgetary control which give promise of relieving the strain upon municipal finances.

The transition of our average community from a crossroads village to a modern municipality, imperceptible in development though it may have been, has been accompanied by a complexity of financial problems, which local officials generally were unprepared to manage. Within the life of a single bond issue the dusty main street and its interconnecting country lanes gave way to an elaborate system of paved streets, boulevards, parkways and traffic circles, and bridges, viaducts and underpasses. The town pump or individual well supplies were discarded for a modern water system, complete with treatment facilities, emergency reservoirs and miles of water mains. The town constable and his unpretentious "hoose-gow" was supplanted by a full police force with radio patrol facilities, police call systems, and modern jails. Advanced sanitation methods required hundreds of miles of sewer mains and storm sewers, and facilities for the treatment and disposal of sewage. Social consciousness demanded charitable, recreative, corrective, and penal institutions.

As these communities and the civic pride within them grew, each vied with the other in building the model city. The old swimming hole was supplanted by tiled swimming pools and club houses, and to these recreational facilities were added baseball parks, amusement parks, playgrounds, golf courses, tennis courts, civic centers, recreation piers, solariums, auditoriums, and libraries. Spurred on by the enthusiasm of the citizenry, whether it was a majority or simply an effective pressure group, there were added airports, ferries, radio stations, fish markets, gas plants, zoos, street railways, hospitals, electric power plants and museums. Even in death the taxpayer was assured a final dignity and comfort by virtue of the municipal cemeteries.

A STAGGERING BURDEN

The acquisition of these municipal improvements not only represented enormous capital outlays and debt service commitments, but collectively a staggering annual burden for operating and maintenance expense. Clearly they should have been realistically programmed since even with the best municipal administration the demand for public improvements and services has a much more rapid growth than the ability of the community to support them, and necessitates a mortgaging of future income. Most of our communities, however, plunged into the task of building the modern city with little thought of whether their capital improvements were urgently necessary or simply a beautiful dream.

No study was given to the relative priority or to the degree of urgency of proposed projects or to the cumulative effect of these ventures upon the community's finances. Numerous municipalities now find themselves with an impressive array of capital improvements which are more expensive to operate and maintain properly than originally anticipated. In some cases these added costs have strained the finances of communities in a degree sufficient to upset the provisions made for the retirement of indebtedness created in constructing the improvements. The situation is complicated by the fact that a municipality must keep its plant equipment in good order, constantly must make additional outlays to safeguard life and property, and the problem is how to do it when the taxpayers are virtually strapped.

In order to meet these circumstances realistically, it is clear that our municipalities must introduce new methods of budgetary procedure. The majority of states and municipalities have for years pursued a procedure of budgeting their operating and maintenance expenses on an annual or biennial basis, but only recently has any attempt been made to project a long range fiscal program embracing a period of years.

Generally speaking, it is not the normal expenditures of a municipal administration, readily susceptible of annual control, that precipitate budget woes. It is the capital improvement program embarked upon at irregular intervals, involving the major replacement or repair of existing public improvements, the opening, widening and extension of streets, the building of schools, bridges, water systems and sanitary facilities, parks and public housing, which frequently disrupt the finances of a community. Moreover, the construction of these projects was undertaken with no advance planning, and the physical development of the community often was of the crazy quilt pattern—an expensive, wasteful, and neglectful process.

LONG RANGE PLANNING

Consequently, while the control of ordinary municipal expenditures may be desirable in itself, it does not assure a balanced fiscal program unless accompanied by a soundly evaluated schedule of capital expenditures, intelligently adjusted to the financial capacity of the community. This obviously cannot be accomplished through budgetary control restricted to an annual basis, but must be projected into a long range program.

Several municipalities are now experimenting with methods of long term budgetary programming, including Winchester, Massachusetts; Nashville, Tennessee; Dallas, Texas; Sacramento, California; Fargo, North Dakota; Spokane, Washington; and Kalamazoo, Michigan. These efforts are being followed with much interest by the taxpaying public, and are scheduled for discussion and study by various groups of public officials, including the International City Managers' Association. Some of these programs are now included in public administration courses offered in several universities, as for example the Winchester, Massachusetts, plan, which is a basis of study at Harvard University and Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

The majority of these municipal programs have been worked out in coöperation with the Technical Public Works Committee of the National Resources Planning Board, which has financed demonstration studies in several cities, well scattered geographically, in an effort to show the practicability of such programs and to perfect the techniques and procedures involved. So promising have been the results of these efforts, and so enthusiastic the public response to the objectives involved, that the National Resources Planning Board will soon publish a manual of procedure which will be suitable to guide local officials in all types of communities.[1]

By virtue of its extensive studies in the field of public works programming, and its efforts to correct the past haphazard procedure followed in the physical development of our communities, the National Resources Planning Board contemplates a dual objective from the long range budgeting procedure it has developed. It visualizes the formula as accomplishing the orderly programming of needed public improvements under an enlightened long range perspective of municipal development, and it includes a procedure of financial or budgetary management designed to assure a continuity of the program. Each phase of the formula is equally important, but this article deals mostly with the fiscal rather than the physical objectives and benefits.

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[1] See also "The Preparation of a Long-Term Financial Program," by C. E. Rightor, New York City, 1927.

SURVEY NECESSARY

In most cases these long range budget programs have embraced a six-year period. As previously indicated, the method of approach first involved a thorough analysis of the finances of each municipality. The responsible budget officer charted for a period embracing a number of preceding years the annual outlay for ordinary municipal functions of the various departments, the normal cost of operating and maintaining municipal utilities, the requirements for debt service, and all other annual municipal expense of a recurring nature.

The historical analysis of these various items of municipal expense was carefully studied as to trend of growth, and then projected ahead for a period of six years after the adjustment to reflect such increases or decreases as the normal course of municipal affairs suggested to be probable. Obviously a long range budget cannot be projected unless sufficient study has determined the likelihood of whether these items of municipal expense are susceptible of control within prescribed levels.

The budget officer then made a similarly thorough analysis of the municipality's various sources of revenue. Consideration was given to the trend of proceeds from general property taxes; whether the circumstances responsible for past increases or shrinkages in tax receipts were likely to continue; whether the community had virtually reached its maximum development within the corporate limits, thus stabilizing to a large extent the assessed valuation.

The ability of the taxpayer to support the current level of the tax structure was also carefully weighed in order to avoid future complication. An effective way of doing this has been to measure the productivity of the property tax in terms of the rate of delinquency. In many cases these studies revealed that the value of property taxes was decreasing and that property tax receipts were constituting a steadily declining proportion of municipal income. In such cases it was highly essential that the budget officer carefully study the long neglected field of miscellaneous income, such as license and personal property taxes, utility earnings, corporation taxes, and receipts from alcoholic beverage control and gasoline taxes. The long range prospects of continued grants and shared taxes also were items of serious importance. With these studies concluded, the budget officer was then in position to make a reasonably reliable estimate of future municipal income for a six-year period.

Concurrently with the preparation

of surveys covering municipal income and expenditures each of the various operating and planning departments of the local municipal administration submitted a carefully considered list of contemplated capital improvements for a six-year period, including extensions, repairs, alterations, or replacements of municipal property. These inventories of proposed expenditures were supported by full facts as to their necessity and desirability, and were presented in an order of priority based upon their necessity. Not only was the original cost of these improvements carefully estimated but the added municipal expense for their maintenance and operation was likewise seriously considered.

In order to exclude from these inventories the influence of pressure groups or the occasional jealousies of departmental heads, some of the municipalities found it advantageous to have the inventories studied by local bureaus of government research, citizens' budget committees, business men's advisory committees, or local planning boards. It might be added that in virtually all municipalities where efforts to plan an intelligent budget program have been successful, much of the credit is due to active citizens' advisory groups.

A well considered study of municipal improvements may disclose the possibility of substantial savings by undertaking certain capital expenditures through joint action with neighboring communities, particularly the elimination of stream pollution, the construction of regional high schools, public hospitals, and municipal utilities. Failure to unite with neighboring communities in projects of this character has in many cases been responsible for needless and substantial waste of municipal funds.

With the three surveys completed, it then was possible to project a long range capital budget program judiciously trimmed to the financial resources of the community. The problems of whether future capital improvements should be arbitrarily limited to surplus income over ordinary municipal expenditures, whether a more ambitious program should be financed on a "pay-as-you-go" policy involving moderate increases in the tax levy, or whether they should be accomplished through further increases in the bonded indebtedness, can be resolved by the facts developed from the three surveys and the financial objectives desired from the budget programs.

SUBJECT TO CHANGE

Except for the first year, the six-year program is by no means to be considered a binding commitment. Inasmuch as municipal income and functional requirements are subject to many variables, the budget program should be kept flexible by annual review in the light of changed needs and available resources. In order to provide for its perpetual continuance as an administrative procedure of municipal government, another year is added on to the schedule at each annual review, to replace the year's program just consummated. Through this procedure, the municipality is guided in its management and development by a continuous long range perspective, but with only the current year definitely committed.

Faced with major operating problems, the city of Kalamazoo adopted a long range budgetary program in 1918 with the elimination of debt the principal objective. This was accomplished by 1937 without sacrifice of needed public services and the city is now embarking upon a new long range program that will keep its fiscal structure stabilized and debt free.[2] Although the original program was exclusively financial in objective, Kalamazoo's new program embraces a long range consideration of municipal improvements.

Another pioneer in long range budgetary control is Two Rivers, Wisconsin, a community of approximately 10,000 population, which saw the inherent dangers of mounting indebtedness and taxes and made a determined effort to check the ruinous trend. The program was initiated in 1929 and contemplates the entire elimination of bonded indebtedness by 1947. In the ten years the plan has been in operation not only has the retirement of debt been on schedule, but it has been accomplished with a full schedule of municipal services. During this period the city has built one bridge, two new schools, a sewage disposal plant, has rebuilt its harbor facilities, and has constructed seventy-one blocks of concrete streets and ten miles of sidewalks. Moreover, the tax rate has been reduced from $30 to $26.50 during this period. Nothing could demonstrate more clearly the successful results of long range budget planning.

If our municipalities will recognize that hasty and extravagant capital improvement ventures are a major source of financial difficulty, an increasing number will turn to long range budget programming. Communities constantly must make capital improvements to survive, but they cannot remain solvent unless they adopt some effective formula whereby such expenditures are programmed with more serious consideration of their need and their relation to the financial structure of the communities affected.

It is the simple proposition of maintaining a continuous municipal perspective which will provide for the expenditure of the taxpayer's dollar only (1) when the dollar is available, (2) when the expenditure is necessary, and (3) in a way that will insure maximum value for the dollar. Consequently long range budget programming is a science which should engage the attention of all communities regardless of whether or not they currently are experiencing financial pressure. On the basis of the experience presently available, nothing has been discovered to suggest that these methods of budgetary management cannot be successfully and advantageously pursued by all municipal administrations.

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[2] See also "Kalamazoo Looks at the Record," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, May 1940.

Contributors in Review

FATHER of the city manager plan, founder of the short ballot movement, leader in numerous organizations of civic purpose, the name of **Richard S. Childs** (*The City Manager Plan Passes Its "Exams"*) will be everlastingly kin to good government. He began his good works as a young man just out of Yale and has never diminished his efforts. He was president of the National Municipal League from 1927 to 1931 and is now chairman of its council; he has served also as president of the Proportional Representation League and of the New York City Club. At the same time, however, Mr. Childs has found time for an important career in the business world, holding now the positions of executive vice president of Lederle Laboratories, Inc., and director of the American Cyanamid Company.

FOR thirteen years **K. R. B. Flint** (*Twenty Years of Town Management in Vermont*) has directed the Bureau of Municipal Affairs at Norwich University, besides heading the department of social sciences. As a member of the Vermont General Assembly in 1921-23, he introduced and sponsored to its passage the measure providing for municipal planning in Vermont.

NEWSPAPER reporting has been the profession of **Lloyd Gladfelter** (*After Thirty Years*) since 1918. He has ranged from the York (Pa.) *Gazette and Daily* to the Wimington (Del.) *Morning News* to the Milwaukee *Journal*, with a spell in between at the University of Wisconsin, from whose School of Journalism he was graduated. As city hall reporter for the Milwaukee *Journal* for the past nine years, Mr. Gladfelter covered the National Municipal League's Conference on Government last November in Indianapolis.

TENNIS champion **John McDiarmid** (*Los Angeles Attacks Metropolitan Problem*) (for further details see the November 1939 issue of this magazine) is just beginning a year's study of public library administration in the United States under a grant by the Carnegie Corporation, in collaboration with his brother, Dr. E. W. McDiarmid. Dr. John McDiarmid is regularly assistant professor at the School of Government of the University of Southern California, and has just served as section leader for the metropolitan government section of the U. S. C. Institute of Government held early in June.

AS VIRGINIA state director of the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, **Iver C. Olsen** (*Budget Program vs. Bankruptcy*) has been in a position to accumulate considerable authoritative information on the financial planning woes of municipalities. *Barron's, Banking,* and other financial and economic magazines have already published some of Mr. Olsen's findings on aspects of this subject. Of late, Mr. Olsen has been temporary consultant in municipal finance to the Division of State and Local Governments, Bureau of the Census.

ANY possible pro-county partisanship in *City-County Separation in Virginia* **Raymond B. Pinchbeck** attributes to two of his various official aliases: chairman of the Henrico County School Board, chairman of the Virginia Commission on County Government. His other cognomens, however, attest to a strictly non-biased point of view, for he is a member of the Virginia Council on Public Administration, which seriously attempts to apply the scientific attitude toward public administration, and he is dean of Richmond College at the University of Richmond—as well as professor of applied economics at the same institution.

EMERITUS members of the Pennsylvania Intercollegiate Conference on Government, **Irving J. Zipin** and **Leonard B. Gerson** (*Learning by Doing*) have brought their earlier training to practical professional application. Mr. Zipin is now research assistant to the Committee on Department Organization of the Joint State Government Commission. His collaborator was graduate assistant in the Department of Political Science at Temple University last year. Lawyer Zipin received his B.A. from Temple in 1934, was chairman of the Temple delegation to the Pennsylvania Intercollegiate Conference in that year, was one of its charter members, and has been general advisor to the conference ever since. Mr. Gerson had his B.A. from the same university five years later, his M.A. the following year. He too was once chairman of the Temple delegation.

AFTER THIRTY YEARS

(Continued from Page 450)

alties collected annually by the city for the fund. Each year, as the fund increased by these payments, the assets were invested in trust fund securities. Interest coupons were clipped and the money was reinvested. By compound interest Milwaukee in seventeen years built its amortization fund from nothing to almost $9,000,000.

"Second, by committing itself in 1932 to a policy of issuing no more bonds for city purposes. As the debt amortization fund grew the public debt declined. Since 1932, when the debt reached an all-time high of $51,000,000, it has been cut to $18,716,500 in 1940.[1] In 1943 the debt will be down to $10,500,000. The amortization fund in the same year will equal or exceed the debt.

"Each year thereafter, when the bond interest and principal payments must be made, city officials will dip into the amortization fund, using the principal of the fund to meet the bond maturities and its interest earnings to cover interest charges."

It's all very simple. All any city needs is the will to go ahead and the determination not to deviate from the plan.

Hoan visualizes Milwaukee's financial future as ideal. Once on a cash basis its taxpayers will receive a dollar's worth of construction in schools, sewers, buildings, bridges, and paving for every dollar they spend. In the past they received one dollar's worth for each one and one-half dollars spent.

The extra fifty cents no longer will be paid to investors in bonds because there will be no more bonds.

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[1] The debt does not include the city's share of Milwaukee County's indebtedness. Adjusted, Milwaukee's own indebtedness plus its share of the county obligations would be approximately $37,000,000.

The Researcher's Digest: July

Cincinnati indictment of relief "system (?)"; Los Angeles research on 131 charter amendments; Washington researchers hold Government Institute.

WILLIE Pond, an ordinary self-respecting American with a wife and three children, was a foreman when the mill closed down. Soon the family was forced to go on relief, and their circumstances became unbearable on the puny, inadequate allowance due them under the local relief schedule. Then Willie developed tuberculosis and he was taken to a hospital at public expense. His family thus passed from the category of "relief" to the category of "aid to dependent children," allowed to families with an incapacitated wage-earner. The scale of aid under this form of public welfare was much higher, and the family were able to move out of the miserable slum and once more properly to clothe and feed the children. At last Willie recovered, was again able to work—although he could still find no job. The family was transferred back to the general relief rolls. In the end, Willie committed suicide to rid his loved ones of the burden of a non-earning wage-earner, and his family went back to "aid to dependent children" and self-respect.

That is the story of a novel which was published a couple of months ago—*The Triumph of Willie Pond,* by Caroline Slade (Vanguard Press). It is also the story that lies behind the May 23 issue of *The Public Purse,* issued by the **Cincinnati Bureau of Governmental Research.** Titled "More About Our Poor Relief 'System (?)'," the bulletin presents a large table comparing the monthly budget schedules under the various forms of public aid: aid to dependent children, aid to the needy blind, aid for the aged, soldiers' relief, general relief, city welfare relief, and WPA eligibility budget. The text of the six-page *Public Purse* is a scathing, searching indictment of the vagaries of this schedule which is called, says the bureau, a "system(?)". The bureau lists nine basic steps necessary to transform the "system(?)" into a system. With slight changes, the discussion could apply to the welfare set-up in any municipality in the country.

Changing Charters Wholesale

During the last fifteen years, the voters of the city of Los Angeles have gone to the polls fourteen times to vote on 131 specific proposals to amend the city's charter. Nine of these elections were separately conducted, and the other five were held jointly with state elections. This extensive experience with the machinery of popular charter amendment has given the **Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of California at Los Angeles** excellent material on which to base some pertinent conclusions of general application.

Reports the bureau in a 33-page, mimeographed study of May 1940:

1. There is a better vote on charter issues presented at general elections (rather than primary or special elections).

2. There is a persistent apathy on the part of the electorate with reference to charter amendment proposals—the vote on men is more spirited than the vote on issues.

3. Certain types of amendment proposals tend to dominate voter interest, such as water and power, civil service, finance, and police and fire department

issues, showing that employee organization and support is probably an indispensable element if an amendment proposal is to be passed. But items which affect the public directly, such as civil service and election issues, tend to attract a good response too.

4. Neither subject matter nor position on the ballot is of paramount importance in determining the final response.

The bureau observes that the extensive use of the amendment method of changing the charter has not at all clarified the document. "The length of the charter has been approximately doubled since its adoption only sixteen years ago. In practically every instance, the changes which have been made have remedied a specific ill or have been in the interest of a certain department or group of employees in the city government. There has been no general overhauling of the charter."

And finally, "this form of spasmodic addition and alteration serves to create only further confusion in the mind of the average voter."

Washington Institute of Government

Plans are being completed for the fifth annual Institute of Government, sponsored each year by the **University of Washington Bureau of Governmental Research,** and intended by public officials, civic leaders, and others interested in problems of state, county, and city government, reports Ewen Dingwall of the Municipal League of Seattle. The institute is scheduled for July 24-26, on the university campus, and is under the direction of Dr. Donald H. Webster, associate professor of political science and director of the research bureau.

Speakers at the three-day session will include Governor Clarence D. Martin; Dr. William F. Ogburn, professor of sociology at the University of Chicago; Dr. Thomas Barclay and Dr. Graham Stuart, professors of political science at Stanford University; B. H. Kizer, chairman of the Washington State Planning Council; and Charles F. Ernst, director of the Washington State Department of Social Security.

Various sections of the institute will discuss the following subjects: law enforcement, traffic control and safety, personnel administration, planning, school finance, public library administration, public health, and taxation.

More than 450 public officials and other governmental leaders attended last year's institute. Sessions are held twice a day, morning and afternoon, for the various sections, with a daily general assembly at noon.

Objectives of the institutes are set forth as follows:

"To provide a short, intensive training course for public officials and employees in certain specialized fields of government and administration; to provide a program of general public education in those fields for persons who desire to become better acquainted with the organization of administrative departments and laws relating thereto; to furnish inspiration and new information to the public administrator, and to bring together public officials, professional and business men, teachers and students in an effort to better understand and meet the definite and practical needs of government."

Research Bureau Reports Received

Accounting

Governmental Accounting as an Aid to Citizen Control of Government. Papers of the Conference on Governmental Accounting, December 1, 1939, held under auspices of Wayne University's Department of Accounting and School of Public Affairs and Social Work and Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research. Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc. March 1940. 53 pp. mimeo.

Bridges

Boston Drawbridges. Boston Municipal Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* June 10, 1940. 4 pp.

City Charter

Voting on Charter Amendments in Los Angeles. Bureau of Governmental Research, University of California, Los Angeles. May 1940. 33 pp. mimeo.

Cost of Living

Inter-City Comparisons of the Cost of Living. Citizens Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., of New York State. *Bulletin.* May 27, 1940. 4 pp.

Courts

Justices of the Peace. Kansas City Civic Research Institute, *Kansas City Public Affairs,* June 13, 1940. 5 pp.

Finance

Debts — Taxes — Assessments. The Civic Federation and Bureau of Public Efficiency of Chicago, *Bulletin,* May 1940. 24 pp.

Housing

The Low-Rent Housing Program. By Jesse Epstein. Bureau of Governmental Research of University of Washington, Seattle, April 1, 1940. 34 pp. mimeo.

Personnel

Officials of Washington Cities. By Belle Reeves. Bureau of Governmental Research of University of Washington. May 1940. 23 pp. mimeo.

Public Welfare

"More About Our Poor Relief 'System(?)'." Cincinnati Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., *The Public Purse,* May 23, 1940. 6 pp.

Polk County Relief Burden is Far Too High. Des Moines, Iowa, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1940. 10 pp. mimeo.

$17,000,000 for Relief in St. Louis County Annually. Duluth, Minn., Governmental Research Bureau, *Green Paper,* May 6, 1940. 3 pp. mimeo.

Schools

More Facts About One-Teacher Schools in Missouri. Governmental Research Institute, St. Louis, *Dollars and Sense in Government,* June 6, 1940. 1 p.

School Operating Costs per Pupil. New York State Citizens' Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., Albany, *Bulletin Number E-15.* 2 pp.

Some Basic Data on Rural Schools in Missouri. Governmental Research Institute, St. Louis, *Dollars and Sense in Government,* June 13, 1940. 1 p.

Taxation

Tax Delinquency. Rochester, N. Y., Bureau of Municipal Research, *Municipal Research,* April 1940. 1 p.

Those Adjusted Tax Rates. The Dayton Research Association, *Facts,* June 10, 1940. 1 p.

Traffic

Islands and Medial Strips in Traffic Control. Bureau of Municipal Research and Service, University of Oregon, Eugene, *Bulletin,* April 1940. 26 pp. mimeo.

Parking Meters—Facts and Opinions. Schenectady, N. Y., Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc., *Bulletin,* May 13, 1940. 4 pp.

News in Review

City, County, State Progress in Brief

(Continued from Page 439)

ing and personnel officer of Saginaw as engineer in charge of operations, with the expectation of turning over the full operation of the village affairs to him within three months, under provisions of a new charter authorizing the appointment of a city manager.

The charter commission of **Blue Earth, Minnesota,** which is drafting a new charter, has asked the National Municipal League for a copy of the model city manager charter.

In **McAllen, Texas,** Mayor Etchison has appointed a committee consisting of two members of the city commission and five other citizens to study the city manager plan and submit recommendations.

Petitions for an amendment to the charter of **Johnstown, New York,** providing for the city manager plan with proportional representation, are now in circulation.

In the California cities of **Mill Valley** and **Inglewood,** charter commissions are functioning and are interested in the manager plan.

Dawson, Georgia, Newport, Rhode Island, and **Lawrence, Kansas,** are among other cities that are showing interest in the manager plan.

The village of **Hardwick, Vermont,** abandoned the manager plan in February.

Lakeview, Oregon, defeated a proposed manager charter by a vote of 79 to 234 on May 17.

Martinsburg, West Virginia, defeated a manager proposal, on the ballot June 11.

Four States Increase Maximum Old-Age Assistance

The states of Illinois, Kentucky, Mississippi, and Virginia permit more liberal assistance to their needy aged, as a result of 1940 legislation. Illinois raised "pension" maximums from thirty dollars to forty dollars a person per month, Kentucky and Mississippi increased maximum grants from fifteen dollars to thirty dollars, while Virginia struck out a provision in its old-age assistance act which had included any and all income of the person aided in the twenty-dollars-a-month maximum grant.

A thirty-dollars-a-month maximum in twenty-six states is the common provision, according to the American Public Welfare Association. Four other states allow thirty dollars a month to needy aged individuals, but provide forty-five dollars to sixty dollars for married couples. Alabama, another thirty-dollar state, allows a maximum of fifty dollars a month to needy aged veterans. A number of the states include in their maximums any private income of the individual.

Six states and the District of Columbia set no statutory limit on old-age assistance. The states are Arkansas, Kansas, Louisiana, Montana, New Mexico, and New York. This does not mean, however, that the aid actually given is limitless; in fact, one of these states makes the lowest actual average grant in the country.

The highest grant of state old-age assistance to individuals is specified by Colorado, which, with Alaska, sets a maximum of forty-five dollars a month. Prior to the Illinois increase, California, New Jersey, and Wisconsin provided for maximum grants of forty dollars in 1939 amendments anticipating the increase of federal contributions to twenty dollars per person. Wyoming, specifying aid "sufficient for decency and health"—estimated at about thirty dollars—in a 1939 amendment provided also that "any increase in federal grants may be followed by an increase in the amount of assistance."

Connecticut specified nine dollars a week. Below the thirty-dollars-a-month allowance are five states which specify from twenty dollars to twenty-five dollars a month.

A majority of the states grant medical and hospital care in addition to the cash allowance, though in varying amounts.

Actual amounts of aid in the various states, as of March 1940, showed an average of $20.15 per recipient for all the states. The highest average grant was in Colorado—$39.67. California followed close behind with thirty-eight dollars.

WPA's Program, 1940-41

Unless the national defense program and English war orders (minus loss of foreign markets and curtailment of PWA and public housing activities) increase employment more than WPA spokesmen expect, that agency's appropriation for 1940-41 will fall as far short of providing adequate relief as did the 1939-40 program. Congress has voted $975,650,000 with authority, which Colonel Harrington expects to exercise, to spend the sum in eight months. On a twelve months' basis this will amount to about $1,500,000,000 dollars for an average of some 2,000,000 jobs. But there are now about 1,250,000 people eligible for, although not employed by, WPA, so that the national government is providing for only about two-thirds of the needy employables for whom the program was set up. Proposals to create 3,000,000 jobs, or alternatively, to make grants-in-aid for direct relief to assist the rest of the employables have received little support in Congress.

Most provisions of the new relief act are identical with last year's law which was summarized in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for October 1939; but some important changes have been made. Congressional preoccupation with war is reflected in several sections. Sponsors still must contribute 25 per cent of project costs, but this condition is waived for national defense projects (airports, military roads, etc.) initiated by local governments; and on such projects WPA may spend as much as $25,000,000 to supplement its regular expenditures on other than labor costs, and may make exemptions from its schedule of hours and earnings. The limit of $52,000 on federal expenditures for building projects is raised to $100,000, which will permit operation of more substantial projects, and those important for military and naval purposes (armories, etc.) are exempted even from this maximum.

Classified status again was denied to WPA administrative employees; and the Senate insisted on its prerogative to approve appointments of such employees receiving more than $5,000 a year. Over WPA protests administrative expenditures were reduced further, although adequate funds are essential to prevent the "waste, inefficiency, extravagance [and] political craftsmanship" in its operation which Congressmen charge. Authority was denied WPA to make grants to local certifying agencies for the purpose of raising and standardizing recruitment of relief workers.

More than 1,100,000 people on WPA rolls for eighteen months have been dismissed since last summer, but a large proportion have been recertified and reassigned. Pressure politics restricted "equal justice" further by extending exemption of veterans from this rotation to their unmarried widows and wives of unemployable veterans; but efficiency prevailed over humanity in the refusal to grant similar privileges to heads of families over forty-five years of age. Communists and members of Nazi Bund organizations are specifically prohibited from WPA employment. But Congress failed again to adopt a rule that people eligible for assistance under the social security act should be ineligible for such employment, which some 80,000 currently prefer because of its greater benefits.

Republican proposals to liquidate WPA and to establish a system of grants-in-aid with local authority to determine relief policies, including substitution of direct for work relief, were rejected; but of this we shall hear a great deal more this fall and next winter.

Elias Huzar
Cornell University

A Better City Report for Less

Concord, New Hampshire, gave the task of publishing its report for 1940 to Gustaf Lehtinen, director of the Concord Planning Board. The report was released on May 13. It contains eighty pages as compared with 260 pages in that for the previous year. Illustrated with forty pictures, diagrams, and charts, it is said to be the most interesting and intelligible report published by any city in the state. It was produced at $700 less than the report of the previous year, which cost the city $1,800. This saving has been accomplished along with the printing of 2,500 copies, 1,000 more than were printed the previous year.

Lashley G. Harvey
University of New Hampshire

Interstate Fishing Compacts Authorized for Atlantic Seaboard

An interstate marine fisheries commission and interstate compacts for fisheries control among the fourteen Atlantic seaboard states were made possible through the approval by the United States Senate on May 28 of a House joint resolution giving the states permission to set up the commission and enter into the compacts subject to Congressional approval. The commission, if established through agreement with the states, would be composed of twenty-eight members—two from each state—with advisory powers only. The commission would study recommendations made by the various states as to methods, or types of regulations, best designed to preserve the fishing industry and maintain the highest annual catch possible.

Central Regional Civil Service Conference

With a record attendance of 154 delegates, representing thirty-six personnel agencies, the Central Regional Conference of the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada met in Chicago May 15-17. All sessions, excepting luncheon meetings, were run as "problem clinics," thus encouraging lively and widespread participation in discussions. An informal discussion of the effect of the present and possible war situation on the activities of public personnel agencies evoked wide interest.

New Hampshire Education Board Sponsors Fire Schools

Fire schools have been opened at Manchester, Claremont, Franklin, and Keene, sponsored by the New Hampshire Fire Chiefs' Association and the State Board of Education. George-Deen funds are being used to finance the training which consists of subjects recommended by the National Fire Chiefs' Association. Training is spread over eight weeks with two hours each week devoted to classes.

Lashley G. Harvey
University of New Hampshire

Minneapolis Town Halls Draw 22,000

Cross section of city participates; labor, business, public praise idea; other cities to take up program

Edited by
ELWOOD N. THOMPSON

Many cities have already inquired about the Minneapolis plan for town hall meetings. Because we believe Minneapolis has dramatized an idea for citizen action that will be used to advantage elsewhere, the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW devotes its entire section on citizen action this month to an outline of the plan and how it works.—EDITOR.

An analysis of the questionnaires filled out at the "business clinics" sponsored by the Minneapolis Civic Council in 1938, showed four major civic problems to be: (1) employer-employee relations; (2) better government; (3) lower and more equitable taxation; (4) attitude of the public.

The special committee charged with the responsibility of drafting a program for the civic council concluded that no appreciable progress could be made in solving these major problems confronting the community until a more coöperative and understanding public attitude could be developed. The report says:

> Ignorance, indifference, misinformation, false notions, incorrect ideas, misdirected emotions, unjustifiable hatreds—in short, undesirable social attitudes and behavior—are the fundamental troubles of this community that lie back of most of our problems.

Hence the Town Hall meeting program was launched in October 1939 to arouse public interest in civic problems, to present factual information concerning them, and to obtain the active interest and support of citizens in helping to solve them.

Preparation for the Program

During the summer of 1939 a series of conferences was held with representative men and women from all sections of the city to enlist their support and obtain their views on the best method of conducting community meetings. As a result of these conferences, committees of from ten to thirty people were established in each of the thirteen wards. They agreed to assume responsibility for organizing and sponsoring "Town Hall" meetings within their own districts. At the same time, a corps of approximately fifty business and professional men and women were enlisted to serve as speakers or discussion leaders.

In addition, considerable factual material bearing on major civic problems was compiled and condensed for speakers' manuals so that those volunteering their services would have source books from which they could draw material for their talks.

Meeting Procedure

Sponsorship: Sponsoring ward committees in most cases were supported by community organizations, including civic and commercial associations, religious groups, women's clubs, trade unions, Legion posts, P. T. A's., etc. Organization sponsorship was especially encouraged, since this guaranteed an audience, although local ward committees from time to time arranged neighborhood meetings on their own responsibility without any outside help.

Meeting Places: Meetings were held in all parts of the city—in school houses, churches, lodge halls, settlement houses, and private homes. In many cases, meeting rooms were furnished without charge. In others, a nominal rental was paid by the council.

Advertising: Nearly every method of advertising the meetings was employed. They were listed in the daily papers and in community weeklies. Sunday editions usually carried weekly schedules. Meetings were also mentioned in radio news broadcasts. Letters and postcards were sent out to selected lists of people asking them to attend and bring their friends. Telephone campaigns were organized by ward committees. A standard handbill featuring a colonial bell ringer was furnished by the Civic Council and distributed through the schools or from door to door.

Program: A more or less standard procedure was adopted for all meetings, which, however, was sufficiently elastic to permit variation that might be desirable under special conditions. The usual program follows:

1. Meeting was conducted by a neighborhood leader, who served as chairman. In opening the meeting, he took a few minutes to explain the reason why the meeting was being held, the purpose that it sought to accomplish and the way in which the meeting would be conducted.
2. In many cases a community "sing" was held at the beginning of the meeting. "Town Hall Song Sheets" were furnished by the Civic Council, as well as a leader and accompanist.
3. The volunteer speaker, or discussion leader, presented the subject briefly in a talk of not over twenty minutes.
4. The audience was then encouraged to participate in a question-and-answer period and to comment on the subject. The length of the discussion varied from a half hour to more than two hours, depending upon the interest.
5. Meetings were occasionally closed with motion pictures of an educational or civic nature. Projection equipment and operator were furnished by the Civic Council.
6. Doughnuts and coffee or a light lunch ended the evening. Informality was the keynote.

A Town Hall news-sheet entitled *Fact,* containing information on current civic problems, printed on news stock in tabloid size, was distributed free at all meetings. Five editions, with a total circulation of 50,000 copies, were given away at Town Hall and other meetings.

Frequent Meetings

Minneapolis Town Hall meetings were held at frequent intervals from October 1939 to June 1940. Records show that 252 such meetings were held, with a total attendance of 22,610 and an average attendance of 90.

The following subjects were discussed:

Employer-employee Relations: About sixty meetings were devoted to this subject. In each case the people of the community asked for a discussion of it. Material presented by speakers was designed to impress the value of harmonious employer-employee relations to the community and to the individual. The general text was "Every strike is settled around a conference table. Why not settle disputes in this way before the strike begins and save wages and other losses." Most of the meetings were held in labor wards and before groups of working people. Many women attended. The questions asked and the interest shown clearly indicated an awakening realization of the losses incident to labor strife and the importance, so far as the welfare of the workingman is concerned, of promoting harmonious employer-employee relations.

Business and Community Prosperity, Minneapolis and Its Resources, and Industrial Development made up the largest number of programs. While each topic enabled the presentation of different information, the general theme was the same, namely, the importance to the community and to the individual citizens of a prosperous and growing business and industry in Minneapolis.

Exposing City Rackets: The discussion of this subject was chiefly under the direction of the Better Business Bureau. The subject matter consisted of a factual presentation of promotion schemes, misleading advertising, and other activities calculated to separate people from their savings. These meetings were particularly popular and produced many requests for "repeats." The value of the service that can be rendered to the people of Minneapolis by the Better Business Bureau, if they will make use of it, was emphasized.

Civic Responsibility: This subject was handled from the standpoint of encouraging citizen responsibility. The discussion leaders used data compiled from voting records in Minneapolis. Talks included an explanation of the machinery of registering, voting, etc. Emphasis was placed on the importance of voting an intelligent ballot and participating in civic affairs.

Taxation in Minneapolis and the City's Relief Problem were presented at more than seventy-five meetings. The discussion leaders were supplied with up-to-date factual information about the city's tax situation and its relief problems. Discussion following the presentation of the subjects, often continuing until late in the evening, indicated the city-wide interest in these topics and the desire of the people for "facts." The Minneapolis Taxpayers Association coöperated in these meetings and supplied many of the speakers.

Traffic Safety: This was presented in an educational way and for the purpose of emphasizing the necessity for city-wide recognition of the serious nature of the problem. Information included facts about enforcement, necessity for the safety program, and appeal for citizen coöperation. The Hennepin County Safety Council coöperated in the meetings and supplied the speakers.

Your City Government: This was a factual presentation of the mechanics of municipal government, an explanation of the duties, functions, and activity of city officeholders and departments, and the cost to the taxpayers. (Note: Teachers of civics in the Minneapolis schools asked for copies of the data used by the speakers and every school in the city was supplied.)

Discussion Leaders

All of the discussion leaders gave very generously of their time. Since as many as seven or eight meetings were sometimes held on one night, many of the speakers were called out several times each week throughout the winter. Officers and staff representatives of the Minneapolis Civic Council and its affiliated agencies personally conducted a great many meetings or participated in them.

Publicity

All daily newspapers, weeklies, and magazines coöperated to the fullest possible extent in publicizing the Civic Council's Town Hall meeting program. Announcements and stories of individual meetings appeared daily. The *Tribune* newspapers and the *Minneapolis Star-Journal* contributed 2,049 inches of publicity (97 columns). A number of news stories were illustrated. Several favorable editorials were also secured. Typical quotations follow:

> *Times-Tribune*: The holding of local discussion meetings for the primary purpose of getting at the facts and disseminating general knowledge of them is one of the most commendable endeavors ever made in Minneapolis or anywhere else.

> *Star-Journal*: These talkfests indicate that the average citizen is using his mind and finding his tongue on issues which concern him, his community, and his country. In turning to that ancient and honored democratic institution—the town meeting—he is relearning the fundamental working processes of representative government.
>
> *The Tribune*: Some rather flattering national attention has been given the series of Town Hall meetings being held in Minneapolis . . . prominence of the type given through emphasis upon the Town Hall sessions is a welcome change . . . a wise move by the community to capitalize upon assets so that liabilities may gradually be overcome.
>
> *Star-Journal*: The Town Hall meetings are practical exercises in pure democracy. . . . The town meeting is the smallest unit of self-government and also it is—or should be—the base of self-government.
>
> *The Minneapolis Southtowner*: A newer, more active, more practical type of democracy exists in Town Hall meetings, where the audience first listens to the speaker and then tells the speaker what it thinks. An electorate that knows what the next election is about is more likely to vote than one that does not. The Town Hall movement is slowly but surely bringing about a more informed electorate. . . Become a more active believer in the democratic form of government and begin by taking part in the next Town Hall that comes your way.

In addition, civic publications throughout the country commented favorably on the program. Several articles, now in preparation, will appear in forthcoming editions of national magazines.

Public Reaction

Scores of Minneapolis citizens have written or communicated with the Minneapolis Civic Council to express their appreciation and voice their approval of the Town Hall program. A few typical comments:

> I attended one of the meetings that your organization had arranged [on employer-employee relations]. . . . I was deeply impressed by the fairness [of the speaker] . . . he wanted a square deal for all and defended the rights of both the worker and the employer. He convinced me that we must coöperate with each other to make a better Minneapolis.—A UNION WORKER.
>
> I think this is one of the finest things ever put on in Minneapolis for the benefit of our general civic welfare. . . . I am a sincere booster of the whole Town Hall meeting plan.—W. L. HUFF, Vice President & Treasurer, Minneapolis Honeywell Regulator Company.
>
> I have attended two Town Hall meetings in my neighborhood and it seems to me they are a pretty good thing. I have learned a lot about the city, its government, taxes, and relief. No citizen can be as good a citizen as he ought to be unless he keeps reasonably well posted about the affairs of his city. I learned more about our financial problems in an hour or so than I had ever learned before. More people in the city need to know about these things. I like the open discussion, which follows the presentation by the Town Hall leader. It is the true democratic method of popular discussion.—From "A Letter to the Editor" of the *Minneapolis Tribune*.
>
> It was my privilege to listen last night to your [radio] talk at the Town Hall meeting, and I want to say it was one of the best and most constructive that I have ever heard pertaining to the possibilities for additional industries in Minneapolis. . . . I am sure everyone who was present at the meeting was convinced that by proper coöperation, the development of Minneapolis and the reduction of the number of unemployed people can be greatly improved.—J. S. CLAPPER, President, Toro Manufacturing Company.

Accomplishments

1. A better understanding of vital civic, social, and economic problems. Thousands of men and women in Minneapolis today are better informed on matters of community interest and hence able to form intelligent conclusions.
2. A better realization and appreciation of the value of business and industry to Minneapolis, the direct loss to every individual when business and industry are handicapped and the importance of encouraging business and industrial expansion.
3. A closer tie between the outlying community and business sections and the so-called "loop" district.
4. A better city-wide knowledge and understanding of the Minneapolis Civic Council and its member agencies—their purpose and program.
5. Favorable publicity for Minneapolis.

Future Plans

All evidence points to the desirability of continuing the Town Hall meeting program. The rank and file of citizens attending such meetings enthusiastically endorsed them and urged that they be continued.

Immediate plans call for strengthening and enlarging ward and precinct committees and enlisting and training more discussion leaders, mobilizing new citizens (8,000 will come of voting age in Hennepin County this year), for a city-wide "Citizenship Recognition Day" program, to be held on Constitution Day, September 17; an intensive get-out-the-vote campaign with wide-spread distribution of a nonpartisan *Voter's Directory*, which provoked so much favorable comment in the municipal election of 1939. In addition, it is proposed that a weekly radio Town Hall program be launched in the fall following successful experiment with this medium of community publicity, when a typical Town Hall meeting was broadcast by Station WCCO on April 2.

Allen H. Seed, Jr.,
Executive Vice-President
Minneapolis Civic Council

Virginia County Powers Expanded

More Counties Consider Manager Plan

Edited by
ELWYN A. MAUCK

The 1940 session of the Virginia legislature made no fundamental changes in county government, but some additional powers were given counties through general and special legislation. Many of the laws were general in form but special in purpose and effect, such as, for example, the law that was to apply only to "every county in this commonwealth having an area of not less than five hundred square miles, nor more than six hundred square miles, and a population of not less than 16,500, nor more than 18,000, according to the U. S. census of 1930," or to "any county in this state which adjoins three cities lying wholly within this state one of which cities has a population of 170,000 or more as shown by the last preceding U. S. census."

One such "general law" provided for an optional "county board" form of organization applicable only to Fairfax County. The law stated that the plan had to be presented by the board of supervisors or by initiative petition and adopted by referendum before becoming effective. It provided that there should be elected one supervisor at large in addition to those elected on a district basis. The board was empowered to appoint an executive secretary who would prepare the budget, supervise its execution, audit claims, advise the board, and exercise general supervision over the administration. The law specified that the attorney, clerk, sheriff, commissioner of revenue, and treasurer should continue to be elective, and, in addition, that the examiner of records, registrars, coroners, and justices of peace among others should remain unaffected.

At a recent mass meeting to consider the adoption of this plan, however, the residents of Fairfax County rejected it in favor of the county executive form in which the executive is more powerful than under the board form but less powerful than under the manager plan. It is expected that a date for a referendum on the county executive plan will be announced shortly.

By narrow definition also, the 1940 legislature provided that in the future certain counties that had adopted optional charters could not lose any of their territory through annexation to a contiguous city. The entire county, however, could be annexed after a favorable referendum. A similar law, drafted to apply specifically to the city of Newport News and adjacent territory, provided that any county of less than seventy square miles or a part of it could become annexed to a city of at least 25,000 population only after a difficult procedure had been followed. Such procedure included initial action by the board of supervisors or initiative petition, agreement with the city, and an affirmative vote by popular referendum in the units involved.

All local units were empowered to acquire objects of art, relics, and buildings in which to house the same from the United States government. Local units were authorized to borrow money in conjunction with grants from the federal government, but counties had first to secure a referendum vote favorable to the proposed bond issue. Local units were authorized also to acquire forest lands.

Considerable legislation involved county sanitary districts such as establishing their boundaries, authorizing them to issue bonds, and validating the creation of all districts concerning which there might have been irregularities. County water supply systems also were subject to legislative modification. Other legislation authorized the card indexing of tax delinquent property, created county police departments, extended the scope of the optional county government laws, and, in minor aspects, amended many other laws affecting county government.

County Manager Interest Grows

The residents of five counties recently have shown interest in adopting the manager plan of government for their respective units.

In **Madison County, New York,** a committee has been appointed by local officials to analyze the plans offered in the optional county government laws of the state. It is contemplated that one of the plans will be selected for submission to the voters in November.

Cattaragus County, New York, recently appointed a charter committee which hopes to present a reform plan to the voters in November.

The government of **Smith County, Texas,** is being studied by a committee of the Chamber of Commerce of Tyler, Texas, with a view toward instituting improvements. The success of the city manager plan in Tyler has caused the committee to give serious consideration to a similar plan for the county.

The board of commissioners of **Guilford County, North Carolina,** was asked by one of its members to study the feasibility of appointing a full-time, non-resident county manager. The success of the manager system in the cities of High Point and Greensboro within the county was offered as evidence demonstrating the practicality of the plan.

The residents of **Fairfax County, Virginia**, gathered recently in a mass meeting to hear the report of a special committee on county government reform. The committee recommended the adoption of the executive form, and the meeting voted to present this plan at a special referendum election.

Municipal Credit Holds Despite War

Michigan benefits by "scavenger" land sales; will defense bonds be tax-exempt?

Edited by
WADE S. SMITH

Exhibiting remarkable resiliency in the face of European developments,[1] *The Bond Buyer*'s index of municipal bond yields rose to 3.00 per cent at June 1 as compared with 2.59 per cent at May 1 and 2.66 per cent at June 1, 1939. The index for eleven first grade bonds rose from 2.21 per cent at May 1 to 2.66 per cent at June 1, as compared with 2.26 per cent at June 1, 1939. In each instance the May 1, 1940, index represented the low, both for 1940 and for the period since the index was started. The high for the twenty representative issues was 5.69 per cent on May 1, 1933, and the high for the eleven first grade issues 4.90 per cent, also on May 1, 1933.

Several factors are operating to hold up municipal bond prices, of which by far the most important continues to be the unprecedented volume of excess bank reserves. Another factor is the lowered volume at present of new issues, greatly reducing the supply from the levels which have prevailed during the last several years when the localities were borrowing heavily to match federal public works appropriations. The greatly improved financial condition of most municipal units, many of which are in as strong a position as they have ever experienced, is a further factor. Shaky situations of course continue to fetch prices under the general high, and further softening of prices in distinctly marginal credits is to be expected. There are no present indications, however, that the war abroad and its repercussions domestically are likely to cause any appreciable drying up of credit sources for the vast majority of cities, counties, school districts, and other local units.

Single State Agency for Assessment Equalization

In a report submitted June 11 to the National Association of Assessing Officers, its Committee on Assessment Organization and Personnel recommends the establishment of a single state agency to take care of the equalization of property assessments. Twenty-four states now have such statewide equalization agencies, fourteen states have both state and county agencies, and ten others have none.

In "equalizing" assessments, the agency raises or lowers the assessed valuation of all property—or all property of a particular type—throughout a tax district. It does so for a number of reasons, but especially to make each district pay its fair share of a state property tax. Equalization agencies, the committee pointed out, are quite different from boards of assessment review, which, although often called "boards of equalization," adjust the valuations of individual pieces of property rather than of whole tax districts or classes of property.

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[1] See also "Bond Market Resists War Shock," in last month's issue of the REVIEW, p. 428.

To remove the need for county equalization agencies, which number close to a thousand and are found only in states with township assessment districts, the committee recommends enlargement of assessment districts, coordination of the work of deputy assessors, and expansion of the activities of state equalization agencies.

A state equalization agency should be maintained by any state that imposes taxes on the basis of local assessed valuations, that distributes funds to local governments according to a formula involving local assessed valuations or local tax rates, or that assesses some property for taxation at local rates.

Members of an equalization board, the committee contends, should be chosen at large and not as representatives of particular districts within the jurisdiction of the board. "Persons serving the equalization district as a whole are much more likely to be scientific in their methods and objective in their decisions," says the committee's report.

The report also recommends that most equalization agencies be given powers of assessment review. An exception is made for such states as Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Ohio, where a state board of tax appeals has been created for assessment review purposes and local assessors are supervised by the state tax commissioner. Under such circumstances, the committee believes that the commissioner should serve as the equalization agency.

"Scavenger" Sales Return Land to Michigan Tax Rolls

"Scavenger" sales of land which had reverted to the state because of tax delinquency have resulted in returning more that 55,000 parcels of land to local tax rolls in Michigan since February 13, reports the American Society of Planning Officials. The parcels of land are being sold at auctions in thirty-five lower peninsula counties under provisions of a law passed last year by the legislature.

In addition to reinstating this land on the tax rolls, where it may once more become a source of revenue, local governmental units will divide most of the proceeds of the sales, which thus far total about $5,000,000. This figure, however, does not begin to approximate the sums lost through tax delinquencies, which were cancelled when the state gained title to the land.

"Scavenger" sales are conducted under supervision of the new state land board created by a 1939 law. Less than half of the 425,000 tax-reverted parcels in the thirty-five counties were offered for sale, and the sales have been virtually completed in all but three counties. At present the land board is issuing deeds to successful bidders.

Under terms of the statute a bid will not be accepted if it is less than 25 per cent of the assessed value of the land for the last year before the state gained title. Municipalities may bid for lands they want for public purposes, and may ask that sale of any parcel be delayed a year if they plan to purchase it later. Former owners have thirty days after the public sale to meet the highest bid and thus regain the land, and have the privilege of buying on installment.

Recent figures on the land sales show that 2,790 cash sales were made to former owners for approximately $202,000, and that 35,000 installment sales were made which will bring in a total of $2,500,000. Cash sales to "outsiders," of which there were 15,645, brought in approximately $1,750,000.

It was pointed out that approximately 6,000 former landowners have regained their land by matching the bids of other would-be purchasers.

The sales records show that Oakland and Wayne (Detroit) Counties are far in the lead in parcels of land sold, and cash or prospective revenues obtained. In Oakland County, 3,125 cash sales have brought in $475,187, while 10,310 installment sales will bring in $986,500. The Wayne County figures show that $127,868 was obtained through 2,458 cash sales, and $525,242 is expected from 17,047 installment sales.

The "scavenger" sales, which will continue next year, mark the first time since 1881 that Michigan has attempted on such a scale to clean up widespread tax delinquency. A similar land sale was held then, but no especial privileges were given former landowners at the time, and no minimum price was fixed.

Federal Defense Bonds to be Tax-Exempt?

Testifying before the Senate Finance Committee, Treasury Secretary Morgenthau declared that the Treasury favored removal of the tax-exempt feature from forthcoming national defense bonds. He said also that he would not object to their taxation by the states.

The declaration has occasioned another outburst of objections from municipal authorities and others interested in preserving the tax-exempt feature of all government bonds, although some observers have correctly pointed out that Mr. Morgenthau's statement was restricted to forthcoming treasury issues and did not deal with the general subject of tax exemption.

While there is ample evidence pointing to the conclusion that theoretically the removal of the tax-exempt feature of municipal bonds would result in a fractionally higher interest coupon, there are other evidences that the actual increase in borrowing costs would be nominal except for the poorer credits. It has always seemed to this columnist that the assumption that municipals owed their attractiveness to investors to their tax-exempt feature is erroneous—certainly the great volume of institutional buying of municipals is motivated by considerations of *security* to at least the same extent as of yield, and the buying of many individuals and estates is probably similarly motivated. In other words, no matter what the competition from other taxed securities, municipals will aways have a monopoly on the ultra high-grade investment market, although, of course, not all municipals will fall in this class. Certainly, the money market would have to be in a radically different situation than it is today before taxpayers in reasonably well managed municipalities need fear that removal of the tax-exempt feature will appreciably increase the borrowing costs to their local governments.

Bond Sale Note

Municipal officials frequently quote the favorable prices received for bonds of their governmental unit as proof of the excellence of administration, sound fiscal practices, or prosperous condition of their unit. Many of those who look upon bond prices as an indication of the excellence of their own administration must have turned green with envy recently, when a California water supply district sold an issue of bonds at a price of 142.1794.

Actually, of course, the high prices being received by municipalities for their bonds in recent years have been influenced by many factors wholly outside the control of local officials—many a city, in fact, has received the "best price in its history" in spite of, rather than because of, the administration, even marginal situations having benefited in the generally high market. The California bond sale, however, serves as an interesting example of a combination of circumstances.

The bonds, sold by the Marin Municipal Water District, a unit serving the communities across the Golden Gate from San Francisco, were voted in 1926, and were designated as 5 per cent bonds. The district has been well managed, and for many years has been completely self-supporting from water revenues—hence its own credit was good. The unusually high premium arises, however, from the fact that the coupon was fixed at 5 per cent; $350,000 bonds were offered, and the premium was $147,628. This reduced the price on a yield basis to 2.53 per cent. Had the coupon been, say, 3.0 per cent, the premium would have been moderate, and not the envy-arousing 42 per cent of par.

Committee on Financial Statistics Meets

The Advisory Committee on Financial Statistics of Cities, appointed by the Director of the Census, met in Washington, D. C., April 15, 16, and 17. Preparation of financial statistics of states and cities was discussed with C. E. Rightor, chief of the division, and E. R. Gray, assistant chief. Topics included treatment of debt retirement, definition of taxes and non-taxes, and inclusion of the financial transactions of housing authorities in financial statistics. Collection and publication of county financial statistics was also considered. Those present included: Charles J. Fox, city auditor of Boston; Dan Hoye, controller of Los Angeles; Frederick L. Bird of Dun and Bradstreet; Welles A. Gray of the United States Chamber of Commerce; Carl H. Chatters of the Municipal Finance Officers' Association; and Walter R. Darby, Commissioner of Local Government for New Jersey; together with staff members of the division.

P. R. and the Future of Mankind

Excerpts from British P. R. Society's Annual Report

Edited by
GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.

The following passages are all quoted from the *Annual Report for the Year 1939-1940* of the Proportional Representation Society, London, England, published by the society in June 1940 as Pamphlet No. 85—EDITOR.

When the nation is at war, the question arises in many minds whether work in respect of non-war problems, even those that will call for decisions before the close of hostilities, is legitimate and desirable. To this question the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Viscount Halifax, has given an authoritative answer. On the 2nd November, 1939, speaking in the House of Lords on war and peace aims, he made the following statement:

> If our general purpose is clear and our direction is right, and if our people are united and resolved in defense of the principles in which they believe, then we can be reasonably confident that the outcome will be made to correspond to the convictions of those who desire to create *a new and better world order* which may enlist the coöperation of all nations on a basis of equality, self-respect, and mutual tolerance.
>
> I think that *nothing but benefit can come from many different minds freely making contributions to this,* surely the greatest problem any generation of mankind has ever had to face. Certainly no one individual, and no one Government, and no one country would lay claim to be a repository of wisdom, still less to have a monopoly of wisdom, and certainly I would make no such claim on behalf of His Majesty's Government. I am quite sure we ought all to be ready to consider any proposals by which, may be, the hopes and aspiration of peoples can be brought nearer to fulfilment.

These are weighty words. The problems of a new order require serious and prolonged consideration before the hour comes for practical decision. The League of Nations was formally established by the peace settlement of 1919, but its foundations had been laid in discussions which took place during the war years. In preparing for a new world order, many men, many minds, must join in council, and the Proportional Representation Society hopes to be able, following the course approved by Lord Halifax, to make a contribution from its special knowledge and experience to some of the problems involved.

A New Order at Home

But first and foremost stands the need of taking steps—and the requisite steps must be taken before the close of hostilities—towards assuring that the general election of the House of Commons which will take place at the end of the war shall be worthy of a country that is upholding democracy and the rule of law. Upon this new House of Commons will fall exceptional responsibilities in respect of national and international reconstruction. Its composition may well affect the whole future history of our country and even of the world. It is of supreme importance therefore that the post-war Parliament shall be truly representative of the nation, in numbers and in personnel.

During the last war important steps were taken in preparation for the election that would be held when peace came. On 16th August, 1916, the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, when moving the second reading of a bill to extend the life of Parliament, addressed the House of Commons in these words: "With regard to the Parliament which is going to undertake the work of reconstruction after the war, it is eminently desirable that you should provide an electoral basis which will make that Parliament reflective and representative of the general opinion of the country"; and he invited the House to see if they could not "work out by general agreement some scheme under which, both as regards the electorate and the distribution of electoral power, a Parliament could be created at the end of the war capable and adequate for discharging these tasks, and commanding the confidence of the country."

Subsequently a conference consisting of members of all political parties from both Houses of Parliament was appointed to consider electoral reform in all its aspects. The chairman of the conference was the Speaker of the House of Commons, and the conference is generally known by the name of the Speaker's Conference. The conference examined questions on their merits and in a nonpartisan spirit, and it arrived at a large number of unanimous decisions.

The Proportional Representation Society submitted its case in the form of memoranda presented by Earl Grey and Mr. Aneurin Williams, two members of the conference, and one of the unanimous decisions of the conference was a recommendation to apply proportional representation in the election of the representatives of the large towns and densely populated areas. Unfortunately the House of Commons, differing in this matter from the House of Lords, declined to give effect to this recommendation in the Reform Bill—a decision which had disastrous results. For, in spite of a widened franchise and other reforms, the election which took place soon after Armistice Day in 1918 produced, at a critical period, a House of Commons which was one of the most unrepresentative of recent times. A substantial part of the country favored a moderate, negotiated peace. The voting showed four million for the opposition parties against five and a half million for the Coalition Government. But the electoral system gave the Government an overwhelming majority of the elected representatives. The opposition, outnumbered by five to one, was negligible as a parliamentary force, and the House of Commons as a whole was weakened in its personnel through the defeat, almost without exception, of the opposition leaders, including Mr. Asquith among the Liberals and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald among members of the Labor Party.

Today the circumstances are very similar to those which gave rise to the appointment of a Speaker's Conference in 1916. It is proposed to prolong the life of Parliament; a general election will be necessary at the end of the war; several questions relating to elections—redistribution, electoral expenses, the method of voting—are ripe for consideration, and have indeed been raised within the present Parliament; a new conference of members of all parties would offer the best opportunity for calm discussion and nonpartisan decisions.

Even in the midst of the momentous conflict in which the nations are now engaged, man entertains new hopes and visions; he craves for an extension of justice, of freedom for the human mind, and of coöperation between the different nations. Great Britain has the opportunity and privilege of furnishing the parliamentary machinery best adapted for realizing such aspirations. A grant of fair representation to all political parties not only would give us a better Parliament at home; it would also be an example of high value when the problems presented by India are considered anew, and when the statesmen of the world are seeking a fresh basis of national coöperation in a new world order.

A New World Order

For many reasons the League of Nations—a league of which the great democracy of the United States of America did not form part—has failed to fulfil the high hopes which its foundation inspired; nevertheless, the feeling is widespread that the post-war settlement must provide for some new association or associations of nations. M. Daladier, when Prime Minister of France, speaking in the French Senate, said: "It will be necessary perhaps to envisage federal ties between various states of Europe." Mr. Neville Chamberlain, speaking as Prime Minister of Great Britain of the collaboration between France and Great Britain, said: "It may even develop into something wider and deeper, because there is nothing which will do more to facilitate the task of peaceful reconstruction." The Labor party suggests that "the present close coöperation between Britain, France, and their allies in the political and economic spheres should be the nucleus of a wider association." Sir Archibald Sinclair has said that the principle of federation is "an indispensable line of approach towards the outlawing of war." The League of Nations Union, the New Commonwealth Society, Federal Union are all active in examining plans for the coöperation of nations.

When the Peace Conference was sitting at Paris in 1919, the Proportional Representation Society submitted a memorandum urging that the proportional system should be used not only in the election of delegates to the Assembly,[1] but in the election by the Assembly of the members of the Council. Neither of these suggestions was adopted, but in course of time certain consequences of the methods of appointment adopted evoked criticism. The members of the Assembly were not elected, but nominated by the Governments; the parliaments of the nations were not, as such, represented; minority opinion was not expressed; coöperation between men of like views in the different countries was limited; the discussion in the Assembly reflected only the views of the Governments. There was great activity behind the scenes; elections to the League Council (held on the block vote system) became so much a matter for bargaining as to give rise—under the initiative of Norway—to a demand for election by proportional representation with the single transferable vote.

The creation of any new international assemblies or councils will necessarily involve a fresh consideration of methods of election. Professor Berriedale Keith, the author of a standard work on the constitutions of the British Empire, discussing a possible federation between the United Kingdom and France, wrote: "The constitution of the [federal] legislature must present serious difficulties. But it might in the first instance be composed of equal numbers . . . for each country, elected perhaps rather by the legislatures than directly by the people, *but in any case by proportional voting.*" . . .

Canada

The province of Quebec was the scene of a new electoral landslide in the election of the Legislative Assembly held in October 1939. In the previous election, in 1936, the Liberal party sustained, for Quebec, a phenomenal defeat, gaining only 14 seats out of a total of 90. In 1939 they came back to power with 68 seats out of 86. Among the defeated were six out of the ten members forming the cabinet of the defeated party, the Union Nationale. The election well illustrated the tendency of the single-member system to exaggerate movements of opinion to an extent which diminishes both the representative character of Parliament and the average quality of the personnel.

In the election of the one-chamber legislature of Alberta, held in March 1940, proportional representation was applied in the two towns, Calgary and Edmonton. Each elects five members. The voting was:

CALGARY

Party	*Votes polled*	*Seats in proportion to votes*	*Seats obtained*
Citizens	24,298	3	3
Social Credit	17,054	2	2
C.C.F. (Coöperative Commonwealth Federation)	4,142	0	0
Others	421	0	0

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[1] General Smuts in his pamphlet *League of Nations* suggested that "parties might be represented by the selection of members on the principle of proportional representation."

EDMONTON

Citizens	23,330	3	3
Social Credit	14,290	2	2
C.C.F.	4,266	0	0
Others	1,857	0	0

In each town the Citizens party polled a majority of the votes and secured three seats out of five, the largest minority, Social Credit, obtaining the other two seats. Representation was in accordance with the votes cast.

In the country districts there were single-member constituencies with the alternative vote. The results, as reported in the *Calgary Herald*, subject to the addition of some votes from outlying districts, were:

ALBERTA—Country Districts

Party	*Votes polled*	*Seats obtained*	*Cost in votes per seat obtained*
Social Credit	93,938	32	2,935
Citizens	83,085	13	6,391
C.C.F.	5,684	1	5,684
Others	5,875	1	—

The Social Credit party polled a majority of the votes in the country districts and obtained a large majority of the seats. How far the alternative vote fails as a representative method is indicated in the last column of figures, which shows that each Social Credit voter influenced the parliamentary majority to an extent twice, or more than twice, as great as a voter of the opposing parties.

There was some delay in obtaining the final results in the Alberta election, and in several British newspapers this delay was attributed to proportional representation. The election took place on Thursday, 21st March; the results in Calgary were known on Friday and the results in Edmonton were known on Saturday. The delay took place in the single-member country constituencies, and was due to the difficulties in transport.

A more important event than these provincial elections was the election of the Dominion House of Commons, March 1940. The electoral system is the same as that of Great Britain, "first-past-the-post" in single-member constituencies. The Liberal party, under the leadership of Mr. Mackenzie King, polled 2,500,000 votes against 2,000,000 polled by opposition parties. In the House of Commons it holds 179 seats against 66 for the opposition, a three-to-one majority over all parties. In some of the provinces, the minority has not secured a single representative. In commenting on the election, the *Spectator* of Hamilton, Ontario, said: "Every Liberal member of the House will represent about 11,000 votes. Every National Conservative member will represent about 32,000 votes, or nearly three times as many as his opponent.". . .

P. R. and the Government of Man

Proportional representation is not only a method of election; it embodies a political philosophy far-reaching in its values. This philosophy can be expressed in the historic formula of democracy—liberty, equality, fraternity. Liberty, for proportional representation welcomes the expression of all the live forces of a community, the different contributions which the minds of men can make to the elucidation of the political and economic problems that confront them; equality, in that it recognizes the claims of fellow-men to an equal share in representation; fraternity, in that it provides the conditions of freedom and fair play in which there can be most surely developed in the relations between parties the idea of "the good neighbor"; and it is this spirit of neighborliness, which, in terms of government, makes possible the maximum measure of cooperation in the life of a nation.

This philosophy is in keeping with the new movements for world order; it embodies the spirit underlying federation. For the representation of all parties in the nation's Parliament is the idea of federation applied to national affairs; such representation paves the way for the coöperation of all in the government of a state. Federation is the same philosophy applied to international relations—the representation and coöperation of nations in dealing with world problems, a coöperation that is the alternative to war. Thus, proportional representation is a philosophy wide in its appeal and beneficent in its influence; it stands for justice in human relationships pertaining to the field of government; and justice produces the atmosphere most conducive to peace.

The House of Commons a Sacred Trust

"We are approaching a general election. . . . Whenever it comes, it will be a great pity that the Government has not carried a measure of electoral reform.

"I am in favour of electoral reform. First, the application of proportional representation in the first instance to the great cities."—*Daily Mail,* May 1935. These are words of the Prime Minister, The Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill, C.H., M.P.

LOS ANGELES ATTACKS METROPOLITAN PROBLEM

(Continued from Page 466)

is needed. As one illustration, there is little justification for fifty primary county departments; the consolidation of nine independent public works agencies into one department particularly seems desirable and has been frequently proposed.

Too much should not be claimed for the record of Los Angeles in functional consolidation. Despite the desirable county library arrangement, for example, the problem of effective coördination with the Los Angeles City library system has not been entirely solved. Many other kinks also need to be ironed out, with the field of highway construction and traffic probably deserving the title of "Public Need for Coördination Number One." Nevertheless, few would deny that real progress toward more effective government of the metropolitan region has been made. An outstanding feature of this progress has been the voluntary nature of most of the consolidations which have been achieved. In particular, the use of intergovernmental contracts is unparalleled in American annals.[13]

Functional consolidation is no panacea for the ills of every metropolis, but demonstrated efficiencies together with an evolutionary, noncompulsory procedure are sufficiently attractive to lead Angelenos along a path with no dead end in sight. Perhaps Los Angeles is pointing the way toward one workable solution of the metropolitan problem.

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[13] On this point, see J. Lyle Cunningham, "Contracting for Local Services," *Governmental Research and Citizen Control of Government,* Governmental Research Association, Detroit, 1940, p. 116.

Books in Review

EDITED BY ELSIE S. PARKER

Tax Yields, 1939. By Tax Policy League, New York City, 1940. vii, 126 pp. $2.50.

With the coöperation of Commerce Clearing House, Inc., the Tax Policy League has turned out an illuminating and comprehensive volume covering federal and local tax yields as well as state yields which the latter organization has been compiling for three years past. The claim that it offers "the most complete information on tax collections in this country ever made available in a single volume" is well within the facts. Almost exactly two-thirds of the text is occupied by a study of 1939 state tax collections which remains the most important original contribution of the Tax Policy League.

It is, however, the combination of the state figures with those for the federal and local governments which produces the results of most significance. The fact that property taxes, employed exclusively by state and local governments, still amount to 35.6 per cent of all taxes collected is a matter of vital importance. That state taxes collected, including pay-roll taxes, increased 116 per cent from 1930 to 1939, while federal taxes were increasing 66 per cent and local government taxes exhibited a slight decline, is a strong indication of a trend toward centralization in which the states are playing a larger part than is commonly supposed.

The fact that total tax collections, including pay-roll taxes, amounted to 15.3 per cent of national income in 1930, increased to 22.5 per cent in 1938, and held at 20.1 in 1939, has a deep meaning not only for the student of government finance but for the historian, economist, or political scientist who seeks to plot the course of the movement in the United States toward a collective as contrasted with a private enterprise economy. It requires only the addition of those costs of government born of sources other than taxation, more especially borrowing, to get a complete picture of the momentous changes which have been made in our economic system since the stock market collapse of 1929.

This volume, very properly, does not attempt to draw far-reaching conclusions from the data it presents. It confines itself to a discussion of those matters which belong more particularly to the subject of taxation as such. Not least among these are its severe comments upon the absence of reliable tax collection data from the more than 160,000, often overlapping and inextricably mingled, units of local government. Dr. John Bryson of New York University has done a good job of estimating the amount of such collections, but it is too bad that only an estimate is possible.

Thomas H. Reed

New York City

Government, The Citizens' Business. Proceedings of the Conference on Government Management, Estes Park, Colorado, June 19-23, 1939. University of Denver, 1940. xviii, 624 pp. $3.00.

Although Americans are notorious for the convention habit, it is rare for "just citizens" to get together seriously to discuss governmental problems. Thus, it was heartening when the Department of Government Management of the University of Denver last year followed the long established lead of the National Municipal League's annual conferences on government, to institute its first annual citizens' conference on government management. It is a matter for additional congratulations that the proceedings of the Estes Park conference have now been made available for those who could not attend.

No less than seventy-five separate individuals are in the roster of those whose remarks are recorded in this volume. They include professors, officials, businessmen, publicists, citizen leaders, and authorities on government. The array of topics is similarly catholic. The book is divided into several major divisions, covering the fiscal side of government, administration, social security and relief, citizens' groups, the consumer, and economy recovery—all, of course, as related to government. There is, finally, considerable difference of opinion to be found, with, for instance, "party responsibility" advocates cheek by jowl with strict merit system adherents.

While there is inevitably much in this volume which will not live down through the ages, it is all at least interesting today, and much of it is thoroughly challenging. It could hardly be beat as a cross-section of the thinking on local government today by those who *do* think.

M. R.

The Community and Its Young People. By M. M. Chambers, for the American Youth Commission. Washington, D. C., American Council on Education. 1940. Fifteen cents.

"THE" youth problem? No. Dozens of them, specifically stated, with blueprints for finding some of the answers, are available in thirty minutes' reading of the American Youth Commission's latest pamphlet.

Take a few minutes to go through it and you will readily see how faithfully *The Community and Its Young People* lives up to the promise in the foreword that: "This pamphlet is an attempt to take the discussion of youth problems to the grass roots. It is designed for community leaders and for public-spirited parents and youth everywhere. It maps the new frontiers that exist in every neighborhood. It is a call to constructive action along lines that every community can follow without waiting for other communities to act."

The author does not attempt to formulate the "answer" to "the youth problem." To the reader he addresses stimulating questions about youth and its opportunities, or lack of them, which can be answered in each community. The very process of answering the questions will help to organize thinking in the local community where the author feels there is real hope for helping young people.

For example, "How many young people are there in your county? Your city? Your village? . . . How many are out of school and partly or wholly jobless?"

To answer these questions, and more, on what is available for young people to do now in their own home towns, will help solve youth's problems in the author's opinion. He suggests, among other techniques, a youth survey which the commission can also tell you how to make (*How to Make a Community Youth Survey,* twenty-five cents).

The author recognizes that part of youth's requirements will continue to be answered by the federal government's program. But realistically he tells why the whole problem cannot be answered from Washington and he lays out ways and means to answer it at home, in a readable style that should attract both youngsters and oldsters.

It's a "must" for your next spare half hour.

E. N. T.

Severance Taxes. New York City, Tax Policy League, 1940. 11 pp., mimeo. Twenty-five cents.

Severance taxes—taxes laid on mineral, timber, and other "wasting" natural resources at the time of production—are levied by twenty-two of the forty-eight states in some form. In this issue of its monthly bulletin the Tax Policy League has concisely summarized the arguments for severance taxes as opposed to the ad valorem taxation of natural resources, has tabulated the taxes and tax rates for the states imposing severance taxes, and has shown the yield for 1936-39, inclusive, of severance taxes in twenty states for which such figures are available. A short bibliography is also included. Taxpayers' organizations interested in revamping the tax system from the ground up should have this summary discussion in their files.

W. S. S.

Tax Systems (Eighth Edition). Edited by The Tax Research Foundation. Chicago and New York, Commerce Clearing House, Inc., 1940. xi, 408 pp. $8.75.

While, by common consent, "nobody knows anything about taxes," in terms of the goodness or badness of various kinds of taxes, this book proves that plenty is known about taxes as they operate today. In entirely tabular and statistical fashion, tax facts, their kinds and yields, are presented for all the states, territories, the United States, and Canada, with some information on foreign taxation. The information is given by states and also by types of taxes. While it is not beyond the realm of possibility that the researcher may look for something here that he will fail to find, the book is nevertheless "a one-volume library on taxation," an invaluable source and reference book.

M. R.

Additional Books and Reports Received

Federal Government

Reports of the Attorney General's Committee on Administrative Procedure: (1) The Walsh-Healey Act, Division of Public Contracts, Department of Labor, 69 pp.; (2) The Veterans' Administration, 129 pp.; (3) Federal Communications Commission, 177 pp. (two volumes); (4) United States Maritime Commission, 73 pp.; (5) Federal Alcohol Administration, 64 pp.; (6) The Federal Trade Commission, 84 pp.; (7) The Administration of the Grain Standards Act, Department of Agriculture, 50 pp.; (8) Railroad Retirement Board, 100 pp.; (9) The Federal Reserve System, 100 pp.; (10) Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation, Department of Commerce, 73 pp.; (11) The Administration of the Packers and Stockyard Act, Department of Agriculture, 85 pp; (12) Administration of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, Wage and Hour Division, Children's Bureau, 185 pp. (two volumes); (13) Post Office Department, 98 pp.; (14) Federal Control of Banking, Comptroller of the Currency and Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, 103 pp.; (15) War Department, 46 pp.; (16) Social Security Board, 74 pp. Washington, D. C., Department of Justice, 1940.

Government and Business (New Second Edition). By Ford P. Hall. New York City, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1939. xii, 455 pp. $4.00.

Utilities

A Decade of Utility Regulation in New York State—1930-1940. Report of the Department of Public Service, Public Service Commission. Albany, New York, 1940. 340 pp.

Recent State Laws on Transportation and Public Utilities. A Digest of Important Statutory Changes and New Laws Enacted in 1935-1938. State Law Digest, Report No. 2. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1940. iv, 83 pp. Fifteen cents.

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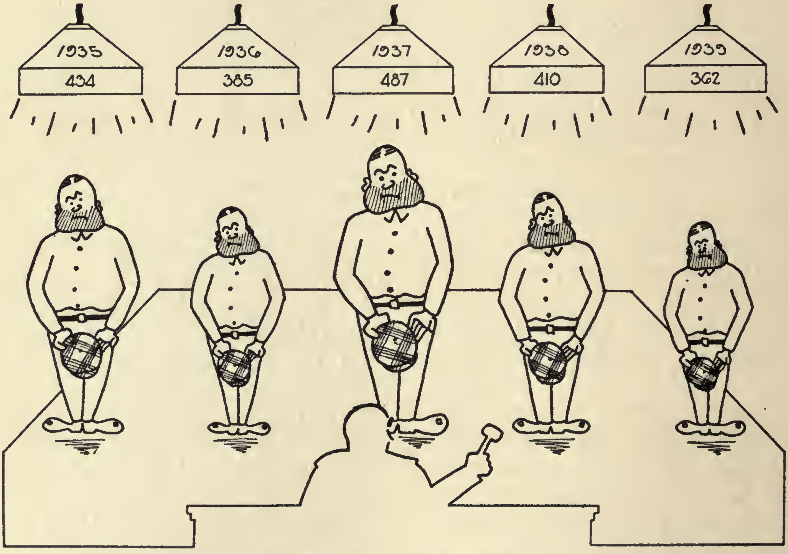

A WELCOME DECREASE IN THE AVERAGE DAILY PATRONAGE AT THE CITY'S FREE HOTEL (THE WORKHOUSE)

Cincinnati Yearbook, 1939-1940. Annual Report of the city manager. Cincinnati, Ohio, 1940. 87 pp.

This is one of eleven pictorial charts in the latest annual report of the city manager of Cincinnati. These imaginative illustrations, with their pleasant leavening of humor, make the report even more readable than usual. There are photographs, also, as well as plenty of text and tables.

M. R.

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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

News in Review

City, County, State

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Merit System Census Shows Notable Progress

Municipal systems increase 30 per cent; counties show little interest in subject

A NATION-WIDE census of the merit system made by the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada shows an increase of nearly 30 per cent in the number of municipal merit systems during the last three years. A great number of state and federal employees were also brought under civil service provisions.

A total of 869 cities now have at least a portion of their employees under some type of merit system, whereas three years ago the number stood at 674. Most of the municipal systems adopted during the past three years have been in cities of less than 100,000 population. Eighty per cent of the larger cities already had civil service in 1937.

Since 1937, when the assembly made its first census, eight states have adopted merit system laws for the great majority of their employees, bringing the total number with civil service to seventeen. Since that year two additional states adopted laws applying to a limited number of employees, and all states, by recent amendment to the social security act, are applying merit system coverage to public assistance and unemployment compensation employees.

In the federal government approximately 128,000 employees have been placed under the classified civil service since 1937, mainly by executive order. The percentage of federal employees under the merit system, which had declined from 80 to about 60 per cent in the last decade, is now up to more than 70 per cent.

Extension of civil service into county jurisdictions has been slight. Only 173 of the 3,053 counties now operate under some form of civil service, four of the adoptions occurring within the past four years.

The business depression, which helped focus citizen attention on government, and the establishment of many new governmental services with consequent interest in methods of recruiting public employees are factors credited with making the merit system a live issue. Nation-wide campaigns by various civic organizations and professional and public employee groups have provided considerable stimulus, along with the report of the President's Committee on Administrative Management, which called for an extension of the merit system "upward, outward, and downward to cover all non-policy determining posts."

The complete list of jurisdictions with partial or entire civil service coverage of employees in the assembly census totals 1,099. This includes the federal government, the forty-eight states, 869 cities, 173 counties, and eight special districts. In addition the territory of Hawaii and four Hawaiian counties, Puerto Rico, the commonwealth of the Philippines, and certain departments of the District of Columbia are operating under merit systems.

Michigan Votes on Civil Service in November

Michigan voters will have an opportunity in November of expressing

(Continued on page 559)

Citizen Action

Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

Seattle Membership Passes Thousand Mark

Drive built on personal contacts; members given part in program of local Municipal League

OUR first step toward building the membership of the Municipal League of Seattle was to **put the program into salable form.** We have found that members are usually sold on one or more of a limited number of items in the program. Consequently, we made a condensed, readable, and understandable statement of the program and the purposes of the organization.

The second step in membership work was to **weed out the delinquents** and bring the membership down to a bona fide and "live" list of those who pay to show their good faith. Membership selling begins with these members, for if new members are to be obtained, the present membership must be informed and sold upon the organization. It has always been our practice to include the members in all campaign mailings and they are first to receive new literature.

The third step in membership building is the prospect. While it is useless to ask every member to get a member, it proved a good idea to **ask members, especially leaders in the organization, to submit lists of those who should be members.** Eighty-one of our members responded to our request for lists of friends, and that produced the nucleus of our membership prospect list—1,500 of 2,700 names.

We believe our prospect files should be as clean and well kept as the ledger file of members. We have the master lists alphabetically arranged, with sectional lists of prospects according to geographic areas. Consequently, if John Doe is willing to do some membership work for us, we can give him prospects in his own building or he can call on his neighbors in the industrial area.

After the prospect list had been built, the mail campaign started. We used the weekly issue of the *Municipal News* as the basis for our membership selling. We followed this with printed literature —only the best in printing and art work should be used, because, after all, our literature is speaking for us, and interprets the type and character of the organization.

As members suggested prospects, from ten to fifty each, we asked them to **write personal letters** urging these prospects to join the league. If they weren't able to write the letters, we did it for them. Where we could get the sponsor to follow up by phone or personal call, this was done. About half of our sponsors made a personal follow-up. Our membership man arranged the details of getting out letters and follow-up. Where the sponsor could not or would not follow, the staff man made calls for the sponsor in his name.

We found the growing list of new members, as released through our *Municipal News*, the best selling material—there seems to be an inclination to get on the bandwagon when the parade starts to move.

We followed this good start with new lists of prospects submitted by additional sponsors and a development of prospects on the part of the staff itself.

During May we topped off our membership work for the year 1939-40 with a **"blitzkrieg" membership drive** of half a day. After a breakfast meeting fifty-one volunteer workers brought in 114 members by the noon luncheon.

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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Hatch Act No. 2, Boon to Politics

IN THE enactment of the second Hatch bill, extending to those state and local government employees who are paid wholly or in part from federal funds the limitations on political activity which were placed last year on federal employees, political leadership has taken a vigorous stride toward catching up with public opinion.

"Politician," in a self-governing country, ought to be a word connoting distinction and honor. Is it? We elect a person to office by democratic action. He is our representative. But almost at once he is referred to as "a politician," and the tone of voice used is not one of trust and approval.

Is it just the dumb perversity of the people which causes this situation?

By and large, the common run of people have never approved of the spoils system, the compulsory doorbell ringing, electioneering, petition circulating activities of public employees at any level of government—national, state, or local. They have been deeply sickened by the spectacle of the "kick back" of a percentage of public employees' salaries to political organizations.

These conditions, as they have been allowed to develop, have progressively weakened the average person's faith in the democratic system. Increasingly he has felt that the big issue lay between the great body of unorganized and unled people and the professional politician's attitude of personal ownership of public affairs. Why talk about the indifference of citizens toward their right to vote when on every hand they see the professional boasting openly about his ability to swing the precinct by methods designed to thwart free popular expression?

There are some who claim that both Hatch acts place improper restrictions on the civil rights of public employees. It is pertinent to examine the motives, pasts, and ambitions of those who support this view. The simple truth is that the new restrictions are no more stringent than those which have regulated classified employees in the federal government for a quarter of a century. Has there been any improper interference with any wholesome activity on their part? Tommyrot!

Not only in theory but in fact the people as a whole have overwhelmingly demonstrated, every time they have been given a clear opportunity to do so, that they favor the merit system in civil service and everything that this system implies. Repeatedly, they have thrown out local and state political organizations distinguished chiefly for their use of public offices, public funds, and public time for political activities; and they would have done so more often were it not for the various means employed to keep this question from becoming a real issue.

In the spring of 1936 a Gallup poll showed 88 per cent of the people of the United States in favor of removing the political taint from public service. This is an amazing majority on any question. It might be doubted whether a larger majority could be obtained on the classic question, "How about sin; are you for it or against it?"

Whether in the long run the Hatch acts will be beneficial or injurious to the basic principles which we are now so concerned about preserving remains to be determined by the manner in which they are enforced. Doubting Thomases may wonder whether there will be some "gentleman's agreement" or other subterfuge to keep the full force of the new law from making itself felt down through some of the most important sinews of important political arms, but there are many promising signs that enforcement will not be too difficult and will, in many respects, be automatic.

Politically active state employees who fall within the affected classifications are already taking steps to discover how drastically they must modify their conduct. And political parties are sure to police one another pretty carefully, with the result that the comparatively small force of 250 investigators which probably will be set up ought to be able to handle the job. Furthermore, there is not likely to be much willingness to create surefire issues by thumbing noses at an overwhelming public opinion which now has such a good criterion for formulating sound judgment on public figures.

The final result surely will be wholesome in more ways than one. The operation of the law will contribute, in the first place, to a lessening of the apathy of many voters with the "what's the use?" attitude; and it will be good, not bad, for political organizations. Plenty of smart politicians are coming to learn that good government is good politics; and the real statesmen among our political leaders will welcome an opportunity to depend on issues and principles rather than on political skullduggery for success.

A Permanent Emergency?

A RECENT decision by New York State's highest court upheld the right of a community to "deport" a family on relief which had come from another state.

This decision is particularly significant in view of the natural wish of many "reliefers" to live in communities and states where relief standards are high. It is claimed, for example, that in the last few years there has been a large migration of indigent persons from the south into various cities to the north, particularly Washington. And there have been the other more obvious mass migrations in other parts of the country. On the other side of the picture, industries have walked away from their trained employees in search of cheaper labor elsewhere.

There is still too much inclination to regard relief as a passing emergency to be dealt with in an essentially temporary manner. We have

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The Woman Who Woke up a City

Yonkers housewife—moving spirit in securing P.R.-manager government for her city—becomes member of first council under new charter.

BY MIRIAM ROHER
National Municipal League

"MIZ WELTY," beamed the ashman, "*You* the boss of Yonkers now!"

And that's what happened in 1938 to a diminutive middle-aged housewife who, in 1935, thought government was just something the menfolks grumbled about.

The way it began is already a classic tale in the wacky annals of what the scientists are pleased to call "citizen action." It was dinner time of a certain evening five years ago when a neighbor telephoned Mrs. Harry T. Welty. "Edith," she said, "I want you to come with me to a League of Women Voters meeting."

The League of Women Voters! thought Mrs. Welty. Why, they're just a bunch of suffragettes. "I'm not interested in such things," she told her friend.

"Please—won't you come this once? I hate to go alone."

The neighbor was a "perfectly darling woman" and Mrs. Welty finally consented, to please her.

At the meeting the lady voters were discussing their projected study of the council-manager plan, an item which the National League of Women Voters had placed on its study program for the year. Cannily, as a method of interesting the newcomer, the ladies appointed Mrs. Welty a committee of one to report on the plan at the next meeting.

She'd never heard of the council-manager plan, and she was in awe of the "intellectuals" who comprised the local branch of the League of Women Voters. "So I went to all the libraries and read everything I could lay my hands on. I went down to New York University and talked to the professors. I even went to the National Municipal League."

The manager plan meeting was in the form of a debate and Mrs. Welty knew so much about the manager plan by that time that she won hands down. She was convinced by her own testimony.

Well, she said to herself, that manager plan certainly is a wonderful thing. I don't know whether we need it in Yonkers, but if it's so good we ought to have it whether we need it or not!

In a couple of weeks Mrs. Welty had found out that Yonkers did desperately need it. From then on she was launched. By 1938, after two unsuccessful referenda, Yonkers had adopted the manager plan. By 1939 Edith P. Welty had been elected to the first proportional-representation-chosen city council.

But she still cleans her own house, cooks three meals a day, and conducts chatty negotiations with the grocer, the plumber, and—to be sure—the ashman. She also plays tennis.

Tennis is perhaps the key to the

whole incredible story. Not only does Mrs. Welty play tennis regularly, but she is a mainstay of the local tennis club. After the last war the club fell on hard times and it was feared that the banks would shortly close in on the clubhouse. So for six years Mrs. Welty conducted an annual minstrel show and personally collected $300 to $500 on each program. This device saved the club.

It is this technique which Mrs. Welty says she has applied to politics. But it is less a technique than an intensely personal talent with which the lady seems to have been endowed from birth. An incredulous local politician once said to her, "Lady, you could sell BVD's to the Eskimos!" All her life Mrs. Welty has been selling things to people—not for profit. It hardly matters to her what she is selling, but the sheer joy of talking to people, the simple exuberance of her personality, her tirelessness, make her more effective than a German armored tank. In 1918 it was tickets to a suffragette banquet that she was selling—she wasn't particularly interested in votes for women, but a friend asked her to sell tickets and she sat down at her telephone and did so. Later on it was ads in the minstrel show program. Finally it was good will for the city manager form of government.

COUNCILWOMAN EDITH P. WELTY

Yonkers' "Public Energy No. 1"

A New York City newspaperman who interviewed her after her first electoral victory dubbed her "Public Energy Number 1." The title is apt, but perhaps it could be amended to "Public *and* Private Energy Number 1," for she cleans house as tirelessly as she campaigned for votes. "I never get tired," she says naïvely. The story of Yonkers' civic renascence proves it.

Mrs. Welty was faced with a formidable task when she undertook to make Yonkers over. The city is large as cities go—140,000—and there is plenty of local industry, but geographically and psychologically it is just the northernmost outpost of New York City. The women do their shopping in New York, and the men earn their living in New York. A large slice of the city, which Mrs. Welty calls the "eastern front," scarcely knows that it lives in Yonkers, preferring the fancier appellations of Bronxville and Crestwood. There is also a considerable apartment house colony whose inhabitants don't even get an annual tax bill to remind them of their legal residence.

It is not surprising that for years

the city had been in the grip of two political factions which supplied it with an indifferent brand of government at an exorbitant price.

Mrs. Welty's first plan of political action was of the tennis club variety. She called up all the women she could think of and asked them each to give a tea to which they would invite all their neighbors, and at which she would give a talk about the manager plan. Soon she was talking to four or five different tea parties a week.

Fortuitously, Yonkers has a local newspaper which had long been waiting for a political evangelist. To Mrs. Welty's surprise and delight, the first tea got a double column spread in the *Herald-Statesman*. Every tea thereafter was written up in full.

In April 1936 a delegation of men waited upon Mrs. Welty. They told her she was the answer to their years of dreaming about Yonkers reform, and invited her to join them in a concerted effort. She let them in on her nascent bandwagon. It was the beginning of a formal organization to get a new charter for Yonkers.

At first the City Manager League fastened its hopes on an optional form of government offered to cities by a New York State law. It provided the council-manager plan but not proportional representation. Petitions were circulated for a referendum in the fall of 1936. One day Mrs. Welty met a local politician on the street.

"Pretty smart, aren't you?" he said. "Fixing the referendum for the same time as a presidential election!"

She smiled wisely. Later, she found out that she had inadvertently set the one date when *everyone* would come out to vote, including the somnolent citizens who didn't realize they lived in Yonkers.

The politicians scotched that one by having the referendum moved to ten days after the presidential vote. Thus the city managerites lost the election. They lost again in 1937 but in the interim they had gained in wisdom. Mrs. Welty realized that their weakness lay in the somnolent eastern front. She talked the problem over with the editor of the *Herald-Statesman* who said, "Mrs. Welty, if you can work out some scheme for creating civic consciousness in those people, I'll give you a story a day!"

"WAKE UP YONKERS"

All the way home from his office she kept saying to herself, "A story a day! A story a day!" By the time she arrived at her own front door, she had a new program mapped out. She sat down at her telephone again and called up the heads of every women's civic and other organization in Yonkers, each of whom had also met the blank wall of indifference in the sleeping sector. "Call a meeting for whatever civic cause you like," she offered, "and have a speaker on any subject. Then let me speak my piece, not necessarily on the manager plan, but on the need for civic consciousness. Invite the apartment house people especially."

They called it a "Wake Up Yonkers" drive, and the result was that in 1938—they were voting on a specially drafted city manager charter *with* P.R.—the total vote in one sample apartment house alone rose from twelve votes in 1937 to 150 votes in 1938. This time the managerites won. It was then that the admiring ashman spoke.

Mrs. Welty is far from being a boss. For one thing, she realizes that bossdom is hardly the democratic way; for another, the whole battle is by no means won for the forces of governmental light. The present city council, first under the manager plan, is divided between two supportees of the City Manager League, Mrs. Welty and Mr. Robert H. Goodwillie, and three representatives of the two old political factions, now banded together against the managerites. For Mrs. Welty and her male cohort it is a constant struggle not to be taken in by the parliamentary sleight-of-hand at which the majority excels.

A favorite device of this group is to introduce an entirely new proposal at the end of a long tiring evening meeting of the council, tagged with "emergency" urgency. One time the city managerites were talked into voting for an expensive new sewer project in this fashion, only to discover next day that the sewer would serve three people. They have been more wary since then.

But Mrs. Welty is learning fast. She has the good sense to choose her advisers carefully, and offers of free aid, from typing and secretarial work to expert advice on the most technical subjects, have been flowing in to her from dazzled citizens ever since she talked Yonkers out of its coma.

She is also a "natural" politician and a sincere gladhander. Like the most experienced hands at the game of politics, she does not carry political grudges into her personal relationships. She can battle her colleagues in meeting and "kid" with them before and after meeting.

But unlike the professional politician, she is devastatingly frank and absolutely unafraid of publicity. One day she was introduced in the corridor of city hall to a city employee of whose activities she disapproved. "Well!" she said, "It's just as well we met!" And she proceeded to give him a piece of her mind.

A TYPICAL WOMAN

Never has the term "municipal housekeeping" been so apt as applied to the activities of Edith Welty. While her approach to city business may be soundly politician-like in many ways, at bottom it is only the approach of an intensely active woman who has for thirty-five years managed a household, successfully brought up three children (the youngest is now 28), acquired two grandchildren, and been active in social life to boot. She is a woman who never compromises with dust in her parlor and would not compromise with dirt in the city hall.

Her approach to some political situations is entirely feminine. There was the time when she discovered her "political" fellow-councilmen in a particularly raw deal. She went to the *Herald-Statesman* and "repeated word for word what they had said." A council meeting was scheduled for the evening of the day the story came out in the paper. She was frankly reluctant at the prospect of facing her colleagues.

"So I got out all my glad rags," she relates, "I put on all my newest clothes, just as if I were going to some swanky party afterwards. And I walked into that meeting with my head in the air and a big smile on my face."

"Why, Edie, how wonderful you look!" chorused the councilmen, and they showed her gallantly to her seat. Not a word was said about the newspaper story. Politician had met politician on equal ground.

Sometimes she meets a political situation with two approaches: one politician-like, one entirely feminine. When the public works department laid off thirty of its workers for reasons which Mrs. Welty considered unfair, first she wrote to a state civil service commissioner for an opinion on the legality of the dismissal, and then she hired four of the men to take turns at caring for her garden and doing the "heavy" cleaning in her home. She got her husband, who is an executive of the New York Central Railroad, to hire three of the rest.

Her husband has capitulated to his wife's activities, first with resignation, now with active coöperation. During those first two years of the battle for the manager plan, her daughter expressed the opinion of the whole family: "Oh, Mother, you're wasting your time." It was merely the view of most of the community. Now the family has swung around with the rest of the city. They are proud and delighted. Mr. Welty has even joined to the extent of becoming treasurer of the City Manager League. And he bore stoically his wife's short-lived venture with "help" for the house.

Last December, before her induction into the city council, Mrs. Welty hired a housekeeper to take some of the household cares off her own slim shoulders. But the housekeeper "just couldn't seem to cook—at least the way we like it," and the house had no longer so free and easy an atmosphere. One day Mr. Welty said sadly, "When am I ever going to get a decent cup of coffee again." Mrs. Welty seized the excuse with relief, dismissed the housekeeper, and has been happily doing her own housework ever since.

It is not hard to see that Mrs. Welty loves her public job. It is like having an extra-large house to run, and as a special bonus there is the public adulation which she frankly adores. Two years ago a civic organization gave her a medal for being "the most outstanding woman in Yonkers," as determined by a community-wide poll, and she proudly wears it on a chain around her neck. She likes to have the policemen salute her as she drives by in her car —and to return the salute. She beams down the city hall corridor at opposition and supporters alike, and she enjoys the friendly give and take with the newspaper reporters.

Nevertheless, she will warn the voters that she doesn't want to go back to the council for another term unless the managerites are given a working majority. For all her personal zest for public life, her attitude

(Continued on Page 539)

Lawmaker — Legislator or Lobbyist?

New York legislative session of 1940 surrounded on all sides by insistent pressure groups—taxpayers, teachers, firemen and policemen, labor, the chief executive, municipalities all play their part in the legislative mill.

By **BELLE ZELLER**, *Brooklyn College*

THE 163rd session of the New York legislature convened on January 3, 1940, with the Republican party, as in the previous year, holding clear majorities in both chambers while the Democratic Governor, Herbert H. Lehman, started the eighth year of his administration. The atmosphere was supercharged with the political portents of a presidential year even before the legislature opened, and continued so throughout the twelve and a half weeks of the session. The organization of both houses was completed with great dispatch since members of the Assembly had already served in 1939, having been elected to a two-year term for the first time under the newly amended constitution.

An integral part of the legislative process is the pressure exerted from three main sources: unofficial organized minorities, legislators as private citizens, and the administrative branch of the government.

During the course of this session 5,741 legislative proposals (4,514 original bills and 1,227 amendments) were assigned to standing committees —thirty-seven in the Assembly and twenty-seven in the Senate. In the first eleven weeks of the session, the legislature passed and transmitted to the Governor only 271 bills, followed by passage of 952 during the last ten days. When the legislature adjourned on March 31, after an exhausting and continuous session of fourteen hours, it had been passing bills at the rate of one a minute.

The two houses differ with respect to control of bills as adjournment approaches. Senate committees continue in control, but under the rules in the Assembly all unreported bills were turned over to the powerful Rules Committee on March 12, 1940.

The outstanding events of the session centered around the adoption of the new budget. The dilemma here was how to balance the budget without adopting additional taxes. This line of action was followed only after a storm of protests from taxpayers, real estate groups, and chambers of commerce had greeted the Governor's recommendation for a fifteen-million-dollar increase in the personal income tax law of the state. The Governor had worked out his budget plan after many conferences with the Republican leaders of the legislature. When, however, the Republican leaders announced that they would not go along with the Governor, the bat-

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The writer is indebted to the staff of the New York Legislative Service and to the many others who, through interviews or correspondence, assisted her in the preparation of this paper.

tle between opposing pressures began in earnest. It was feared that the budget would be balanced by curtailing social services, particularly in the educational field. Careful preparations were then made for what was to be the most spectacular hearing ever held in the State of New York.

"MARCH ON ALBANY"

Some seven hundred individuals representing almost as many different organizations indicated in advance that they wished to be heard. On the day set for the hearing, February 12, the sensational march on Albany began. The Taxpayers Federation, Inc., newly organized in 1938 to coördinate the activities of local taxpayers' associations throughout the state, chartered a special train from New York City for their "march on Albany" to win the "battle of the budget." This was matched by a fourteen-car "save our schools" express filled with teachers, parents, trade unionists, and welfare representatives. Taxpayers and business representatives displayed banners reading: "Taxation caused the Boston Tea Party—must history be repeated," "Free our state from tax slavery," "High taxes are confiscating the home we love—cut the budget," "Stop the flight of business from New York," "Keep the stock exchange in New York." In response, the opposing groups answered with "Save our schools," "You've cut us to the bone! We've come to put meat on it!"

State and city police armed with riot sticks and revolvers watched the delegations as they paraded through the streets of Albany. Seven thousand crowded into the armory where the hearing was held. During the twelve-hour session, members of the committee strolled in and out while loud speakers carried voices to all corners of the huge auditorium. In a spectacular interlude the representative of the New York State Federation of Teachers Unions submitted petitions bearing 300,000 signatures calling for full restoration of state aid to education.

Since both sides were represented in force, their endeavors cancelled each other but if either had fallen down it would have given a greater advantage to the other side; and the hearing placed little dispassionate information before the committee as a basis for constructive legislation.

The public hearing should serve an important function in the legislative procedure. Unfortunately many hearings held in New York State, unlike Congressional hearings, are not of a deliberative nature in which new and pertinent information is given to members of the committee—at least to those members who consider hearings important enough to call—but rather are devices to indicate to the committee the popular force behind a measure. In 1940, however, important hearings at which more light was displayed dealt with the establishment of a tax assessment review board, the establishment of a rating system for employers in the state unemployment insurance law, and the problem of pensions for firemen and policemen.

The hearing on the pari-mutuel racing bill attracted among its opponents a large number of women as the representatives of organized churches and reform groups, among which were the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the New York Civic League, and the State Council of Churches. Their plea to postpone implementing the constitutional amendment legalizing pari-mutuel betting on horse racing went unheeded after a series of amendments to the original Dunnigan bill brought united support from those who advocated legal pari-mutuel betting. This legislation authorized the only new source of revenue for the state in 1940.

FIRE AND POLICE LOBBIES

A striking feature of the 1940 session was evident in the tremendous strength of certain public employees' groups when organized for pressure purposes. Several bills providing for the reorganization of fire and police department pension systems were introduced by the chairmen of the legislative pension committees, but these, according to the secretary of the Citizens Union of New York, "were all defeated by a most thorough statewide pressure campaign organized by the firemen and policemen."

The strength of the policemen's and firemen's lobbies stems from the indispensable and hazardous nature of the service they perform for the community. Furthermore, fire and police headquarters have long been centers of political and social influence. The 42,000 policemen in the State of New York, organized in their local associations, are represented in the State Police Conference. There are over 150,000 volunteer firemen in the Firemen's Association of the State of New York; while the New York State Firefighters Association, affiliated with the A. F. of L., represents about 20,000 paid firemen in every city of the state.

Locally through the numerous fire companies and police precincts, a vigorous campaign of letter and telegram writing was organized on short notice. Over week-ends committees of firemen, policemen, and lay citizens organized visits to their legislators and political bosses. The State Police Conference circulated throughout the state a specially prepared pamphlet entitled *The Truth about Pensions*. Just before the legislative hearing a leaflet, *City Pensions Held Not in Debt Limit*, was forwarded to every legislator. Firemen and policemen had active support from Mayor La Guardia who appeared at the Albany hearing, and from former Senator and Majority Leader George A. Fearon who continues to wield considerable influence in upstate Republican circles. Although the interests of the vast majority of the public and of all the other civil service groups would have been benefited by the passage of these bills, the least controversial of the pension measures of 1940, when brought to a vote in the Senate, received only six votes to thirty-three in opposition.

The teachers, particularly those from New York City, made unusual use of their forces this year. The New York City Joint Committee of Teachers Organizations, composed of seventy-three local New York City teacher groups, the New York State

Federation of Teachers Unions, and the New York State Teachers Association, led the fight for the restoration of state aid to education.

This energetic campaign on state aid was surpassed by the New York City teachers' lobby when a vigorous attempt was made to enact a salary reduction bill. After Assemblyman Moffatt, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, was forced to withdraw this salary bill, he characterized the representatives of the Joint Committee of Teachers Organizations as a pressure group "that represents the most unscrupulous, selfish, greedy lobby in the state, coming up here each year with an $80,000 war chest. . . ." The Democratic minority leader, however, came to the defense of the teachers: "While I do not always agree with them, after all, the place is full of lobbyists—for the utilities, the chambers of commerce, and other organizations—so why pick on the teachers? Their representatives do not represent any special interest, they work in the open." The threatened investigation of the teachers' lobby is undoubtedly permissible under a resolution passed by the 1940 legislature. In the meantime, the Joint Committee denies having an $80,000 war chest or of using any of its funds for illegitimate purposes.[1]

In the debate on the Young-Wadsworth bill, providing for contribution by employers to the unemployment insurance fund according to an experience rating system, there was an unusual line-up of pressure groups in New York. The bill was sponsored by the New York State Employers' Conference (organized in 1935), an association composed of individual employers, corporations, trade associations, and chambers of commerce. About one hundred organizations of seasonal manufacturers in the building, canning, and clothing trades, organized labor, and civic groups coördinated their forces for a united assault upon the bill by setting up the Joint Conference Against Merit Rating. Briefs were prepared by both sides, a heavy letter-writing campaign was conducted, letters to the editors of newspapers were written by representatives on both sides, including William Green, President of the A. F. of L.

In a well attended, five-hour hearing arguments were presented. The Industrial Commissioner appeared in opposition to the bill after a majority of the Advisory Council on Unemployment Insurance in the Department of Labor opposed it. Not even this alliance of capital and labor, however, uncommon in pressure group politics, and the support of the administrative department could keep the bill from passing with a vote that cut across party lines. The campaign was extended to the executive chambers where the bill was finally vetoed by the Governor.

WHAT! NO FIREWORKS?

A spontaneous pressure was staged by Graniteville, Staten Island, when its four hundred inhabitants virtually rose in full force to protest against a bill which banned the sale and possession of fireworks except at licensed exhibitions. This entire community is dependent upon the single business of fireworks manufacture. A committee representing 150 employees of the fireworks plant called on the Democratic chairman in Richmond County to explain the consequence of closing the plant should this bill become law. In this case, however, the humane argument of reducing casualties won out. Among the groups advocating the new measure were the Legislative Committee on Interstate Coöperation, Conference of Mayors and Other Municipal Officials of the State of New York, and the New York City administration.

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[1] *New York Times*, March 31, 1940, and *Bulletin of Joint Committee of Teachers Organizations*, April 15, 1940.

CANDIDATES' PROMISES

An increasing number of organizations are following the example of organized labor in exerting pressure through the ballot box by placing the views and records of candidates for public office before their members and the electorate. The Joint Committee of Teachers Organizations published the results of a questionnaire sent to 136 candidates in a special bulletin which was distributed shortly before the election to the 40,000 teachers in New York City. This bulletin urged: "Preserve this record of deliberately made pre-election pledges. It will be invaluable in appraising the worth of successful candidates in the coming election who herein pledge their support to specific school and teacher interests." The *Voters' Directory* of the Citizens Union of New York City, containing nonpartisan information and recommendations on all local candidates, is distributed extensively each year.

The New York State Bankers Association submitted a series of questionnaires to banks and bank customers on the question of Saturday bank closings. Assemblyman Quinn, who introduced the permissive summer Saturday bank-closing bill which became law in 1939, stated that these polls "demonstrated the great weight of favorable sentiment among banks themselves which counted heavily in softening legislative opposition." The bankers association took no stand on the bill in the 1940 session providing for year-round Saturday closings after polls disclosed a difference in sentiment between bank customers and banks. The bill then died in committee.

Bills to curb abuses in installment buying sponsored by the Legal Aid Society did not pass the legislature in 1940. However, the mere introduction of these bills, the publication of a report by the State Attorney-General, and the fear of adverse publicity have led to the establishment of a committee representative of groups that write installment-buying contracts. This committee, with the coöperation of the Legal Aid Society, is studying the problem preparatory to the drafting of a new bill.

While it is impossible to measure statistically the influence of organized minorities, these groups do report on the results of their legislative activities. That the State Charities Aid Association has the confidence of the legislature and the Governor in New York can be seen from the following summary: In 1940, SCAA expressed its opinions on 103 public welfare, public health, and mental hygiene bills. This association supported eighteen bills of which fourteen became law, and opposed eighty-five of which none became law. The Joint Committee of Teachers Organizations endorsed thirteen bills of which three became law, and opposed twenty-one bills of which only three were enacted.

The New York State Committee of the National Municipal League, representing civic groups and political science faculties throughout the state, advocated a short program of thirteen important changes in the structure and operating methods of government, of which two became law, one was vetoed, and several gained standing for the future by passing one house. The Citizens Union of New York City favored 306 bills of which ninety-six became law, and opposed 329 of which only thirty-five were enacted.

The Conference of Mayors and Other Municipal Officials, representing approximately two hundred cities and villages in New York, expressed opinions on 155 bills introduced into the legislature of 1940. The conference approved sixty-one of which twenty-five became law, and disapproved ninety-four of which only four were enacted. Of the twenty-seven recommendations in the conference's legislative program, eight became law. In the legislative program of the City of New York, no longer a member of the Conference of Mayors, there were seventy-two bills, of which as many as forty-four became law.

The Association of Towns, representing the towns in New York State, had an equally powerful influence on legislation affecting towns.

LEGISLATORS' INTERESTS

Without the aid of intermediaries, the legislators in themselves constitute a powerful pressure group. Their salaries are but $2,500 a year plus limited traveling allowances. They depend to a large extent upon income from their private vocations. In the New York legislature of 1940 there were ninety-two lawyers, twenty-one farmers, seventy-three businessmen, fifteen in miscellaneous occupations. The material interests of lawyer-legislators undoubtedly played a part in the defeat of the proposal to amend the proposed new judiciary article of the constitution. It is perhaps significant that the senators voted three to one against the bill recommended by the Judicial Council of the State of New York to provide an alternative method of removing judges by giving such authority to the Court of Appeals. It was expected that this bill would pass because of the adverse publicity which followed the failure of the Senate after a costly session to remove Kings County Judge George W. Martin. On the basis of strong evidence presented by a special prosecutor, Governor Lehman had recommended the Judge's removal.

Forty-nine veterans of the wars of the United States served in the 1940 legislature. These veteran-legislators, organized in the Veterans' Conference, prepare a legislative program each year based on the suggestions of the organizations of veterans in Albany. Many legislators are active organization members and some hold important offices. This unique set-up gives these organizations an obvious advantage that results each year in the passage of numerous bills granting special privileges to veterans. For example, thirteen bills sponsored by the American Legion and the Veterans' Conference passed the legislature in 1940—however, the Governor vetoed nine of these.[2]

EXECUTIVE PRESSURE

The legislature was subject also to pressures from the executive and administrative branches of the government. Aware that factional wrangling might bring disastrous results, particularly in a presidential year, the Democratic legislative leaders looked to the Democratic Governor for leadership. The chairman of the Republican State Executive Committee, Edwin F. Jaeckle, was on hand throughout the session to consult with legislative leaders on the difficult fiscal situation in the state. He played an active part in the lengthy and involved negotiations on the pari-mutuel racing bills.

The effect of legislative action on Thomas E. Dewey's presidential candidacy was not lost sight of by the Republican factions.[3]

During the legislative session, executive leadership was displayed especially through the messages of the Governor to the legislature, his many informal conferences with legislative and administrative officers, and his threat of the veto. The legislature acquiesced when the Governor in a vigorous message objected to the substitution in the pari-mutuel racing bill of a four-man bipartisan agency for the three-man racing commission appointed by the Governor without party limitation.[4] The State Racing Commission participated in all stages of negotiations on this important bill.

The theory of separation of powers notwithstanding, the administrative departments and agencies are an active, integral part of the legislative process in New York. They constitute powerful pressures on the legislature and the Governor because the latter necessarily lean heavily on their advice even when the legislature is controlled by a different party.

The following describes briefly the general procedure of administrative bodies in the lawmaking process:

> The State Tax Commission under the provisions of the tax law is required to recommend to the leg-

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[2] The majority leader in the Senate, Joe R. Hanley, was Past Department Commander of the United Spanish War Veterans, and Assemblyman Harold C. Ostertag, Past Department Vice-Commander, American Legion. The veteran organizations are: American Legion, United Spanish War Veterans, Grand Army of the Republic, Disabled American Veterans of the World War, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, Jewish War Veterans of the United States, Catholic War Veterans, Army and Navy Union of the United States, Italian-American World War Veterans of the United States, Polish Legion of American Veterans.

[3] For example, the supposed views of Mr. Dewey on the subject were responsible for the failure of the Senate and Assembly to get together on a measure to limit wire-tapping.

[4] See *New York Times,* March 26, 1940, for text of this message.

> islature changes which it deems desirable in the tax law. Accordingly, prior to each legislative session the State Tax Commission considers various suggestions made for the improvement of the tax law, and accepts or rejects these proposals. If it accepts the proposal, the commission, through the Bureau of Law, prepares the bills, together with explanatory memoranda. These bills are introduced in the legislature at the request of the State Tax Commission. . . . If the bill reaches the Governor, Commissioner Graves . . . writes the Governor recommending executive approval and giving the various reasons in support of the measure. . . . There are, of course, many bills introduced in the legislature affecting taxation which are not introduced at the request of the Tax Commission. In accordance with the usual practice of the Governor, he consults with the various departments affected, so that the State Tax Commission is called on to advise the Governor as to its opinion with regard to all measures that come before him affecting finance and taxation.[5]

The Conservation Department presents a unique situation because of the large number of bills introduced each year affecting its operations. Many legislators, particularly from the thinly populated districts, build up their legislative records by introducing and pressing to passage trivial fish and game laws. In 1940, 172 such bills were introduced and of this number the department presented forty-nine.[6] The department also maintains a representative at the Capitol throughout the session. Its system of memoranda on departmental and non-departmental bills is continuously in operation throughout the legislative session and the thirty-day period thereafter. The memoranda of the department are indispensable, particularly to the Governor, who receives many conflicting conservation bills. The Governor almost invariably follows the department's recommendations.[7]

The following communication from the Commissioner of Social Welfare explains some of the activities of that department in the passage of the new social welfare law consolidating the old public welfare and state charities laws:

> During the past year and a half a preliminary, tentative draft of such a codified and revised statute was given circulation throughout the state; five public hearings were held on it, and much work done to make it a truly representative social welfare law. Out of this year and a half of work came the decision to consolidate the two main welfare laws. . . . Because of your

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[5] Letter of Deputy Commissioner and Counsel, Department of Taxation and Finance, July 5, 1940.

[6] Of these forty-nine bills, thirty-two passed the legislature, of which thirty-one became law. In a majority of the states minor regulations governing the taking of fish and game are made by the state conservation and game departments. In New York this authority rests with the legislature. Recent governors of New York have not succeeded in getting legislative consent to extending the rule-making powers of the Conservation Department.

[7] Seventeen non-departmental bills which received unfavorable memoranda from the department were passed by the legislature. All of these were vetoed except one. This bill involved a minor change in the law regulating the shooting of dogs chasing deer. The wild life lovers were ranged against the dog lovers. The department stood with the former, while the Governor, an ardent dog lover, went along with the latter.

> interest in and close contact with the welfare laws, we are sending you under separate cover a bill which represents this consolidated statute. Identical bills have been introduced in both houses. . . . Will you give this bill your close consideration; will you discuss it with interested groups in your community and will you let us have your comments, criticisms, and suggestions on or before March 1, 1940. As you know, the legislature is making every effort to adjourn at an early date, and comments on the bill are requested promptly in order to insure careful consideration.[8]

The Department of Audit and Control, through the Bureau of Municipal Accounts, submits annually memoranda on some three hundred local bills dealing with taxes or finances of the municipalities. In fact, the recommendations of this bureau are prepared in collaboration with the Governor's Counsel.

When the Governor does veto administrative bills, it is presumably because the department attempted to extend its administrative authority without taking into consideration the financial cost.

UNOFFICIAL CONFERENCES

An important phase in the legislative procedure of administrative departments revolves around the series of conferences held with representatives of unofficial organized groups to get their ideas and to overcome their opposition to administration bills. For example, the State Liquor Authority prepared about ten bills amending the alcoholic beverage control law. These were explained to about fifty persons representing the different branches of the liquor industry and the press of the trade at a conference called by the Liquor Authority in January 1940.

Each year important departmental proposals are recommended by the interim investigatory commissions and committees created by the legislature. They are composed of members from the legislature, administrative departments, and organized groups. In 1940, $436,000 was appropriated to finance the work of nineteen such investigatory bodies.[9] This, however, was far less than the usual amount appropriated.

It is interesting to speculate on the relative influence of administrative departments and organized minorities in lawmaking. Leslie Lipson, speaking of New York State, has stated that, "There is little chance of such a bill (one to which an administrative department head objects) passing the legislature. The committee chairmen know that if the department head disapproves the governor will almost certainly veto. Hence they will not even report the measure out of committee."[10] A large percentage of bills are, of course, not reported out of committee.

THE VETO POWER

The administrative officer has an

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[8] Dated February 9, 1940.

[9] The sum of $150,000 was appropriated for the World's Fair. Six commissions were newly created, the other thirteen are continued bodies.

[10] *The American Governor,* 1939, pp. 211-212. This is in contrast with D. D. McKean's conclusions on New Jersey: "When administrative groups conflict with outside groups the legislature is apt to follow the outside organizations." *Cf. Pressures on the Legislature of New Jersey,* 1938, p. 151.

The Legislative Record of Assemblyman Robert F. Wagner, Jr.[*]
New York State Legislature, 1940

Subject of bills introduced	*Source of bills*
Civil rights law, intercepting messages	New York State Federation of Labor and Governor's program
Labor law, industrial hygiene division	State, County and Municipal Workers of America—C.I.O.
Labor law, five-day week, state employees	State, County and Municipal Workers of America—C.I.O.
Workmen's compensation law, N. Y. City employees	State, County and Municipal Workers of America—C.I.O.
Labor law, minimum wage, domestics	New York Women's Trade Union League
Constitution, water power, sites	Democratic party program
Business law, securities commission	Own bill
Insurance law, life insurance, housing	Own bill
Bank law, savings banks, housing	Own bill
Educational law, custodial employees, N. Y. City	State, County and Municipal Workers of America—C.I.O.
Health law, consumers' bureau, establishment	American Labor party program
Constitution, consumer department, state government	American Labor party program
Housing law, notes, federal projects	United States Housing Authority
Educational law, health service, vocational	New York State Federation of Labor
Housing law, authority, agreements	United States Housing Authority
Educational law, practice of nursing	Organization of Nurses Affiliated with A. F. of L. and C.I.O.
Labor law, sick leave, civil service	All civil service groups
Public welfare law, medical care, hospitals	Temporary Commission on Long Range Health Program
Health insurance system, establishment	American Association for Social Security
Civil service law, employment, residence	Civil service groups affiliated with A. F. of L. and C.I.O.
Workmen's compensation law, silicosis, etc.	New York State Federation of Labor
County government, commission to study	Own bill—originally sponsored by Governors Smith and Roosevelt
Educational law, vocational schools	New York State Federation of Labor

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[*] The record of Mr. Wagner was selected for presentation here because this information, which, in the case of most legislators, is usually difficult to secure, was made available with the assistance of the New York Legislative Service.

even greater influence with the governor, to whom, in most cases, he is directly responsible, and to whom he can present his arguments more frankly and calmly after the bills get into the executive's hands. In New York governors exercise the veto power energetically. In 1940, 28 per cent of the bills were vetoed.[11] "I should judge," writes the Governor's Counsel, "that in about 90 per cent of the bills the department's recommendation is followed by the Governor."

There are some who cry that the ever increasing lobby army is burning the bridges between the voter and what he voted for. The remedy does

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[11] During the twenty-year period (1921-1940) New York governors vetoed an average of 22.8 per cent of bills passed by the legislature. Only during three of these years (1921, 1922, 1935) was the same party in control of the governorship and both houses of the legislature. However, this did not result in a smaller average percentage of bills vetoed.

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Spokane's Civic Horse Trader

One man's fifty years of devotion to bigger and better parks and playgrounds increases park areas a thousand per cent; war on signboards, garden contests, among projects sponsored by Aubrey White in efforts to make Spokane "the city beautiful."

By **FRANK J. TAYLOR**

"AUBREY WHITE'S the best civic horse trader in town," a citizen of Spokane, Washington, told me. "By talking individuals and corporations out of 1,500 parcels of land he's given us more park area per capita than any sizeable city in America."

Not so long ago the banks of the Spokane River, which meanders through the very heart of Spokane, were an eyesore of dumps, dilapidated buildings and squatters' hovels. Today the city has acquired over 80 per cent of that land and converted it into beautifully landscaped parkways. There is a public park or playground within five minutes walk of every home. And promotion of home gardening has won Spokane first prize as the "City Beautiful" in national contests four years running. For all these accomplishments energetic, seventy-six-year-old Aubrey White is responsible.

White arrived in Spokane over half a century ago, a young down-easterner from Maine. On days off from his bookstore job he explored every woodland, dell, and river bend in and around Spokane. He made a map of his wanderings and, for fun, indicated the areas that he thought should be parks in the Spokane of the future.

After acquiring a modest fortune in the east as representative of Spokane mining and railroad interests, White returned to Spokane to find the city in the midst of a building boom. At a mass meeting to organize a "150,000 Club" to boost the city's population to that figure, White, to everyone's amazement, opposed the idea.

"What we need to do," he told the meeting, "is to make Spokane a better place to live. We ought to start on our park system now, so that later we won't have appalling expense tearing down blocks of buildings to make parks and playgrounds." His enthusiasm was so contagious that a "City Beautiful" club was formed. Before long, the people voted a $900,000 bond issue for parks.

His first move as chairman of the nonpartisan park board of outstanding citizens was to have landscape architects lay out a fifty-year park development program. To his pleased surprise, 85 per cent of the sites recommended by the experts appeared on the map of proposed parks which he himself had prepared years before.

In seven years the $900,000 was all in parks and the board's work was done.

But not Aubrey White's. With no official standing, he became Spokane's one-man voluntary park board. Systematically seeking owners of still more land that he wanted, he dickered for cheap prices. Whenever he found a bargain, White went to some rich Spokane citizen. "If I had five hundred dollars more I could get that land for a city park," he explained. Usually he got it. Before long, he had developed a sure-fire list of donors: "my powerhouse," he calls them.

GIFTS OF LAND

A good many acres of the river land he wanted were old railroad rights of way, and power company or paper mill water-power sites. After the boom collapsed, it became fairly easy to persuade owners that if they gave away land to the park system they would save considerable in taxes and still keep out competitors. This approach netted almost a thousand acres.

A variation in what White calls his "horse trading" is to get tip-offs from tax collectors when property is to be sold for taxes. If it fits into his park scheme, he tells the owner: "You're going to lose the land anyway. Why not sell it to us for seventy-five dollars? We'll assume the back taxes." If the owner accepts, White finds a donor, the land is deeded to the park board, and the tax collector cancels the back taxes, since the property now belongs to the city without the cost and nuisance of foreclosure. By this method Aubrey White has picked up over six hundred parcels.

"You'd never suspect that was one of the worst spots in Spokane," he exclaimed, as we drove by a particularly lovely bit of river-front park. "I bought it twelve years ago for seventy-five dollars."

White also "horse trades" with real estate operators. Built on hills, Spokane has, from a real estate viewpoint, many unusable slopes and ravines. White asks these as gifts for park and even playground sites, and has thus picked up over four hundred acres. One real estate syndicate alone contributed ninety-eight acres. What they gave away made the rest of the tract so much more valuable that they felt their gift more than paid for itself.

All told, the Spokane park system has grown from 273 acres to 2,727 in White's time. There is, in addition, an equal area outside the city, for which White should be thanked. Known as the Up-River and Down-River Parkway, this area protects the river banks for fifteen miles on either side of Spokane.

GARDEN CONTESTS

White's most effective work has been done during the past decade when, his fortune gone with the boom, and in his sixties, he started anew as garden editor of the *Spokesman-Review* and head of that newspaper's civic betterment section. He launched front-yard and back-yard garden contests, persuading merchants to put up plants, bulbs, and implements as prizes. He inspired so many garden clubs that they formed a federation. He waged war on signboards so effectively that Spokane motorists can drive for a hundred miles over parkways around the city without seeing a billboard or a sign nailed to a tree.

White talked the WPA into letting him have men, and the highway department into lending him equipment, to finish park projects like the Bowl and Pitcher, a picnic ground in a pine-studded bend in the river where 180,000 Spokane people ate outdoors last

(Continued on page 564)

Citizen Economy Movements — Why and How

Last decade has seen formation of numerous local organizations whose main purpose was reduction of municipal government costs; questionnaire throws light on results of such movements since 1930.

By CHARLES M. KNEIER
University of Illinois

THE period since 1930 affords an excellent opportunity to study the objectives, procedures, and results of economy movements in American local government.[1] In the years 1932-1933, especially, there was strong sentiment for reducing local government expenditures, and taxpayers associations and other local organizations were formed to see that this was accomplished. Slash or crash was the doctrine preached by many of these groups; budget-cutting was held to be imperative. It was suggested or implied that the way to accomplish this was by reducing either the number or the quality of the services being performed.

There were many persons who saw in this doctrine a danger, or at least a detriment, to the continued functioning of local governments in a satisfactory manner. Among those who warned against this arbitrary reduction were Professors William Anderson and Charles H. Merriam, President C. A. Dykstra of the University of Wisconsin, then city manager of Cincinnati, and Harold S. Buttenheim, editor of *The American City*. They pointed out that a boycott of local government would be costly in the long run and that with few exceptions the services being rendered were essential and necessary. The seriousness of a breakdown in these services was stressed and an appeal for considered judgment in reducing governmental expenditures made.

What has been the result of economy movements during the last ten years? Were economy movements during this period directed towards greater efficiency or at retrenchment? Was the demand and also the remedy applied a reduction in governmental expenditures, with little consideration given to the methods by which this was to be achieved, or to the consequences to governmental services? To what extent were services or functions of local governments cut or their expansion retarded, and to what extent is this a result of economy movements, that is, the agitation of organized groups?

Was the curtailment of service the voluntary action of local government authorities, or the result of state legislative action to meet an emergency and not dependent upon any organized economy movements? What has been the place of research bureaus in the economy movement—what has been their goal and how effective have they been?

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[1] As used in this study economy movement refers to those state or local organized groups and associations seeking thrifty administration of public affairs, including retrenchment. Retrenchment as used herein refers to curtailment or reduction without regard to the results on the services or functions of government. Efficiency movements seek to reduce unit costs rather than total costs; their interest is in the quality and effectiveness of operation rather than in the quantity and cost.

The answers to these questions would throw light on the results of economy movements during the last decade, and probably upon the value of economy movements generally.

But such answers are difficult since any general picture of economy movements in local government must be unsatisfactory. Not only do variations occur from state to state but also as between cities within a state. Again, it may depend upon the unit of local government under consideration—city, county, township, or school district—and possibly upon its size. Thus it has been suggested that the larger cities resist efforts to curtail the essential functions of government more than smaller ones.[2] Again there are causal relationships which are difficult of determination.

CITIES RETRENCH

In an attempt to throw some light on the results of these movements in the period since 1930, a letter of inquiry has recently been sent to persons active in the field of local government in the various states. State correspondents of *Public Management* and the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW were used in most cases. Replies were received from fifty-six persons in forty-two states. Many of the comments which follow will be based upon these replies.

In answer to the question as to whether services or functions of local governments had been cut as a result of economy or retrenchment movements, replies received from thirty persons were in the affirmative and from twenty-six in the negative. Several of those who replied in the affirmative stated, however, that rather than an actual reduction in services, the normal and, in many cases, seriously needed growth and extension of governmental activities had been retarded. Rather than eliminate, the procedure was to pare or, as some expressed it, to starve certain services. It was generally agreed that it was the schools which had been most severely hit by the paring process. In several cases over-all tax limitation laws had necessitated retrenchment by local governments.

One of the desirable results which it might be expected would come from financial stringency, even without the pressure of organized economy movements, would be the adoption of improved practices and procedures in order to make the tax dollar provide more services. In this case, necessity might be expected to be the mother of improvement.

That there have been improvements and that progress has been made during the last decade is unquestioned; but that it has been greater than in the preceding decade, or has been the result of economy movements, is difficult to establish. As to whether economy movements have resulted in improved administrative practices, answers to the questionnaire brought affirmative replies from thirty-one persons and negative replies from twenty-two. Those replying in the negative were of the opinion that the improvement in standards had been only normal, or that the financial stringency was such that the resources of many local governments were cut below the levels where any efficiency might be maintained.

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[2] *Municipal Year Book,* Chicago, 1939, p. 399.

In answer to a question as to whether the results of economy movements had been beneficial or detrimental, thirty-one persons replied that they had been beneficial, nine that they had been detrimental, eight that there had been no results, and five stated that no generalization could be made since the results were different in the various cities of the state.

INCREASED EFFICIENCY

In the period since 1930 there has been an increase in the number of council-manager cities, improvement in the field of personnel administration, greater use of the merit system, in-service training, etc., but in a period when there was need of making the tax dollar buy more services we might have expected greater progress.

The reduced revenues of the depression were met largely by salary cuts or the discharge of employees. Baltimore was the only city of over 500,000 population that did not reduce the pay of employees; the others reduced salaries from 3 per cent to 30 per cent. Salaries were reduced in all cities in the group between 200,000 and 500,000 population and only 58 of the 310 cities above 30,000 escaped salary cuts.[3]

Centralized purchasing, which is generally accepted as an efficiency measure, has made gains in the local government ranks in the period since 1930; part of this has been attributed to the needs arising out of the depression. Coöperative purchasing systems through which cities may obtain more favorable prices through increased bargaining power and quantity buying have been set up by legislatures or municipal leagues in seventeen states.[4]

The slow progress in the consolidation of local units of government during the last decade seems especially discouraging to those who accept this as a means of greater efficiency. Despite the attack on the county as being cut to the horse-and-buggy pattern, it resists the efforts of the consolidationists. Neither has much progress been made in the abandonment of townships.

Special mention should be made, however, of the abolition in Oklahoma by a 1933 constitutional amendment of 956 townships as governmental units, and the decrease in the number of townships in North Dakota.

The most encouraging sign in the direction of consolidation has been in the field of education, several states reducing the number of school districts and abolishing one-room schools. No figures are available to show the changes since the time of

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[3] *The Municipal Year Book,* Chicago, 1935, pp. 204 ff.

[4] *Public Management,* December, 1939, p. 366.

Professor Anderson's study[5] but it is generally accepted that the reduction has been small.

Only seven out of fifty-four replies to the questionnaire reported any reduction in the number of governmental units.

The reallocation of functions as between units of local government and also as between levels of government appears to be another fruitful approach to the question of governmental costs. Little reallocation has taken place and much of it has not resulted from a desire for greater efficiency but because of the inability of certain units to carry costs. Reallocation to the state has taken place in the fields of education, highways, and relief. In answer to the questionnaire, twenty-two out of fifty-two replies stated that there had been some reallocation of functions.

Have taxpayers organization and other economy movements had as their goal tax reduction or economy through efficiency? In answer to this question replies from representatives in forty-two states brought the following results:

EMPHASIS CHANGES

(a) Twelve reported organized economy movements or taxpayers associations had not been established in any appreciable number; (b) eight were of the opinion such groups had both purposes in mind; (c) twenty-seven were of the opinion that the primary purpose was tax cutting, regardless of the method or results; (d) eight were of the opinion that the primary goal was economy through improved practices.

Several persons commented that while such groups were first established with tax reduction in view, they had changed and since about 1935 were stressing improved administrative practices. Others stated that economy movements which were interested in cheap government rather than good government had been short-lived, due to a loss of public confidence. In some states economy groups are being re-established with the definite purpose of securing economy through reform in administrative setup and practices.

The danger that a pressure group will demand reduction in local government costs without study or consideration of the facts cannot be measured. Frank W. Herring, executive director of the American Public Works Association, in considering reduced expenditures for public works administration, has said:

> The accumulated deficit of maintenance and replacement in many American communities today represents a situation of extreme hazard. Streets, bridges, sewers, water systems, public buildings, and many other highly prized and indispensable physical facilities of community life are slowly but surely going to pot. Not long ago a metropolitan city of more than a million population reported that its rate of replacing wornout streets was but a fraction of the rate at which they were wearing out. Within the past month, another metropolis let it be known that city property of all kinds has been wasting away during the past four years. Smaller communities are in the same boat. Funds available for the preserva-

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[5] *The Units of Government in the United States,* by William Anderson, Chicago, 1934.

> tion of the value of existing public property are entirely inadequate for the purpose.[6]

The wisdom of such economy should be seriously questioned.

In some cases economy movements have emphasized men rather than methods, seeking to accomplish their objective—reduced governmental costs—by the election of reform officials. Lasting progress does not come from such an approach; as has been pointed out by Lent D. Upson, effective government depends not alone upon men but also upon methods.[7] Citizen organizations to secure the election of desirable men to office are needed but this is not the effective and lasting work that should be undertaken by an economy movement.

In the past, economy movements or taxpayers organizations have carried an odious implication. Such should not necessarily be the case; interest in and criticism of local government is desirable. The danger lies in unwise and misdirected criticism and pressure to obtain the end desired. If economy movements or taxpayer associations base their work on research and study and seek changes in administrative practices and procedures only after careful study, the stigma attached to them in the past should be removed.

A GOOD COMBINATION

An economy group, if it thus functioned, would become a combination of research bureau and a certain element of militancy not found in our present municipal research organizations. The work of municipal research bureaus has had a sounder basis, and has in most cases been more effective, than that of depression-organized economy groups. Such bureaus are found, however, in only slightly over one hundred cities, so that the need of constructive suggestion and criticism in local government calls for further development of economy movements.

A weakness of the research movement in local government is that of ineffectiveness—failure to use the facts presented. A study showing the amount of research being done in local government, the amount spent for this purpose, and the tangible results would be of interest. Combination of research and militancy in carrying out a program offers the greatest value and usefulness in economy movements.

THE WOMAN WHO WOKE UP A CITY

(Continued from Page 522)

is soundly constructive, and it will not satisfy her to spend one more term talking for the newspapers alone. If she runs again (and there seems little doubt of it) she will say to the electorate: "Don't vote for me if you're voting for me alone—vote for the whole city manager ticket."

The voters will know she means it.

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[6] Public Works Engineers' *News Letter,* January, 1936.

[7] Lent D. Upson, "Contributions of Citizen Research to Effective Government," *Annals,* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, September, 1938.

Town Meeting vs. Town Management

New Hampshire conservatives cling to old-fashioned democracy as practiced in town meetings; no town has as yet accepted provisions of optional manager laws enacted over a decade ago.

By THORSTEN V. KALIJARVI
University of New Hampshire

NEW HAMPSHIRE, like most of New England, has a deep respect and fondness for the political institutions which have served it effectively in the past. Only an overwhelming weight of argument or a breakdown of established agencies will bring about a radical change. The rush to paper-made plans because they possess a siren-like appeal just does not happen.

Students of government who are unfamiliar with this psychological phase of the New England character are unable to understand why, with optional town and city manager laws on the statute books since 1925 and 1929 respectively, not a single one of the two hundred and twenty-five towns and the eleven cities of New Hampshire has availed itself of this form of government.

New Hampshire's local government is based primarily on the town idea, which in all its regalia of town meeting, selectmen, and officers hies back to the earliest settlements at Dover, Portsmouth, Exeter, and Hampton.[1] When the first city, Manchester, was incorporated in 1846, it took over all duties which normally were performed by the towns. Representation in the lower house of the state legislature may be based on population, but the town is the unit within which the population must live. Numerous other examples might be cited to show that the town idea with all its appurtenances is one of the most fundamental bases of civic life and thought in New Hampshire.

It was quite logical that those who advocated progressive or reform ideas should have turned their attention primarily to the towns. In the legislative session of 1925 Curtis W. Hyde of Lebanon introduced House Bill 281 entitled "An act authorizing towns to establish the office of town manager." This is the first effort in this direction which the writer can find. So strong was the opposition to the measure that when it was enacted into law it was restricted to the town of Lebanon[2] and carried the title, "An act empowering the town of Lebanon, and such other towns as may hereafter be authorized, to establish the office of town manager."[3] It was the prototype for subsequent laws and its wording was in the main identical with the law of 1929. Two points stood out clearly: (1) The law could only take effect in Lebanon when an article had been inserted in the warrant and the town had voted "to take advantage of the provisions of Chapter 339 of the Laws of 1925"; and (2) a special act of the legislature was required to permit any other town to take advantage of the provisions.

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[1] Thorsten V. Kalijarvi and William C. Chamberlin, *The Government of New Hampshire,* Durham, N. H., 1939, pp. 215-216, 226.

[2] This act was approved April 28, 1925.

[3] *Laws of 1925,* Chapter 339.

Lebanon failed to adopt the manager form of government and there was no perceptible rush by other communities to embrace it. The 1927 session of the legislature, however, voted to empower the town of Wolfeboro "by vote of the legal voters of said town" to accept the benefits of Chapter 339 if they so desired.[4]

In the 1929 session the legislature passed another "act empowering the town of Wolfeboro to establish the office of town manager" which provided that when the question was submitted to the people, the referendum ballot should read: "To see if the town will vote to take advantage of the provisions of Chapter 339 of the Laws of 1925 as amended and authorize the selectmen to employ a town manager. Yes - No."[5] In that same session House Bill number 94, introduced by Mrs. Huckins of Plymouth, was reported by the Judiciary Committee "inexpedient to legislate"; and Wolfeboro and Lebanon remained the only towns to be accorded the privilege.

This same legislature, however, liberalized the provisions of Chapter 339 of the Laws of 1925. Two town manager laws were submitted. Mrs. Gertrude N. Howison of Milford introduced House Bill 45, "An act extending the provisions of Chapter 339 of the Laws of 1925 relative to a town manager, to towns having a population of 2,500 inhabitants." James W. Davidson of Charlestown introduced House Bill 64, "An act authorizing towns to employ a town manager." House Bill 45 prevailed in a new draft and became Chapter 69 of the Laws of 1929 and carried the title, "An act authorizing towns to establish the office of town manager." House Bill 64 was reported "inexpedient to legislate" because it was already covered by House Bill 45.

Before discussing Chapter 69 of the Laws of 1929 it is significant that at this same session Edward B. Haskell of Concord submitted House Bill 293 entitled, "An act establishing a permissive director-manager charter for cities having less than 50,000 population," which appeared finally as Chapter 186 of the Laws of 1929, "An act authorizing cities to employ a city manager." In form and content it is a verbatim adaptation of the town manager plan to cities.

THE PRESENT LAW

The town law now in force, as already noted, is Chapter 69 of the *Laws of the State of New Hampshire passed January session, 1929,* and bears the date March 22, 1929. Its provisions are extended to towns, villages, and precincts, but not to cities or school districts. It may be adopted by any town by a majority vote at any annual town meeting which has been duly warned. The warning may be obtained by the written application of ten or more voters or by one-sixth of the voters in the town. Any town or village which has adopted the plan may rescind it by a majority vote at any subsequent and duly warned town meeting.

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[4] Approved April 14, 1927. *Laws of 1927,* Chapter 245.

[5] *Laws of 1929,* Chapter 295.

The law does not seem to require special action by the legislature as did Chapter 339 of the Laws of 1925. Yet at this same session the form of referendum was prescribed for Wolfeboro and Mrs. Huckins' bill in behalf of Plymouth was reported inexpedient to legislate. The logical conclusion is not that a contradiction exists, but that the Wolfeboro affair was unfinished business and the Plymouth proposal was covered by the new law under which the legislature made the local community the final authority in the establishment and revocation of the manager form of government. This explanation is entirely unsupported by any authority, but it seems to be the only way of harmonizing the legislative action. Where cities are concerned the legislature has always insisted on approving any modification in their charters.

MANAGER'S DUTIES

Once the plan has been adopted by a town the selectmen appoint the manager, who holds office under their supervision and at their discretion. If a village or a precinct exercises this right, the commissioners act in exactly the same capacity as the selectmen do in the towns. The manager may be selected from inside or outside the state and should be employed for his education, training, and experience without regard to political beliefs. He must take an oath to perform his duties faithfully, filing a certificate to that effect with the town clerk. He must also execute a bond for the faithful performance of his duties in the amount the selectmen shall determine.

In general his duties are to supervise and administer town property and business, but they may not extend to "warning town meetings, making by-laws, borrowing money, assessing or collecting taxes, granting licenses, laying out highways, assessing damages or any other functions of a judicial character vested by law in the selectmen or other town officers, nor to the supervision of the offices of town clerk and town treasurer. In particular his duties are listed as power: (1) to organize and discontinue departments subject to the approval of the selectmen; (2) to appoint and remove subordinate officials; (3) to attend meetings of the selectmen as they require; (4) to keep full and complete records; (5) to keep the selectmen informed of the needs and conditions of the town, making out estimates and inventories for the efficient conduct of town business; (6) to examine whenever necessary any office or department under his control; (7) to take charge of water works, lighting, police, purchase of town supplies, fire department, sewers, drainage, sprinkling of streets, snow removal, maintenance of parks, commons, playgrounds, and cemeteries, the letting and performance of contracts for work for the town; (8) to administer poor relief, and to perform such duties as are voted by the selectmen.

He may approve vouchers for money expended by any department under his control and he may be elected or appointed to any office under his control, but he may "hold no other public office except justice of peace or notary public." His salary is fixed by the selectmen or by vote of the town meeting. In case of a vacancy the selectmen should fill the office as soon as possible. Pending a final choice of manager they may appoint some person to perform the duties temporarily.

Chapter 186, which governs city managers, differs from Chapter 69 only in that the majority of voters at any city election may adopt the plan while the city council (or mayor and aldermen in cities which have no council) acts for the cities as the selectmen do for the towns under Chapter 69.

THE PRESENT SITUATION

Barring the agitation of a few progressive minds, the optional town and city manager laws are dead letters on the statute books. No community in New Hampshire has seriously considered adopting the plan. The reason for the indifference of the towns is that decentralized democracy as practised since colonial times through town meetings and town officials has many advantages in the eyes of the citizens of New Hampshire which are not offset by the possible advantages of a more efficient and centralized administration as represented by the manager type of government. In spite of the apparent merit of the law and the safeguarding of basic town ideals the plan has had no appeal.

Much more activity has been experienced in the field of city management. Two years ago the city of Concord appointed a charter committee upon the suggestion of Public Administration Service, which had just conducted a survey of the city. The result was a compromise between a weak mayor and a city manager, which satisfied few people. The bill was defeated in the 1939 session. Two bills for changing the government of Keene died in the same session. There also has been some demand for a change in the government of Nashua.

The following excerpt from a letter dated June 7, 1940, for which the writer is indebted to Executive Director John D. Langmuir, of the New Hampshire Federation of Taxpayers' Associations, Inc., tells of the program for cities by the most active government reform agency in the state.

"Our State Taxpayers' Federation, however, has adopted as its most important first function the development of two modern city charters. The first would be a strong mayor charter, along the line of the Providence, Rhode Island, charter, with apologies also to Bridgeport, Connecticut. The second would be a city manager charter along the lines of that of Cincinnati, Toledo, and Saginaw, Michigan. Our plan would be to submit two charters to the General Court next year for their adoption as permissive legislation—by this we would mean the state would permit cities to adopt either one of the two charters without reference to the General Court. No city, however, would be compelled to adopt either charter.

"As an alternative in voting procedure we would also offer proportional representation which could be included either with the strong mayor or city manager charter.

"Up to this time we have had very little publicity on this plan of ours although our plan has been adopted unanimously by our State Federation directors. We have made considerable progress on the strong mayor charter and have our ideas fairly well in line for the city manager charter also. It is our hope to have both bills ready by late in this summer at which time we would want to discuss them just as widely throughout the state as possible, getting the maximum of criticisms and suggestions from all interested persons."

These reverberations have not reached the towns, and probably will not do so as long as present conditions persist. New Hampshire prides herself on her democracy, and one test of that democracy is a share in local government by the citizen. Anything which cuts into that share is looked upon with distrust. The optional town manager law promises to make such an inroad and, judging by its failure to be adopted, the entire burden of proof lies upon its advocates.

LAWMAKER—LEGISLATOR OR LOBBYIST?

(Continued from Page 532)

not lie in the extermination of lobbies and pressure groups or in their rigid control by statutory regulation, even if these suggestions were practical,[12] but rather in encouraging citizen and consumer groups to balance the special interest lobbies by sending more representatives of their own and according all interests equal opportunities to present their views. In the struggle of opposing pressures will be found the surest safeguard for the preservation of democratic institutions.

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[12] See writer's analysis of the administration of the New York State lobbying law in *Pressure Politics in New York*, pp. 251-262. For her analysis of lobbying laws in other states, see *State Government*, August 1938.

Indiana Experiments with Central Ballot Count

Elimination of election frauds and provision for efficiency and economy among motives which led to state law providing for central tabulation of ballots within counties; precinct counts unnecessary.

By JAMES KIRK EADS
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THE primary count of 1938 shocked the people of Indiana. Election irregularities were numerous; some returns were inexcusably delayed. Certain precincts delivered their returns from twenty-four to thirty-six hours after the majority of precincts had reported. Significantly, these late precinct returns tended altogether too frequently to reduce or even overcome the leads secured earlier by popular insurgents and to establish the priority of the organization candidates.

In previous primaries corruption had not been made a matter of public record because of party hesitancy to demand recounts or expose practices which obviously had been utilized by both sides. In 1938, however, some of the Democratic candidates demanded recounts. The result was the indictment of many election workers of both parties; but none of them were sentenced to prison.

These cases, plus many another doubtful item, caused a popular uprising which resulted in the passage of a law requiring all counties having within their borders cities of the first or second class to tabulate their votes by means of a central count. No longer would five persons, weary after an active day at the polls, be permitted to count the votes under the unfavorable conditions which usually exist at our polling places. Charles R. Ettinger, Marion County Clerk, sponsored the central count idea at this time and drafted the bill which was finally passed by the General Assembly.

A "central count" is one in which the ballot boxes used at the polls are sealed at 6 o'clock, when the polls close, and brought by car to a central point within the county for tabulation by a staff trained for such work. This year it was required that all boxes be surrendered to the county clerk by 9 P. M. unless some acceptable reason, supported by affidavit, could be given for the delay.

In Marion County (Indianapolis) 300 counters, 150 each from the Republican and Democratic parties, were employed for each of three shifts to tabulate the votes. Seventy-five tables, four clerks at each, were provided. In addition to these three hundred clerks, there were about one hundred assistants serving as judges, watchers, deputy election commissioners, and guards.

Tomlinson Hall was chosen as the place for Marion County's count partly because it possessed a large balcony from which the public might witness the procedure (provision for admission of the public was considered an additional safeguard to an honest count). Many persons took advantage of the opportunity. During the early days of the count the balcony was comfortably filled with interested persons. Later, small-time political workers and a few mild inebriates took over the voluntary watchers' task.

The 1940 count was begun most ceremoniously with a parade by the color guard of an American Legion Post and speeches by local dignitaries. The ceiling lights were switched off, desk lights snapped on —a dramatic moment. But the clerks had been sitting for three hours and were already fatigued by the time the count began.

COUNTING PROCEDURE

The ballot boxes were securely sealed at the polls by the inspectors and safely stored under guard at the place of central count until they were reached for counting. No attempt was made to complete the counting by order of areas. Each box was taken, in the order received, to one of the seventy-five counting tables. It was then opened in the presence of five people, and the vote tabulated by the four people regularly assigned to that table.

The procedure of tabulation was as follows: One person read aloud from the ballot the name of the individual voted for. Beside him sat a checker whose sole function was to insure the correct reading of the ballot. Two persons, one on each side of the reader and checker, recorded the votes for the candidates by placing tally marks opposite their names. At the end of each precinct count the tallies were totaled and any discrepancies were located before the crew was permitted to continue with a new set of ballots.

One tally sheet was sent directly to the Board of Canvassers for the preparation of the official returns; the other was sent to the public reading and press rooms. Very few citizens took advantage of the opportunity to inspect the records at this point. No provision was made for a continuous reporting of the progress of the count. Newspapers were allowed to print daily summaries but no bulletins were posted or published.

It was expected that the count would take from three to four days and when the time was extended beyond that period a flood of protests arose. The original plan had been to dispose of the votes from seventy-five precincts by the morning following the election. The plan for central counting appears to make this possible but actually only one precinct had been counted twelve hours after the returns were received; and it took more than twenty-four hours to reach the seventy-fifth.

Slowness in the count was evident not only in Marion County but also in Vigo and Vanderburgh Counties. The protests which arose ascribed this slowness to many causes. The Indianapolis *News*, an evening paper, made sport of the entire procedure and laid the fault "entirely to the way it was being administered." The League of Women Voters, which had sponsored a central count bill in

1935, protested the manner in which counters were chosen. They held that there should be established "definite standards of fitness" for counters "who should be required to demonstrate ability to do this kind of work quickly and accurately." The league, as do many other commentators, remains convinced that the principle of the central count is sound. No organization criticizing the slowness of the count has attacked the principle of the law but many have alleged the system did not receive a fair trial because of politically sponsored incompetence.

In response to these protests the system of counting has been somewhat revised.

A BOXING MATCH

One of the dramatic highlights of the count was the altercation between James F. Cunningham, candidate for county treasurer, and Charles R. Ettinger, County Clerk in charge of the count, over an alleged "counting out." Mr. Ettinger had supported Cunningham's principal opponent in the preceding campaign and in the tense period of the count this appeared sufficient justification for suspicion and eventual attack. Only one blow was struck but it threw the entire counting force into confusion and resulted in a black eye for Ettinger and the issuance of a warrant for Cunningham's arrest. The case is still pending and settlement will undoubtedly not be made in the near future.

Requests from the county clerk for additional police protection in the counting room were refused by the Mayor who, with the President of the Board of Public Safety, decided that sufficient police had already been assigned. In response to a later charge that the city had failed to coöperate in the matter, Mayor Sullivan said that he assumed the election commissioners had received everything they had asked for in handling the central count.

It would be of interest to learn what were the purposes behind the establishment of this system. First, it was to eliminate election frauds such as those disclosed by the recounts and legal actions which followed the 1938 primaries. Second, it was to provide an efficient and economical method of counting the ballots cast. Third, it was an attempt, perhaps unconsciously made, to weaken control of the party organizations over elections and candidates.

The actual accomplishments of the system are as yet problematical on some of these counts. The extent of fraud in this election is not yet, and may never, be known. It is significant, however, that despite the precedent of 1938 no recounts have yet been demanded although the Democratic contest for county coroner was decided by a mere 61 votes in a total of 48,708 cast for three candidates. It is unlikely that any protest will be filed in this case since the defeated candidate has publicly announced his intention not to seek a recount because of the expense involved.

As to economy, in 1938, according to statistics provided by the County Clerk of Marion County, approximately 99,000 votes were cast there at a total primary election cost of

$72,422.50—a cost per vote of about seventy-two cents. In 1940 the number of votes rose to more than 119,000 while the cost increased to $78,982, or sixty-six cents per vote. While both the number of votes and the total cost of the election increased, the *cost per vote* decreased by six cents, this despite the fact that 900, rather than the expected 450-500 candidates filed for delegate to the Republican State Convention.

In the matter of efficiency it is difficult to pass judgment. While we know that it took 1,050 persons five days to perform the same work that approximately 2,500 workers had completed in the last election in three days we do not have any adequate means of reliably comparing their relative merits. In both cases the workers were chosen solely on the basis of party affiliation. It may be, and has been, contended that party affiliation is sufficient qualification for the position of counter since there will be a loyalty to party which will manifest itself in unwavering attention and vigilance lest party votes be stolen. The presence of workers of both parties would thus make fraud in the counting unlikely. There is obviously a grain of truth in this contention but the count by precinct has been carried out in a bipartisan manner for years, not always with the most accurate results.

In the latest primary count wide discrepancies in ability and attitude among the workers were observed almost from the beginning. Some tabulators, as is customary in groups chosen in this manner, were barely literate, others were troubled by weak eyes or deafness. To avoid a recurrence of this situation, a file catalogue was prepared listing the qualifications and attitudes of each individual employed and a grading of his ability. Those rating low on the scale will not be employed in future counts. Announcement that workers would be graded had the immediate result of speeding up the count. After the preliminary ratings rapid, accurate workers were found and grouped in order that they would not be hampered by the need to work with slower operators. Fresh incentives and better organization both contributed to the efficiency of the tabulation.

The suggestion has been made that voting machines should be used in future primaries. Three counties affected by the 1939 law used machines successfully this year. These were all small counties. Mr. Ettinger states that the machines used in Marion County in general elections are not large enough to carry all the names and that the replacement cost of $750,000 would be prohibitive.

At the coming session of the legislature there will be an attempt to amend the central count law to close a few doors which have been left open. There was nothing in the original law as to the manner in which the count should be conducted. Procedure and administration were left completely to the discretion of the Board of Canvassers. The experience gained this year has shown the defects in the present method and has

(Continued on page 552)

Manager Government Boon to Virginia County

Six-year trial in Albemarle County brings increased efficiency and decreased costs; consolidation of financial offices, effective budget procedure and tax collection, centralized purchasing, outstanding accomplishments of manager regime.

By **EDWARD OVERMAN**
University of Virginia

THREE counties in Virginia—Arlington, Albemarle, and Henrico—have applied the manager principle to their governments. In Albemarle County the new form of government has been in operation more than six years. What has been accomplished?

Basically, several fundamental changes have occured in the mental climate in which the county government operates. In the first place, the attitude that county offices are rewards for successful political activities is not so prevalent. This has been brought about in part by the abolition of the archaic "fee system" for compensating county officers. Also, emphasis has shifted from the notion that county employees are "deputies" of the particular elective officers who hire them for their personal and political allegiance, to the principle that county employees are selected and retained on the basis of merit to serve the whole citizenry.

Simplification of the county's governmental structure, the subordination of several functional and formerly independent agencies to one governing body, the Board of County Supervisors, and the outright abolition of some offices have undoubtedly made government in Albemarle County more *responsible* to the people than it was under the old system.

The unique feature in the new system is, of course, the existence of a single executive comparable to a city manager—the county executive who is appointed by and is responsible to the Board of County Supervisors. Instead of five popularly elected officers independent of each other and of the county's governing body, the county now has a single executive who has general direction over the administration of all county functions. The Board of County Supervisors has in the county executive the means whereby it can, in the actual day-to-day work of governing the county, be sure that its policies are carried out. It now has the power and the tools of management commensurate with its responsibility.

With a county executive as chief administrator there is no doubt as to what officer the citizens should hold responsible for administrative actions. The opportunities for "passing the buck" which existed in the old system are not found in the new.

Mr. Henry Haden has served as county executive since the creation of the new form and has quietly and devotedly established a record of service worthy of the best traditions of the manager profession. The so-called "courthouse ring" which opposed the adoption of the new form in 1933 has not attempted to destroy the new system, and the absence of any substantial opposition to the new form indicates that the people as a whole are satisfied with manager government.

FINANCIAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS

What are some of the specific accomplishments which have been made? Doubtless the greatest improvement has been in the field of financial administration. Under the old system the two chief financial officers of the county were the treasurer and the commissioner of the revenue, both popularly elected. Consequently, the Board of County Supervisors had practically no control over the assessment and collection of taxes. Also, the county's largest spending agency, the School Board, was independent of control by the Board of County Supervisors by virtue of the fact that it was appointed by a School Trustee Electoral Board which was in turn appointed by the Judge of the Circuit Court.

Under the new form all financial functions of the county—tax assessing, tax collecting, custody of funds, accounting and purchasing—are consolidated into a department of finance whose director is appointed by the Board of County Supervisors. The School Board under the new system is also appointed by the Board of County Supervisors and serves at its pleasure. When difficulties between the two boards developed over the appointment of a superintendent of schools, the Board of County Supervisors demonstrated that it was superior to the School Board by forcing the resignation of most of the school trustees.

In his first published report the county executive presented the following figures showing the savings which had been made by the consolidation of the old offices of treasurer and commissioner of the revenue and the establishment of a centralized system of accounting.

COST OF OPERATING FINANCE OFFICES

Under Old Form		*Under New Form*	
1930-31	$25,943.00	1934-35	$ 9,831.75
1931-32	22,673.00	1935-36	7,829.02
1932-33	18,086.00	1936-37	7,633.37
Total	66,702.00		
Less excess fees for 1931	2,516.37		
Net cost	64,185.63	Net cost	25,294.14
Average per yr.	$21,395.21	Average per yr.	$ 8,431.38

Before the new system went into operation the annual budget was prepared by the county clerk. The county executive now has charge of the preparation and execution of the budget. As the act creating the county executive form says, the county executive is responsible for *proposing* an annual budget, that is, it is his function to consider requests for funds from department heads in the light of the needs and resources of the county as a whole. In preparing the budget he brings to bear on his work the information and experience he has gained by dealing with all phases of the county's government. This was not possible under the old system. In proposing an annual budget to the Board of County Supervisors the county executive is doing more than a clerical job of assembling estimates submitted by various county officers. The difference is between submitting bare figures to the governing body and presenting it with a well considered financial plan.

Effective budget execution and control over expenditures have been outstanding achievements under the new form of government. The county's financial transactions were audited every year before the new form went into operation just as they are now, but continuing control on the administrative level, that is, control before obligations are incurred, was not made effective until after the new form went into operation. An examination of the county's operating expenses reveals that expenditures have been kept well within budget appropriations and the county has ended each fiscal year with a surplus.

Other improvements in financial administration in addition to better financial planning may be cited. A centralized purchasing system with competitive bidding under the control of the county executive has been established and is undoubtedly more economical than the old method whereby each county officer did his own purchasing. A county-owned repair depot has been set up to service school buses and other county equipment. More effective tax collecting methods are indicated by the fact that the percentage of delinquencies has been reduced in the county from 20.33 in 1932 to 10.57 in 1936, while for the state as a whole the reduction was from 19.62 to 17.85.

What does the future hold for the new form of government? It is a commonplace observation in Virginia that self-government in the localities is rapidly giving way to state centralization. This trend compliments the trend toward federal centralization at the expense of the states. There are signs indicating that Albemarle County, however, has the local initiative and progressive leadership to cope with the problems facing local government. The county has recently built a new office building and paid for it in cash.

A new and spacious 4-H club camp is being planned. Interest in improving the miserable housing conditions in which many county families live is growing. In some cases county funds pay rent for shacks to house relief clients where there are not even minimum sanitary facilities. This condition is, of course, not peculiar to Albemarle County.

Progress is being made in land planning and better land use. There has not been a general reassessment of real property in the county since 1925 and this problem is being worked on.

With all the demonstrable accomplishments and healthy trends under manager government in Albemarle County one would be too optimistic to say that other Virginia counties have profited by Albemarle's experience. Only one other Virginia county, Henrico, has adopted one of the optional forms of county government and applied the manager principle to its government. The accomplishments of the new regime there also offer a concrete example of the advantages of manager government.

The General Assembly which convened last January displayed a rather hostile attitude toward any kind of county government reform. In keeping with its policy of coöperating with existing county officers the Virginia Commission on County Government prepared a third optional form of county government[1] and submitted it to the General Assembly. This form was designed to overcome objections of county officers at the same time preserving the manager principle so far as possible. Unlike the other two optional forms, the new proposal did not abolish any important elective offices. In the committee hearing the theme of the supporters of the third optional form was that it would not disturb the existing political set-up in the counties. Little or no mention was made of the record of the two counties which had gone all the way in applying the manager principle.

The bill proposing the third optional form was defeated. The General Assembly also passed a bill which abolished the Commission on County Government but the Governor vetoed it. All this indicates that there is still great opposition to county government reform in Virginia, at least in official circles.

INDIANA EXPERIMENTS

(Continued from page 548)

suggested changes which would improve and facilitate the counting process.

The year 1940 will be the first in which it will be possible for election officials to determine exactly the number of voters who have cast ballots in the primary. In the past it has been impossible to get an exact total because mutilated ballots have been separated in the precincts from those accepted and have not been reported as votes cast.

An over-all view of the procedure seems to show that in its initial use a failure to foresee all possible points of difficulty and provide in advance for their elimination caused a definite slowing of the count. Too much was left by the legislators to the inexperienced hands of the Board of Canvassers and too little attention was given to the experiences of other areas which have adopted a similar technique.

Most of the apparent defects of the law and administration have, however, been spotted and can now be corrected. A definite effort is to be made to amend the law to stabilize the procedure in all jurisdictions where the law requires a central count. Eventually the merit principle for the selection of tabulators may be accepted. There seems to be no immediate prospect, however, for this reform.

One suggestion which has been made would remove the need for either central or precinct counts—that primary elections for the major parties be held on different days in order to facilitate the use of voting machines.

But even if no changes are made in the present plan of central counting, it is an improvement over the old method of district counting.

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[1] For a description of the optional forms of county government now available in Virginia see "County Government in Virginia," by Charles J. Calrow, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, March 1938.

City Manager Plan at Work

Cleveland Lauds Its Neighbor

AMONG the many municipalities which comprise Greater Cleveland, none has a better record for economy and efficiency in government than our neighbor to the east. . . . Like other cities East Cleveland has suffered a decline in income from real estate taxes, which now produce only 51 per cent of what they yielded in 1930. Yet in the past twelve years the city has reduced its debt by $2,380,000, or 77 per cent.

Such a record bespeaks an able and careful administration, which East Cleveland has long enjoyed under City Manager C. A. Carran.

—Editorial, Cleveland *Plain Dealer.*

Long Beach Collects from Its Oil Wells

THE city of Long Beach, California, to date has received municipal revenues totaling more than $3,000,000 from the seventy-five producing oil wells on city property. The three-million-dollar mark was reached early in March, two years after the completion of the first well in the harbor area, where all are located. Curtailment holds each well to production of 185 barrels daily, although some of the wells could be 5,000 barrel per day producers. Of the receipts to date, $1,240,000 has been applied on interest and redemption of harbor bonds. In addition, since last August 1, the municipality furnished without cost 1,335,066,000 cubic feet of gas.

—Western City.

Excelsior Springs Progresses

DURING this period of eighteen years with the city manager form of government, Excelsior Springs has made many improvements: constructed a sewage disposal plant and main sewer system at a cost of $25,000; built two concrete and masonry bridges; paved business streets and acquired property for a large park system. The area of our park system compared to the area within the corporate limits is the largest in the state.

The services of a planning and zoning engineer were employed to set up a zoning ordinance and a zoning board was established for the purpose of conducting and planning for future building.

We are just now completing a program which includes ownership, distributing and housing of the mineral water wells in the city. This is a great undertaking for a city the size of Excelsior Springs, the total cost of which has amounted to $956,831. This project was built under PWA grant and loan. . . .

Excelsior Springs is in very good financial condition at the present time. Original bonded indebtedness in the amount of $141,500 at the present has been reduced to $109,500 and we have an interest and sinking fund reserve of about $18,000. The tax levy this year is $1.43 on each $100 valuation.

Although this may seem high to some cities it must be remembered that Excelsior Springs maintains and carries on public services comparable to other towns of from 10,000 to 15,000 population. This is due to our being a tourist and health-seeker city. This last year our expenditures were $1,300 under our income and we reduced our operating expenditures by about $5,500 under 1939.

We feel that the city manager form of government allows the city's business to be carried on in the same manner as any other business of comparable income and expenditures. The running of a city of this size is a full time job. With a part-time mayor it would be impossible to carry on all the functions of city government efficiently and economically. Also, as all appointments with the exception of the clerk, assessor and treasurer are made by the city manager, the employee of the city is more secure in his job, depending upon his ability and not on party or factional alignment. This in itself eliminates a great amount of political unrest.

—Letter from Robert Lightstone, City Manager of Excelsior Springs, Missouri, as quoted in the Washington, Mo., *Missourian.*

Speaking of Good Towns

IN SPITE of the commonness of reports of maladministration of cities it is pleasing to read of one with a reputation of highest order. The city is Lubbock, Texas, which has won for itself the title of "Cleanest Town in Texas" for the tenth successive year. It has a population of more than 20,000. It has the commissioner-manager form of government. It has a municipally-owned electric light plant which pays its dividends into the city treasury. It has the lowest tax rate of any Texas town of its size. It also enjoys the lowest electric lighting rate of any town of more than 1,000 population in the state. Over 1,750 new homes have been built in Lubbock during the past three years. It has no millionaires and nobody talks of depression for it is one of the most prosperous cities in the United States.

—Editorial, Monticello, Iowa, *Express*

City Has Saved under Manager Plan

UNDER the guidance of Mayor L. C Long, and his fellow-commissioners, G. W Rees and Theodore Nusz, the city manager form of government [adopted over a year ago] has given Abilene an economic and efficient administration.

Taxes have been reduced. Streets have been repaired, maintained, and kept clear in all kinds of weather. City park grounds and buildings have been reconditioned and other city buildings have been repaired and put in good shape. Old city bonds are being retired this year. All of these things have been done and yet the total cost for the year to the taxpayer is less than he has been paying . . .

In 1938 the total levy was $70,330.32. The levy for operating expenses was 6.33 mills. In 1939 the total levy was $66,059.27 with the levy for operating expenses 4.83 mills or a reduction of 1.5 mills or between 20 and 25 per cent from the 1938 levy. In addition in 1939, $3,171 was levied to retire old bonds maturing in 1939. Bond issues to be met in the future will be much less, unless more bonds are voted for some purpose. The operating expenses for the library, the band, Red Cross, hospital, etc., was $7,441 less in 1939 than it was in 1938.

In the years 1934 to 1937, inclusive, the city failed to collect water bills amounting to $3,961. In 1938, the city collected $112.94 of these delinquent bills, up to April 1, 1940. In the first three-quarters of the present fiscal year the city has collected $777.44 of the overdue bills.

—Abilene, Kansas, *Chronicle.*

Boulder's City Manager Reports

EXPENDITURES of the city for general operation during 1939 were kept within the total budgeted allotments and within the cash receipts for the year.

Bonded debt of the city was reduced by payment of $25,000 in Water Department bonds and $6,000 in general obligation bonds.

From current collections of improvement district assessments, $4,600 in bonds were redeemed at face value.

The Water Department installed 9,000 lineal feet of 22-inch enamel lined steel pipe in the water transmission line, the first section of a program to replace the old transmission main installed more than thirty years ago. The dam at Green Lake No. 2 was completed to its full decreed height of forty feet adding 210 acre feet of storage water to the system; 4,230 feet of cast-iron pipe were installed in the water distribution system.

The street department, with WPA participation, installed approximately 7,000 lineal feet of curb and gutter and constructed three concrete bridges to replace wooden structures over irrigation ditches. Fourteen blocks of streets and alleys were oil-surfaced. Fourteen blocks of streets were cut to paving grade also with WPA participation.

The installation of a short wave police radio, a modern record system, adequate photographic equipment, and reorganization of the department, has done much to raise the standard of the Police Department. The Junior Police Association, sponsored and organized by the Police Department in April, had a membership of 450 at the close of the year.

Despite the fact that the Fire Department in 1939 answered the greatest number of calls in its history, the per capita fire loss was 94 cents and the fire loss was only 4 per cent of the value of the property involved.

The supervised recreation program reached new heights in the number of participants.

On the tax levy of 11.2 mills based on assessed valuation of $9,401,950 the city received a total of $102,179, which represents a 97 per cent tax collection for the year. In 1938 the city received 97.7 per cent of the taxes levied. Water Department collections in 1939 were $116,253, as compared with $112,107 in 1938 the increase occurring mostly in meter collections for the summer quarter.

—From the letter of transmittal of City Manager H. C. McClintock of Boulder, Colorado, attached to annual report to the city council, as quoted in *Colorado Municipalities.*

A Splendid Record

THE annual report of the financial condition of the Town of Houlton at the end of the first year of administration under the council-manager form of government will come as a distinct shock to a large number of people who have become accustomed to the voluminous documents of past years. The report of the year 1939 is brief, clear-cut, concise. It is stripped of all excess verbiage. It features facts.

This same report must also be received with undisguised satisfaction by every taxpayer in Houlton. It is a report of a year of administration that has practiced sound economy, that has accomplished almost unbelievable savings, and that has come to the end of its twelve months of stewardship with unexpended balances in the town treasury exceeding $31,000 and a net town debt reduction of more than $54,000. The town debt now stands at the lowest point in eighteen years.

This, it seems to us, is brief enough for the sound judgment of the people of Houlton who last year saw fit to adopt a modern type of municipal administration . . .

Faced with an accumulation of debts as revealed by an audit of the financial condition of the town, the council and the manager were at once confronted by two conflicting demands. First, old bills had to be paid and, second, the tax rate should be reduced. These two objectives were as far apart as the poles. Yet the completion of one full year reveals that both have been attained. Payments of some $54,000 have been made on old bills in the hands of the town and a lower tax rate for 1940 is forecast if budget committee recommendations are closely followed.

—Editorial, Houlton, Maine, *Pioneer-Times*

Contributors in Review

AFTER seven years in "everything from sawmills and lumber camps to wholesale silk houses, all over the country," **James Kirk Eads** (*Indiana Experiments with Central Count*) turned to scholarly life and produced in rapid succession a B.S., an A.M. (both Columbia), and a fellowship at the Institute of Politics of Indiana University and the National Municipal League. During the same period he found time to act as research consultant on real estate reorganization and securities to the New York Joint Legislative Committee on Interstate Coöperation, and to teach American government and public administration at Brooklyn College.

ON BOTH international affairs and problems of government in New Hampshire **Thorsten V. Kalijarvi** (*Town Meeting vs. Town Management*) is an expert. A New Englander by birth, he studied both here and abroad, has taught for seventeen years at the University of New Hampshire (professor of government now), and for two years held a Carnegie endowment fellowship in international law. His writings include *The Memel Statute* (1937), which was also published in German, and *The Government of New Hampshire* (1939). In 1938 Dr. Kalijarvi edited *The Problems of Taxation in New Hampshire;* in 1939 he edited the Proceedings of the Second Institute of Public Affairs of the University of New Hampshire.

NOW serving as consultant to the Governmental Research Division of the T. V. A., **Charles M. Kneier** (*Citizen Economy Movements—Why and How*) believes in combining his teaching at the University of Illinois with excursions into the non-academic world. When last heard from in the pages of this magazine—September 1939—he had been on leave from the university to organize the research department of the Illinois Legislative Council. Dr. Kneier has published books on public utilities in Illinois, on county government and administration, and on American city government.

THE University of Virginia granted a Ph.D. degree to **Edward Overman** (*Manager Government Boon to Virginia County*) in June of this year—his dissertation for the degree was *County Manager Government in Albemarle County, Virginia.* The same month he became a member of the staff of the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Virginia, with the title of research assistant. Most of his work at the moment is concerned with a survey of rural housing—again in Albemarle County.

INCURABLE seeker of facts, **Miriam Roher** (*The Woman Who Woke Up a City*) —title of the article in this issue, not a description of its author—has contributed frequently to the REVIEW. A Northwestern University M.A. in government, Miss Roher was a member of the research staffs of the New York State Commission for the Revision of the Tax Laws and the Governor's committee for the preparation of background material for the New York State Constitutional Convention. She served also as a member of the staff of the Consultant Service of the National Municipal League during several surveys and was publications editor for the League until she recently won "The Public Service Fellowship" of the Woman's Organization for National Prohibition Repeal, administered by Barnard College, which took her to the University of California at Berkeley in quest of a Ph.D.

AFTER writing his way through Los Angeles, San Francisco, Washington, D. C., New York City, the A. E. F. in France, post-war revolutions in Germany, Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Russia, **Frank J. Taylor** (*Spokane's Civic Horse Trader*) has settled down on the Pacific Coast. Before 1924 his employers were various newspapers and press associations. Since then he has free-lanced for such magazines as *Reader's Digest, Collier's, Saturday Evening Post, American Magazine, Better Homes and Gardens, Holiday, Sunset,* and others. He has also written four books on western subjects.

A BOOK and numerous articles in scholarly magazines attest to the interest of **Belle Zeller** (*Lawmaker—Legislator or Lobbyist*) in the phenomena of pressure politics. From 1926 to 1930 Dr. Zeller taught political science at New York City's Hunter College; then moved to Brooklyn College, where she has been chairman of the department of government and sociology since 1938. The book was *Pressure Politics in New York* (1937).

EDITORIALS

(Continued from page 517)

had a great deal of experience by now and a large mass of statistics is available. It should not be impossible, even though difficult, therefore, to develop minimum standards of relief for all sections of the country, some means of eliminating irregularities and fraud, a sound and equable division of costs among national, state and local units of government, and to plan according to the long-term aspects of the problem. The fact that recent industrial activity already has removed many families from the relief rolls in some cities is likely to encourage the hope that relief is temporary. It will be advisable, therefore, to recognize that much of it is permanent and that much more calls for a definite plan of retraining and rehabilitation.

News in Review

(Continued from page 514)

themselves on a proposed initiative civil service amendment to the constitution of the state.[1] Some 212,000 signatures have now been obtained to the petitions calling for such a referendum, a number well above the total necessary.

Arthur W. Bromage
University of Michigan

Second Hatch Act Hits Local Patronage

On July 20 President Roosevelt signed the second Hatch bill, thus prohibiting active participation in partisan politics by non-federal employees who are paid partly or wholly out of federal funds. The Senate had previously accepted the amendments made by the House of Representatives, which had passed the bill by a vote of 243 to 122.

The act also provides that no person may contribute more than five thousand dollars to any political campaign; that no corporation may contribute directly or indirectly to any campaign fund or merchandising scheme for the raising of party funds; and limits the amount of money that may be spent by a political party to three million dollars.

New Hampshire Employees Form Organization

A growing unrest among government employees in New Hampshire is evident. The state has no merit system except the one developed for federal-aid agencies upon request of the federal government. Concord and Manchester both have unions of city employees. The latest development is an association of state governmental employees, headed by Deputy Secretary of State Harry E. Jackson. While this organization is primarily social in nature, it is believed it will make itself felt when a merit system is discussed by the legislature next year.

Lashley G. Harvey
University of New Hampshire

North Dakota Moves Toward County Home Rule

Under the constitutional amendment (ch. 112, Laws of 1939) adopted by the voters in the primary election held June 25, the North Dakota legislature is now enabled to provide for county consolidation, dissolution, or change in governmental form.

The adoption of the amendment marks a logical step in the growth and development of the state. The divergent needs of various parts of the state could no longer be met by the rigidly uniform structure of county government provided by the constitution. Sparsely populated areas found themselves burdened with excessive governmental machinery, and growing urban areas found the county government structure wholly inadequate to provide necessary services. The constitution specifically prohibited special legislation, and only slight modifications in governmental machinery were permitted to counties that varied in basic characteristics from the usual pattern.

The amendment provides that dissolution, consolidation, or change in the form of government can be effected only after a popular referendum in which 55 per cent of those voting on the issue favor such change. Optional forms are to be drafted by the legislative assembly, and at least one such form must provide for the manager plan. Any county will then be enabled to initiate a movement for adoption of one of the forms by either a two-thirds vote of the county legislative body or a petition signed by 15 per cent of the county electorate who voted for governor in the last preceding election.

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[1] For a copy of the amendment see the National Municipal Review for June 1940, p. 354.

Elwyn A. Mauck
University of North Carolina

Manager Plan Sought in Many Cities

A referendum on Plan E (city manager and P. R.) will occur in **Cambridge, Massachusetts,** at the November 5 election, following the unanimous mandatory action of the city council in voting that the question be placed on the ballot. Two years ago the plan was defeated by Cambridge voters.

Lynn, Massachusetts, expects to file a Plan E petition within a short time which will contain more than double the number of signatures needed.

St. Louis Park, Minnesota, will vote on a manager charter on September 10.

The Board of Finance of the town of **East Hampton, Connecticut,** has for some time been discussing the town manager plan. The subject has also been presented at a meeting of the Board of Directors of the East Hampton Chamber of Commerce.

A petition containing 680 names, to submit to popular vote in **Johnstown, New York,** a charter amendment establishing city manager government, has been placed before the city council.

The city council of **Schenectady, New York,** has accepted petitions for a return to the old second-class city form of government, with mayor and aldermen, which preceded the adoption of city manager government in that city.

In **Raleigh, North Carolina,** where the Junior Chamber of Commerce is championing a change from commission to council-manager government, it is expected that a referendum on the question, authorized by the 1939 legislature, will be held this fall, either on October first or later.

Kings Mountain, North Carolina, put manager government into effect on June 24. The first city manager took office on July 1.

In **New Bern, North Carolina,** petitions are being circulated to call an election on the question of converting the present aldermanic system of government to the city manager form. This is reported to be the first definite movement for the purpose in that city, although it has been discussed by various groups at different times.

Sponsors of the manager movement in **Columbus, Ohio,** have announced plans for the submission of a city manager proposal to the voters at the 1941 municipal election.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Niles, Michigan,** is campaigning for a manager charter.

In **Great Falls, Montana,** petitions for an election on the question of city manager government are being circulated by members of the Junior Chamber of Commerce. Fourteen committees, each covering two precincts, undertook a canvass of the entire city.

In **San Antonio, Texas,** where the city manager plan is a live issue, a charter referendum will be held this fall, as announced by the city auditor.

A petition for a November vote on the manager plan for **Santa Monica, California,** is reported.

Other cities interested in the possibility of a change to the manager plan include **Davis, California**; **Plainfield** and **West New York, New Jersey**; **Winnsboro, South Carolina**; and **Murray City, Utah.**

North Dakota Rejects State Reorganization

An initiative measure providing for reorganization of some of North Dakota's state departments was rejected at the primary election of June 25. Only about half the voters expressed an opinion on the proposition. The measure was sponsored by the North Dakota Taxpayers Association, but because of the importance and excitement of the war news, it proved impossible to carry on the campaign of education so essential to the success of measures of this kind.

The need for state reorganization still remains as great as ever, and sooner or later it will be necessary to discard some of the wasteful and ineffective operating practices now in use.

J. M. Cathcart, *Secretary*
North Dakota Taxpayers Association

GRA Meets at Princeton in September

The Governmental Research Association (5135 Cass Avenue, Detroit) will hold its 1940 conference at the Princeton Inn, Princeton, New Jersey, September 4-7.

CITIZEN ACTION

(Continued from page 515)

During the month of May we added 194 new members; and during June **our membership passed one thousand.**

An individually typed and personally signed letter of thanks goes to each new member with a membership card. A second card, listing our activities, asks the member to state on which committees he prefers to serve. New members are also called upon by our staff representative.

A full time staff man is assigned to membership work. He supervises all membership contacts, carrying our story to members and prospects, smoothing over rough spots. He is the Municipal League's "ear to the ground." Two other men—one devoting his time to research and the other to publicity or public information—complete the staff.

Our work has just started and we can see **no ceiling to the membership** in an organization such as ours. With low dues, at the rate of five dollars and up per year, the second thousand members should be more easily secured than the first, and so on, possibly up to five thousand.

We intend to consolidate our gains as we go by **prompt elimination of "dead timber,"** and to continue selling members on their organization.

We find a growing willingness among members to do membership work for us as the subject is popularized and they are given definite and specific tasks to perform. If a man is asked to go get John Doe as a member, he is quite likely to try, but nobody pays much attention to a general request for every member to get a member.

It is my opinion that **membership work is an everyday job.** Persons resigning should be seen as promptly as possible, for a member saved is better than a new one. A member should learn that he cannot get out of the Municipal League without a struggle. Eight to ten prospects should be called upon every day, both by the staff man and by other members. These calls not only result in new members, but, what is vital in any organization, they keep it in close touch with the thinking of people on the outside. Criticism should be promptly reported to the officers, and alteration of programs should be constantly made in the light of public opinion, as interpreted back to the office through membership work.

Our average member pays in seven dollars. In addition to membership, we have **a subscription income which at**

the present is about twice as large as membership income. We expect to balance our subscription income with membership income. Regardless of how adequate our subscription income may be, we believe that the broadening of the base by the mobilization of a greater number of members is one of the fundamentals of success.

The hundreds of calls made upon prospects which result in "no sale" have done much to get public acceptance of the Municipal League. It has helped us interpret our program, and, on the other hand, it has been a great source of information which will help prevent the organization from dying of an inbreeding of ideas.

Glen B. Eastburn,
Executive Secretary
Municipal League of Seattle

South Bend Members Drawn from All Groups

Back in 1931 a group of South Bend businessmen, including the writer, became alarmed at the mounting storm of the depression and the apparent obliviousness to it of our local governmental officials, who were going full steam ahead with a spending program. Our first action was to go before the Board of County Commissioners and protest a large bond issue for suburban roads. We were greeted with bored politeness, but no results.

It became evident that the only thing which would impress these politicians was a demonstration of public sentiment by a broad cross-section of the taxpayers and homeowners of the community. We set out to form such an organization. It so happened that among those who felt as strongly as we did was a Polish priest, who became the first secretary of the association.

Meetings were held in schools and church halls in different sections of the city, an organization—the South Bend Civic Planning Association—was formed with regional leaders, and with this organization and, perhaps, a little more realization on the part of county officials of the extent of the depression, our next representations to stop issuing bonds were successful.

The organization next turned its attention to the administration of poor relief. The township trustee in charge of this in 1931 was faced with a problem which he frankly admitted was beyond his experience and comprehension, as it was in other industrial sections of the country at that time, and he was glad to receive support and assistance from a nonpartisan group of citizens. Members of the association, particularly women, devoted considerable time at the relief office in actually helping to tide over the emergency until methods could be developed and a proper permanent professional staff organized. We have been told by visitors that the relief setup in South Bend is, even today, rated above the average.

In 1932 a real estate reassessment was called for by law. At the direct insistence of the Civic Planning Association a scientific method of appraising land and buildings, similar to that in Cleveland, Detroit, and other progressive communities, was installed in South Bend. Today, after eight years, the Indiana State Board of Tax Commissioners is making an intensive study of the South Bend system, with the hope of adopting it generally over the entire state.

In 1934 the association actively supported the Republican ticket, feeling that the type of government for which the association stood demanded a change in administration; and for the first time in twelve years a Republican administration was elected locally.

Many of our members now felt that the job was done. But it soon became apparent that the Republican administration gave no better government than its Democratic predecessor, and it was inclined to take us for granted since we had helped to elect it. When we started to criticize the Republicans as actively as we had criticized their predecessors, we lost a number of members who apparently had joined for political reasons.

It became necessary, therefore, to rebuild our entire organization on a more permanent and rational basis. We are happy to report that this has been done over the past six years and today our general membership is much broader, more accurately representative of the homeowners of the community as a whole, and much more solidly informed on civic matters than ever before. We now have over 1,700 members in South Bend and adjoining Mishawaka, with dues paid for the year 1940. About 350 of these are women who participate actively in the Women's Civic Club, which holds monthly meetings, additional neighborhood meetings in various sections of the community, card parties, teas, rummage sales, and other social and money-raising functions.

We have always maintained a strong membership among foreign-born homeowners, and particularly among Polish-Americans. We estimate that our membership is evenly divided between the two major political parties and that at least one-third are factory workers and members of labor unions.

The program and basic policies of the association are developed annually according to a rather elaborate procedure prescribed in the by-laws.

The general membership has complete power to revise and amend the program and policy. Directors and executive officers are empowered to act on association and governmental matters within the limits of the program and policy laid down by the membership, but even so, when time permits, it is customary to place all important decisions within the program before the general membership at regular monthly meetings.

A member who contributes $1.00 a year has the same vote as the member who may contribute $50.00.

The association has fourteen directors and its legislative council, consisting of directors, committee chairmen, and district leaders, now has 141 members.

Back in 1937 we began looking around for a permanent home and in July of 1939 we moved into a large old house with ample parking space and convenient to the downtown district.

In this home we maintain our offices, meeting space for the various branches of our organization, social functions, etc. We have a luncheon club which meets weekly at headquarters to hear speakers on governmental questions and discuss problems before the community. An annual membership drive is conducted in October of each year, ending with a dance and card party at the largest hall in the community. We estimate that during the course of the year half of our 1,700 members attend at least one meeting or function of the organization and to that extent participate in its activity besides paying dues and receiving monthly bulletins.

The exact effectiveness of an organization like ours is difficult to judge accurately, but we do know that for at least one recent year (1936) the United States Census Department's *Financial Statistics of Cities* showed South Bend as having the lowest per capita governmental cost of any northern city over 100,000 population. Last fall the 1940 budgets and tax rates as officially advertised were reduced $1,040,000, or over 15 per cent, by reviewing bodies after citizen hearing and appeal.

The basic theory behind the organization and, indeed, the first plank in our program, is that the test of every policy shall be that it benefits the average homeowner.

Not to be forgotten is the fact that homeowners in South Bend have a majority of the total votes and are the only group paying direct taxes of any amount of which that can be said. We feel that businessmen and other property-owning groups should realize the position of the homeowners in this respect and go along with them in the few instances where their immediate business interests may appear to conflict with those of homeowners.

Smart politicians have many times found it possible to place before us situations where we have had either to forsake the homeowner or step on the toes of some business interest which, it was felt, was, or should be, contributing to our activity. Possibly the secret of our continuation has been that we have managed to meet such temptations and go down the line for the homeowner.

In some cases these businessmen have been big enough to understand and to maintain their support, although we opposed their immediate interest. In some cases they have dropped out, and in some of those cases the financial loss to the association has been material; but not a few of those who dropped out because our demands cost them a little business have returned to membership.

We feel that by meeting this problem squarely we have greatly strengthened the effectiveness of the organization and have also helped to foster better basic attitudes in community life as a whole.

We see around us on all sides citizens devoting a great deal of time and effort to churches, lodges, clubs, charitable organizations, and other activities from which they expect to obtain no reward except the satisfaction of doing constructive jobs. Our nine years of experience in South Bend leads us to believe that people are glad to exert the same sort of activity in governmental matters, once they are sure that the movement is sincerely directed to the ends of good government and good citizenship.

Frank J. Murray,
Chairman, Board of Directors
South Bend Civic Planning
Association, Inc.

Editor's Note.—Departments on county and township government, taxation and finance, and proportional representation omitted this month.

SPOKANE'S CIVIC HORSE TRADER

(Continued from page 534)

summer. He lined up CCC boys to landscape unsightly railroad and highway fills. He built scout camps, golf courses, shooting ranges, walking trails, restored the historic Hudson Bay and Astor trading posts. He got ugly bridges across the river replaced by graceful spans. He saved the region's geologic wonders, such as Deep River Canyon, remarkable for its volcanic flows and glacial scraping.

To accomplish these civic feats White joined every association and club in town. "I went to all the meetings," he explains, "and by outtalking everybody there I got them all working with me." The Chamber of Commerce, the Advertising Club, the Boy Scouts, the Izaak Walton League, the churches, have civic beautification committees upon which White can call.

On a map Aubrey White pointed out the areas he had set down in his bookstore days for recreation sites. Nearly every acre is in the park system now.

Books in Review

EDITED BY ELSIE S. PARKER

Municipal Government and Administration in Alabama. By Weldon Cooper. University, Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama, 1940. ix, 252. (no price).

Students of government will be pleased with this survey of municipal government in Alabama conducted by the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama and the Tennessee Valley Authority under the direction of Weldon Cooper. In gathering together a digest of constitutional and statutory provisions and local ordinances applying to the operation of municipal government, a considerable service has been performed. More significant, however, is the evaluation of the law and practice of municipal administration as it exists in Alabama today.

The book traces the recent and rapid growth of the state from one predominantly rural to one facing the manifold problems of urbanism. Following a discussion of the growth of the population of urban areas in the state, the author treats the legal status of municipalities, government and politics, municipal administration, finance, civil service, municipal functions and services, and intergovernmental relations. In closing, Mr. Cooper lists about a dozen conclusions which he considers significant.

For this analysis of municipal government in Alabama nearly all incorporated cities and towns have been considered. The predominant means of carrying on the functions of government have been discussed at length, while unique and satisfactory solutions have been merely mentioned. On the basis of information collected, a number of tables have been prepared which indicate the trends and conditions of government. The book is well equipped with reference footnotes and is adequately indexed.

The study reveals the lag in techniques of administration employed by cities and towns in Alabama. Foremost is the lack of responsible administration. The weak mayor and commission types of municipal government are used almost to the exclusion of other forms, in spite of considerable opinion in favor of the strong executive. Cities and towns of Alabama are directed for the most part by boards, commissions, and council committees—forms of government now outmoded because of their complexity, lack of responsibility, ineffectiveness, inefficiency, sluggish action, and conflicts in authority.

This same retardation, perhaps common to many southern states, is noted not only in administrative forms, but also in standards of financial operation, civil service, extent of municipal services, and in recording and reporting. The book clearly indicates this, but at the same time it points the way to a general improvement of municipal government through means that have already been tried and found successful in coping with the problems of an expanding urban population.

ROBERTS CHICKERING

Indiana University

Reemployment. Report of the Governor's Commission on Reemployment. Sacramento, California, 1939. 95 pp.

Thanks to John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath,* the relief problem of California has received more dramatic publicity than that of any other state. This study is therefore of particular interest as a partial answer to a nationally known challenge. What is to be done with the unemployed and the dispossessed?

The report of the Governor's Commission, charged in March 1939 with the task of presenting a long-term plan for dealing with re-employment, is brief and to the point, for all its ninety-five pages. There is a courageous appraisal of the permanence of the relief problem—and a refutation of the notion that war will put an end to all our troubles. A five-point program is presented.

This is hardly a complete, definitive answer to the problem of relief. There are many conspicuous gaps, such as the cursory reference to the important problem of vocational training and retraining and the brief unimplemented nod in the direction of the merit system. Nevertheless, the report is admirable for its clarity on the subjects which are discussed. Simply as an example of workmanlike report writing, this pamphlet is to be recommended. It is also heartening to know that the relief problem *is* being considered from a long-term point of view by our state governments, which till now have tended to lag stubbornly behind federal nudging.

M. R.

Pennsylvania Government, State and Local (revised edition). By Jacob Tanger and Harold F. Alderfer. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Book Service, 1939. x, 467 pp. $3.00.

Professors Tanger and Alderfer have now revised their study of Pennsylvania, first written some years ago, in order to incorporate the many changes which have occurred since 1933. Basically no change in governmental structure has been made but "at least the complexion of certain phases of government in Pennsylvania" has been altered considerably. And of the book this may also be said. The authors have chosen to change both type and form of presentation much to the volume's improvement.

The book is designed for use in the public schools and is, therefore, limited in its scope. The work remains encyclopedic and descriptive. One could wish that more attention had been given to interpretation of trends and tendencies. For example, the ever increasing governmental regulation of business is revealed by a listing of departments and duties, with a single short paragraph serving to cover a statement of the causes and the changed national philosophy which made such governmental action imperative.

Such lacks are more than balanced by the excellent treatment given in Chapters I and II to "The People" and "Nominations and Elections." Here the authors have set forth not only the qualifications of citizens and electors but also the means whereby such status may be gained and retained, the formation and purpose of political parties, and the possibilities of citizen action and informed participation in government.

The authors might have included the Pennsylvania Economy League among the agencies found listed on page nineteen, because of its significant work in watching local administration.

The final chapter on "Tendencies in Pennsylvania Government" is excellent and might well serve as a model for studies of other states.

James Kirk Eads
Indiana University

How Should Government Be Financed? By Betsy Knapp. Washington, D. C., National League of Women Voters, 1939. 49 pp. Twenty-five cents.

The League of Women Voters has made another contribution to scientific citizenship in this pamphlet which is intended as an aid to its study groups on taxation. A glossary on tax terms and a study outline flanked by textual explanations and bibliographies comprise the whole of the slender volume. It is divided into six sections: a summary of taxes in the United States, the property tax, state and federal taxes, tax conflicts, grants-in-aid, and conclusions. Even for those who are not planning to carry on a systematic study of taxation, Miss Knapp's outline will be of value in clearing trails through the taxation forest.

M. R.

Additional Books and Reports Received

Counties

County Government and Administration. A Manual and Syllabus. By Russell H. Ewing. Denver, Colorado, School of Commerce, Accounts, and Finance, University of Denver, 1940. 103 pp. mimeo. $1.00.

County Reorganization. Denver, Colorado, Department of Government Management, School of Commerce, Accounts, and Finance, University of Denver, 1940. 28 pp. Ten cents.

Local Government in Cheboygan County. By Robert S. Ford and Frank M. Landers. Ann Arbor, Bureau of Government, University of Michigan, 1940. 28 pp. Ten cents.

The Lansing Region and Its Tributary Town-Country Communities. By J. F. Thaden. East Lansing, Section of Sociology, Michigan State College, 1940. 50 pp.

Crime

Penal System—A Reflection of Our Lives and Our Customs. Atlanta, Citizens' Fact Finding Movement of Georgia. 36 pp. Ten cents.

Crime Control—State Laws, 1935-1938, inclusive. Washington, D. C., United States Superintendent of Documents, 1940. 77 pp. Ten cents.

Education

Development of the County-Unit School District in Utah: A study in adaptability. By Edward Allen Bateman. New York City, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1940. ix, 98 pp. $1.60.

Recent Trends in Higher Education in the United States: With Special Reference to Financial Support for Private Colleges and Universities. By Trevor Arnett. New York City, General Education Board, 1940. xii, 80 pp.

State Control of Public School Finance. By Raleigh Warren Holmstedt. Bloomington, School of Education, Indiana University, 1940. 71 pp. Fifty cents.

Fire Insurance

Fire Insurance Rates. By Cornelius D. Scully. Washington, D. C., United States Conference of Mayors, 1940. 14 pp. Twenty-five cents.

Stretching the City Fire Insurance Dollar. (Report on Madison, Wisconsin, and Winnetka, Illinois.) Chicago, American Municipal Association. 1940. 12 pp. mimeo. Fifty cents.

Housing

4,000,000 Tenants. A Study of English Public Housing Management. By Kenneth R. Kidd. Chicago, Managers' Division, National Association of Housing Officials, 1940. viii, 91 pp. $2.00.

Housing Yearbook 1940. Edited by Coleman Woodbury. Chicago, National Association of Housing Officials, 1940. vii, 296 pp. $3.00.

The Law of Public Housing. By William Ebenstein. Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1940. ix, 150 pp. $1.75.

What Does the Housing Program Cost? Washington, D. C., United States Housing Authority, 1940. 31 pp.

Labor

Newark Labor Relations Board, Second Annual Report, October 1, 1938-September 30, 1939. Newark, New Jersey, Newark Labor Relations Board, 1940. 23 pp. mimeo.

The TVA Labor Relations Policy at Work. Successful coöperation between public power and organized labor in the public interest. By Judson King. Washington, D. C., National Popular

Government League, 1940. 59 pp. Twenty-five cents.

Legislatures

Electric Roll-Call Devices in Legislative Bodies. Springfield, Research Department, Illinois Legislative Council, 1940. 17 pp. mimeo.

Libraries

Library Classification and Sample Bibliography of Traffic Engineering Materials. By Leslie Williams. New Haven, Connecticut, Bureau for Street Traffic Research, Yale University, 1940. 58 pp. mimeo. One dollar.

The Library Survey, Problems and Methods. By E. W. McDiarmid, Jr. Chicago, American Library Association, 1940. xv, 243 pp. $3.50.

Peace Problems

European Plans for World Order. By William P. Maddox. Philadelphia, The American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1940. 44 pp. Fifteen cents.

Problems of Federal Union. By John H. Humphreys. London, Proportional Representation Society, 1940. 8 pp. One penny.

Public Welfare and Relief

Administration of Relief in New York City. Report to Honorable F. H. LaGuardia. New York City, Department of Investigation, 1940. xxiv, 345 pp.

Digest of State Public Welfare Legislation 1939. By Marietta Stevenson and Alice MacDonald. Chicago, American Public Welfare Association, 1939. xii, 262 pp. mimeo. $1.25.

Facts about Unemployment. By John N. Webb and Joseph C. Bevis. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1940. 34 pp.

Financing Economic Security in the United States. By William Withers. New York, Columbia University Press, 1939. x, 210 pp. $2.75.

Public Welfare—Appraisal and Proposals for Georgia. Atlanta, Citizens' Fact Finding Movement of Georgia, 1940. 35 pp. Ten cents.

Report on Progress of the WPA Program. Washington, D. C., Work Projects Administration, 1939. xi, 185 pp.

Social Legislation. By Helen I. Clarke. New York City, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1940. xv, 655 pp. $4.50.

Social Welfare Exhibits, the World's Fair of 1940 in New York. New York City, World's Fair Department of Welfare, 1940. 17 pp. mimeo.

State and Local Public Welfare Agencies. An organizational and functional analysis of state and local agencies administering public welfare functions. By Marietta Stevenson and Alice MacDonald. Chicago, American Public Welfare Association, 1939. 109 pp. mimeo. Sixty cents.

Public Works

Programming Public Works. Nashville, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1940. vi, 149 pp. mimeo. One dollar.

Public Works Engineers' Yearbook 1940. Including the Proceedings of the 1939 Public Works Congress, Pittsburgh, Penna., October 9-11, 1939. Chicago, American Public Works Association, 1940. viii, 338 pp. $3.50.

Purchasing

Joint Purchasing and Its Possibilities for Certain Local Governments in Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Government Administration Service, 1940. 17 pp.

Purchasing in Newark. Newark, New Jersey, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1940. viii, 50 pp.

Recreation

Introduction to Community Recreation. Edited by George D. Butler for the National Recreation Association. New York City, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1940. xiv, 547 pp. $3.50.

Recreation Legislation of Tennessee. Compiled by Leo J. Zuber. Nashville, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1939. ix, 40 pp. mimeo.

The Importance of Public Recreation in a Large Industrial Center. By H. E. Varga. 11 pp. (Apply to author, Director of Public Properties, Cleveland, Ohio.)

Traffic Regulation

Moving the Masses in Modern Cities. New York City, American Transit Association, 1940. 32 pp. Ten cents.

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Defense Plans in Our Cities

Editorial

Pittsburgh and St. Louis Seek Solution for Metropolitan Problem

H. Marie Dermitt and Richard G. Baumhoff

Plea for an Informed Citizenry

James K. Pollock

Mrs. Minority

Miriam Roher

Review of Recent News

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News in Review

City, State, Nation
Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Local Legislation Attacked in Maryland

Legislative council lists proposals for its reduction

A test may be made of the power and influence of Maryland's newly created Legislative Council[1] at the next session of the General Assembly in January 1941.

Since its establishment in April 1939, the council has held a large number of meetings and has considered many different subjects, the majority of which might be termed politically "innocuous." While not given the power to grapple with that political hobgoblin of long standing—home rule—or more especially "local legislation," the council none the less found itself face to face with it during the pursuit of other problems of the state. The council's research division found that over 50 per cent of the measures enacted by each legislature during the last two decades were for local purposes.

On August 24 the council published a report on local legislation and suggested five proposals for reducing the volume of local bills:

1. General legislation—to cover a variety of situations which now require special acts;
2. Municipal home rule;
3. Administrative control—to the extent of requiring review of bills by state officials prior to submission to the General Assembly;
4. Local control of details—of those problems not state-wide in significance;
5. Municipal code—the classification of cities by population and granting of minimum powers to each.

Bills to relieve the vicious legislative interference with counties and cities have had little success in the past. Whether or not the Legislative Council will be able to overcome this "lethargy" (politics) on the part of legislators is at best doubtful. Regardless of the outcome it is to the council's credit that it had the courage to attack a problem which has always been obnoxious to the state legislature.

The wide publicity which this report has received in the press of the state may at least focus the attention of civic organizations upon the problem and it is to be hoped that some of them may be inspired to bring pressure to bear upon their lawmakers.

Hugh A. Bone
University of Maryland

New York Mayors Ask State Purchasing Plan

At the annual convention of the New York State Conference of Mayors and Other Municipal Officials the 511 delegates, representing 133 cities and villages, unanimously adopted a resolution petitioning the State Commissioner of Standards and Purchase "to devise and put into operation a plan whereby any city or village may purchase through the state agency, at bulk or quantity prices, supplies and equipment which cannot be purchased locally."

Other important resolutions dealt with present and proposed studies of the review of property assessments, laws for effective state-wide regulation of tank trucks transporting flammable liquids, and a report on procedure regarding local home rule legislation as a guide for villages of the first class.

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[1] See "A Legislative Council For Maryland", by author, National Municipal Review, June 1939.

Iowa Municipalities Act on Important Problems

The League of Iowa Municipalities, at its annual meeting held in Council Bluffs recently, passed the following resolutions:

1. Coöperation of the league with the national defense program;
2. Home rule for cities;
3. Reduction of the number of councilmen to three including the mayor, and extension of their terms of office from four to six years in cities of 50,000 and over;
4. Extension of federal social security old-age insurance to non-elective city officers;
5. Revision of the Iowa code to permit the highway commission to extend primary roads into cities.

E. M.

New Hampshire Needs Municipal Association

The high point of the third Institute of Public Affairs held at the University of New Hampshire, in so far as New Hampshire municipalities are concerned, was a plea by Edward J. Gallagher, former mayor of Laconia, for a municipal association for the state. After explaining the programs of various groups of public officials in the state he concluded that a municipal association would unite all municipal officials into one state-wide association.

LASHLEY G. HARVEY
University of New Hampshire

Council-Manager Plan News

North Adams and **Quincy, Massachusetts,** have filed petitions for a vote on Plan E (manager government with proportional representation) at the November election. **Haverhill** will vote on Plan D (manager plan without P.R.). Petitions filed for a vote on Plan E in **Lynn** have been declared insufficient by the Board of Election Commissioners. In all, five Massachusetts cities are seeking a manager vote this year, **Cambridge** and **Chicopee** having filed Plan E petitions earlier.

Petitions were placed in circulation last month in **West New York, New Jersey,** calling for a change in government to the city manager form. They have been sponsored by an independent group headed by Francis D. Murphy, former president of the Board of Education, a candidate for the city commission last year and a vigorous critic of the present administration.

A city manager plan referendum in **Bayonne, New Jersey,** as called for by a petition filed early in July, was set for July 23 under provisions of the election laws, but has been postponed by litigation. Former Recorder Daniel J. Murray, leader in the Bayonne movement, has been fighting to force the referendum on the ballot.

A city manager movement in **Danville, Virginia,** was launched at the July meeting of the city council by Councilman Patton Wilson who called for a councilmanic conference to consider the manager plan. This action created some surprise, but Mr. Wilson said he believed there was a strong public opinion for the manager form of government for Danville. It is reported, however, that the necessary amendment to the charter cannot be obtained until the state legislature meets again.

In **New Bern, North Carolina,** the city clerk has announced that the advocates of the manager plan were unable to secure the requisite number of signatures.

The City Manager League of **Columbus, Ohio,** is working to submit the manager plan to the voters in 1941.

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Letters to the Editor

Still "A Secret in Rochester"

To the Editor of the
National Municipal Review:

I want to congratulate you on the editorial which appeared in your magazine, reprinted in the issue of the [Rochester] *Democrat & Chronicle* under date of July 13, headed "A Secret in Rochester."

I am one of the two councilmen who voted against the removal of City Manager Baker, and, although I have made attempts at council meetings to ascertain the reason for the dismissal of City Manager Baker, up to now the majority in the Council have refused to give any information and it still is a secret in Rochester.

The apparent reason is that he refused to play ball with some of the local Republican political leaders. He had the welfare of the city of Rochester at heart and would not be a party to satisfying selfish interests of petty politicians.

Comment by the editor of the *Democrat & Chronicle* on your editorial is interesting. However, it does not tell the whole story—in trying to put the reason for dismissal on the grounds that City Manager Baker could not and did not adhere to the policies of the Republican party platform.

Joseph E. Silverstein
Rochester Councilman at Large

A Detroiter is Proud of His City

To the Editor of the
National Municipal Review:

I note your editorial, July issue, on "Test of Patriotism." If you are interested, our Detroit record of 1917-18 furnishes a fine demonstration of the success achieved when war in Europe is made the occasion of increased and effective efforts to strengthen local government in the United States.

Our modern charter movement started early in 1917, at the time when the United States got into the World War. "War Must Not Destroy Civic Efficiency" was our slogan. For war or for peace, it was contended the charter movement was doubly necessary. The vote for adoption was taken June 25, 1918, etc., etc. So the record here proves the validity of your contention.

W. P. Lovett
Detroit Citizens League

46th Annual

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON GOVERNMENT

NOV. 18, 19, and 20, 1940

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Defense Plans in Our Cities

AS WE contemplate the sudden conquest of other countries which became aware of their danger too late and which were too deliberate about making themselves strong, it is easy to understand the panting earnestness of the demand that we "do something" and do it fast.

There is and will continue to be plenty to do. More than a few national and local governments wish today that they had begun years ago instead of months ago to do those tasks to which they are now bending every ounce of energy.

Whether our problem is to prepare for a war which we admittedly will not welcome any more than did the people of other countries, or whether it is to prepare for a peace in which we will try to save for ourselves and the world some of the principles which are precious to us, the United States has a prodigious task ahead of it.

Our cities and other communities will be important cogs in the defense machine which is being slowly designed and constructed. But it may be in order, even at the risk of seeming to throw cold water on patriotic enthusiasm, to suggest that this is a time for cities to avoid hasty, ill-conceived action.

Recently a mayor urged that his city's fire trucks be equipped with anti-aircraft guns. Many local committees have added to the confusion in Washington by descending on busy officials with demands for armament factories, pilot training schools, and airports. There have even been a few indications of the beginnings of violent attitudes which come with war hysteria.

These things do not help. More than that, they are clearly dangerous if only because they tend to create ill feeling and to undermine the unanimity of thought and purpose which is so necessary.

When a great land which has preeminently been dedicated to the cause of peace and disarmament suddenly decides to be strong in a violent world, the task is even more prodigious than we yet realize. We can gather a faint idea of its proportions by looking at the valiant efforts and sacrifices of our Canadian neighbors.

As our plans gain momentum and we see the problem more clearly the responsibilities to be assumed by our communities and our states will be more readily discernable. Listing here what they might turn out to be in the fields of economics, production, public health, police, housing, etc., would seem to serve no useful purpose, nor, at this stage, would it be more than disturbing to attempt to find guidance in the activities of British cities—the building of air raid shelters, expansion and training of departments assisting in civil defense, control of traffic during blackouts, plans for evacuation of cities, and the like.[1]

The chief need is for orderly planning and integration. At this stage it is still very much a job for the experts. Ideas and discussion are always in order—at least in this country—but this is no time to mount our horse and gallop off in all directions.

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[1] See also "British Local Governments and the War," p. 616 of this issue.

P. R. Fable, French Version

RECENTLY a politically-minded gentleman advanced the mistaken claim that France had the proportional representation system of voting and that somehow this "fact" had an important connection with that unfortunate country's inability to resist Hitler's legions.

The truth is that France *never* had proportional representation. All recent parliaments have been elected entirely on the majority principle under a system which differed only in minor details from our own method of electing members of Congress.

It may not be particularly constructive to discuss a political falsehood like this in detail or to excuse the politician by explaining how he happened to be "misinformed." But the fact that this myth—that France has been using P. R. and that its many parties were a natural result of that system—is likely to persist, makes it advisable that thoughtful persons understand some of the details.

In 1919 an electoral bill was adopted for French parliamentary elections which, when first proposed, provided for a party list system of proportional representation. It still kept the name "proportional representation" in its final form even though it had been so amended on its way through Parliament that it gave representation to minorities only in certain special circumstances and then hardly ever in proportion to their strength. This unsatisfactory compromise was abandoned in 1927 and, since then, the ordinary majority system has been in effect in small constituencies, with a second ballot in case no one candidate received a majority in the first balloting.

Proportional representation, particularly in its best form as used in New York and Cincinnati, cannot be charged with any tendency to produce the bloc system or a multiplicity of parties. This is dramatically illustrated by the one-party government of Eire, which uses P. R. in this same best form, and by the fact that only two parties are represented in the legislative assembly of Tasmania, which also has used this best form continuously since 1907. Meanwhile, the other Australian provinces, which do not have P. R., have more than two parties.

It was about seven years ago that opponents of P. R. in this country began charging, equally falsely, that P. R. made the rise of Hitler possible; whereas the fact is that Germany never had the Hare system of proportional representation, used in American cities, Eire, and other English-speaking communities.

These and other arguments of the same general nature and of equally baseless origin prove nothing so much

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St. Louis Struggles for Metropolitan Solution

City continues to lose population to suburbs, suffers from loss of business, reduction in revenue, blighted areas, while surrounding communities grow apace.

By RICHARD G. BAUMHOFF
St. Louis Post-Dispatch

LOSS of population by the city of St. Louis for the first time in its 176 years' existence and the sprawling residential growth of the St. Louis County suburbs may lead to new efforts for some sort of governmental merger of these separate but closely related units of the metropolis of Missouri.

When it became known last summer that the city had declined in population from 821,960 to 813,748 in the last decade and had yielded seventh place among American municipalities to Baltimore, Mayor Bernard F. Dickmann made an informal proposal for annexation of the most populous suburban area. He asserted that the city would gain only in population, but that the suburbs would benefit through better governmental services and facilities and that much administrative duplication could be eliminated.

Civic agencies, having become painfully aware of the clumsy situation created by arbitrary political boundaries, already were quietly considering some means of correction. Two attempts at merger had failed in the last fourteen years, so the movement has proceeded cautiously, without fanfare. New action has not crystallized.

St. Louis cannot annex its built-up outskirts at will; its sixty-one square miles of territory lie within an ironclad boundary which has not changed since 1876. Formerly the nation's fourth city, it has been passed by Detroit, Los Angeles, and Cleveland, because they have expanded extensively, and by Baltimore, largely because of the overflow of New Deal agencies from Washington.

In 1876, tired of the domination of county politicians and the inefficient superimposition of county and municipal governments—which is still the pattern of most American communities—St. Louis separated from St. Louis County. Since then the city has been an independent quasi-county, chartered by direct authority of the state.

Without mutual consent, annexation—merger is the more polite term, adopted to spare the feelings of the suburbanites—is impossible. It has been talked of often, and came before the voters three times—in 1924, 1926, and 1930.

The action of 1924 was merely adoption by the voters of the state of an amendment to the constitution providing the mechanics of action. Under it a board of freeholders, appointed by officials of the city and county, labored for a year, with much sincere effort, to submit a workable scheme. On the final proposal, for a direct consolidation of city and county, the board, evenly divided between city and county members, was deadlocked until one man switched to permit a popular vote.

CITY FOR: COUNTY AGAINST

At a special election in October 1926 the plan was laid before the voters; the result was quite apparent even before the polls opened. The county voted it down, two to one, with 67 per cent of its electorate casting ballots; the city favored it, seven to one, out of only 22 per cent of the voting strength. The figures: county for the merger, 10,962; against it, 23,059; city for, 54,558; against, 8,067. Favorable majorities on both sides of the boundary line were required for passage.

With the backing of the city Chamber of Commerce a new movement soon started in which Professor Thomas H. Reed, widely known expert on municipal affairs, was brought in as consultant and head of a planning staff. This led to submission to voters of the whole state of another proposed constitutional amendment in 1930. Under it the people of the city and county would have been authorized to adopt a charter creating a city of Greater St. Louis, to deal with certain governmental functions but preserving for all other purposes the right of self-government for municipalities then existing.

The proposition was defeated in the state at large, under the onslaught of rearoused county opposition. The state vote was 218,381 for and 375,718 against.

This time there was a greater local turnout at the polls, for the proposal was submitted at a regular state election. The county majority was not quite so overwhelming and the margin was close in the city. Again, the figures: county for, 14,174; against, 21,669; city for, 63,253; against 58,683.

Two things counted principally against both the 1926 and 1930 schemes in the county—suburbanites and farmers feared that any sort of amalgamation with the city would increase the level of real estate assessments and hence the taxes, and the suburban dwellers were vehement in their preference for small, responsive town governments by business and professional men whom they knew as neighbors, in contrast to the politicians' government of the city. At that time the erratic Victor J. Miller, Republican, was mayor. He was succeeded by Mr. Dickmann, Democrat, still in office, and the general character of the city government has not changed in a way to commend it to county people. Back of popular feeling, of course, was the desire of county officeholders and politicians to retain their jobs.

The amendment of 1926 still remains on the books. A plan may be submitted to the people under it not oftener than once in five years. A board of freeholders must be appointed on petition of a small number of voters, separately on each side of the line—about 7,500 in the city and 2,100 in the county.

Three general alternatives are provided for in this amendment. They are: (1) consolidation of the territories and governments of the city and county as one legal subdivision under the municipal government of the city; (2) re-entry of the city into the county, together with reorganization and consolidation of the city and county in the pre-1876 pattern, leaving the city free to carry out annexations of the county under the legal form provided for other Missouri municipalities; (3) outright annexation of part of the county by the city, without altering the relationship otherwise of the two units.

It is doubtful whether either the second or third alternatives could be adopted, no matter how attractive a plan might be. The people of the city are unwilling to go back into the county, with attendant multiplication of officials and politicians. Slicing off a chunk of the county outright would create objectionable economic and governmental problems for the impoverished balance of the county. If anything will work it will have to be either the first existing alternative or something novel under a new enabling law.

METROPOLITAN AREA SUGGESTED

At the Chamber of Commerce in the city recent informal talk has been of the creation of some sort of generalized metropolitan district, which could care for some of the more obvious mutual problems, such as policing, water supply, and sewage disposal. However, weaknesses inherent in such an idea are recognized. The Mayor's suggestion for annexation would take over the most heavily populated suburbs and leave a region of small subdivisions, estates, farms, woods, and hills.

Conditions have changed sharply since 1926. The county has grown and its government has improved; the city has declined to such an extent that downtown merchants are genuinely concerned over loss of business in the decentralization movement, while the type of municipal government has remained the same under the 1914 charter.

Repeal of prohibition played a part in improvement of the county through removal of temptations for law-enforcement agencies. Commercialized gambling has been effectively barred in the county in recent years, as it long has been in the city. Although the county government still lacks legislative authority, the so-called County Court, which is in reality a three-man administrative commission, has a somewhat more clearly defined path. A county comptroller and budget system have been installed. The fee system for constables has been abolished and the number of deputies restricted, so that traps for motorists have been eliminated. Authority has been granted for county planning and zoning under an official master plan, whereas in the city the plan is not officially binding.

The number of incorporated cities and villages in the county has doubled and trebled, until now there are about forty, making an almost solid ring around the central city. Their existence has solved some of the most pressing problems of the suburbs by providing needed services and legislative power. The county's population has grown from 100,737 in 1920 and 211,593 in 1930, to 273,533 now.

Largely under the impetus of the Federal Housing Administration plan of home financing, new subdivisions and informal clusters of dwellings have sprung up throughout the county in the years since the depth of the depression. Meanwhile a cancerous property blight has spread over much of the city for reasons too numerous to list here. There has been residential growth only in rather limited outlying parts of the city.

All this is in marked contrast with the physical situation prevailing when the city and county separated, way back in 1876. At that time the city was built up perhaps only halfway to the new boundary and Forest Park was scoffed at as being out in the country. Settlements in the county were few and small; it was a rich, rural farming area. The railroads, offering commuter service, helped develop the early suburbs along fan-like lines. Farming now is a minority pursuit of the county; the farms have been gradually turned into rich men's estates or white-collar subdivisions. Often when leaders are sought for strictly city offices or activities it is found that the men and women suggested are ineligible because they live in the county.

Decentralization is hitting the city hard in many ways—economic, social, and political. It has cut down municipal tax revenues, changed the characteristics of the inhabitants and voters. The city needs some form of combined community management; the county doubtless needs it, too, but there the need is less apparent and the public tendency is to feel that any type of merger would be harmful.

What proponents of any new plan will have to do is to make the people on both sides of the invisible line see clearly that it is a mutual community problem, that what hurts or helps one area harms or benefits the other. The city is the workshop, the county to a large extent the bedroom and recreation ground of the real Greater St. Louis.

NEEDS OF COUNTY

There are tangible signs that county politicians, who, incidentally, have become more machine-like in their operations as the population swelled, are aware of the inadequacy of county government, in spite of various piecemeal improvements. They recognize that something radical must be done sooner or later, and probably fairly soon. Opposed to outright consolidation with the city, they have been inclined lately to the view that a modern county charter would be the thing, leaving the city to its own devices. Coincident with this trend is the feeling that the ninety-odd big and little school districts in the county should be consolidated as one or in groups.

At Clayton, the county seat, which adjoins the decaying West End of the city, stands a crumbling, antiquated courthouse, erected in 1878 and added to in poor style from time

(Continued on page 592)

Metropolitan Growing Pains in Allegheny County

"If at first you don't succeed, try try again," motto of citizens of Pennsylvania's second largest county; defeats fail to dampen ardor for sound solution of metropolitan question.

By **H. MARIE DERMITT**
Civic Club of Allegheny County

THE county of Allegheny is made up of three distinct areas of radically different character: the 54.2 thickly-settled square miles of the city of Pittsburgh, the partly built-up boroughs which cluster about the city, and meagerly settled townships and boroughs. Including three cities, sixty-six boroughs and fifty-two townships, the county is fourteen times bigger than the city, fanning out over 741 square miles.

The "Metropolitan Plan," originating in Pittsburgh, was designed to provide this extensive area with a modern municipal organization. It has been remarked that "nowhere in the world has any district attempted covering so much unsettled land with a city blanket." The long and complex history of the Metropolitan Plan movement is thus of considerable interest to students of American municipal affairs.

The first real impetus for the consolidation movement dates back to the early years of the present century and to the forcible annexation by the city of Pittsburgh of old Allegheny City. The reform movement for consolidation of local governments, which had ended in a definite annexation measure in 1854, was reflected in the legislature for many years. Until 1905, however, there had been no conscious movement toward consolidation in Pittsburgh. Then the state legislature was induced to pass an act specifically providing that the annexation of Allegheny City to the larger city of Pittsburgh should be permitted.

There is little doubt that this act—passed in 1906—was so framed that Allegheny City could be absorbed with or without her consent. It was the majority vote of Pittsburgh that baptized the new combination, calling it "Greater Pittsburgh."

The resentment on the part of Allegheny City residents which followed this cavalier treatment fanned into flame a state-wide organization of considerable importance. In December of 1910 a number of citizens of other contiguous boroughs met and formed the League of Boroughs and Townships of Allegheny County, designed primarily to prevent a repetition of Pittsburgh's land grab. That there was, by this time, a very real movement toward further consolidation had been indicated by the 1909 legislature which had received a metropolitan bill aimed at further forcible annexations.

The chief objective of this body, numbering representatives from 122 separate political units, came to be opposition to the principle of forcible annexation. The body constituted itself as a watch dog, fighting such bills as the 1911 proposal of the late William Addison Magee, then mayor of Pittsburgh, who introduced a measure similar to the one which had died in committee two years before. In this opposition lay the real basis for the Metropolitan Plan.

It is worth mentioning, perhaps, that the comprehensive report of the Committee on Taxation Study, appointed by the Pittsburgh Council in 1916, included recommendations "for the absorption of outlying suburbs whose inhabitants make their living in the city but pay no taxes for the city privileges they enjoy" and for the creation of a metropolitan district. There was also an act of 1919 which provided for the establishment of a Bureau of Municipalities with broad planning and publicity powers.

CITIZENS QUESTIONED

In 1921 there occurred a brief flurry of excitement when the Civic Club of Allegheny County, which was absolutely opposed to forcible annexation, mailed a test questionnaire to a selected list of several thousand citizens in four boroughs adjacent to Pittsburgh. The answers to the questionnaire indicated that the sentiment of the various communities was toward some improved organization under which the various municipalities of the county could coöperate more effectively to secure greater efficiency and greater economy. A plan was proposed based on the metropolitan idea. Certain services were to be administered under centralized control, in which various sections of the district had representation, while others were to be retained by the municipalities for local administration.

A succession of vitriolic articles immediately appeared in the house organ of the League of Boroughs and Townships. The Civic Club, in order to counteract the impression that it was favoring annexation, arranged a series of forums. At one of these the league proposed that a committee be appointed "to consider the situation as it then existed." The committee was to be made up of both Civic Club and league members, equally divided. As an evidence of good faith, the Civic Club agreed to this suggestion and appointments were made by the presidents of both organizations. The committee, however, did not feel that it had the proper authority to function, and its study did not result in any concrete action.

A bill to create a metropolitan district in Allegheny County was finally introduced in the state legislature in 1923 during the second administration of Mayor Magee. This proposal provided for the creation of incorporated districts, extending over more than one municipality, for the purpose of construction, maintenance, and operation of public works. It included power to levy taxes not to exceed in any one year 2.75 mills upon the assessed valuation of the taxable property within the district, to incur indebtedness not in excess of 3 per cent of assessed valuation, to levy assessments against all properties, whether abutting or not, which were especially benefited by such public works. The bill likewise provided that no such incorporated district could be created or its boundaries extended or its powers increased except by consent of at least a majority of the residents.

COMMISSION CREATED

This metropolitan bill—the first comprehensive proposal—was withdrawn at the request of the league, and a new bill was passed creating a commission of twenty-four members to study municipal consolidation in counties of the second class (only Allegheny County falls within this category). Appointments were made by Governor Gifford Pinchot who drew largely from the membership of the League of Boroughs and Townships. A preliminary report of 1924 and a minority report were subsequently filed with the Governor in 1925. The commission at that time asked for another two-year term together with an appropriation of five thousand dollars, both of which were granted the same year.

The commission, in its 1925 report, recommended a consolidated city to comprise all of Allegheny County. An amendment to the state constitution was presented to the legislature but was held in committee. A subsequent constitutional amendment was entered in the special session of 1926. It passed, but in the last few hours of the session—too late to make a correction—enemies of the consolidated city plan inserted a joker providing that, for passage of a charter, a two-to-one majority vote in a majority of the individual municipalities would be required in addition to a majority vote in the county. This handicap had to be accepted, however, since a constitutional amendment must be passed by two successive legislatures to become effective. The amendment was therefore passed in this form by the 1926 and 1927 legislative sessions.

In the meantime, and as a result of the 1927 legislative session, the Metropolitan Commission continued its work. As a result the electorate approved the amendment at the election of November 1928, and it became part of the state constitution. The amendment, in its final form, authorized the legislature to submit to the people of Allegheny County a charter providing for:

1. A metropolitan form of government, under the name of the city of Pittsburgh, which in effect would actually have been the county government endowed with additional powers;
2. The continued existence (within the new metropolitan scheme) of all cities, boroughs, and townships in their current form and with complete power over all matters of local interest.

The year 1929 saw an exciting year of county political history. A fourth report of the Metropolitan Commission was submitted in the form of a charter, which received almost immediate popular and press support. It aroused equally as bitter opposition from political jobholders. Among other things, it sought to standardize volunteer fire department systems and to abolish the minor judiciary. Both the firemen's organizations and the minor judiciary immediately jumped into the fray and brought sufficient pressure to bear to cause amendment of the charter. As finally passed by the legislature, the charter none the less contained at least 65 per cent of the commission's recommendations.

According to the terms of the amended charter the boroughs and townships were to get:

1. A constitutional guarantee of their independence, boundaries, government, and names;
2. Perpetual security against forced annexation with an option to "vote in" if they wished;
3. Continued control of local streets, sewers, municipal electric light plants and water works, and other local services;
4. Independent police and fire departments;
5. An independent system of taxing and bonding power;
6. Every other local power not specifically conferred by the charter on the new metropolitan government.

The city of Pittsburgh and the county of Allegheny were to get:

1. The advantages of a United States census rating as the fourth city in the country with a probable population, according to the 1930 census, of 1,500,000;
2. Improvements and savings in metropolitan administration;
3. An opportunity to work for a solution of problems common to the whole area; i.e., planning, transportation, traffic, sanitation, health, charities, major public works, public utilities, recreation.
4. A sense of unity and community spirit;
5. The magnetic attraction that a great population always has for new industries, opening as it does new areas of purchasing power;
6. The advantages of coöperation with individual units in promoting a generally finer community life.

CHARTER MEETS DEFEAT

After passage of the charter by the legislature, the commission set to work on an intensive educational campaign preparatory to its submission to the voters on June 25, 1929. The charter, however, shared the fate of previous attempts, going down to defeat under the two-to-one majority clause.

After the plan met defeat the Metropolitan Commission petitioned the county commissioners to resubmit the issue at the regular November election. Because of failure of the enabling amendment to provide specifically for such action, it was found necessary to test the propriety of the move in the courts. The Common Pleas Court of Allegheny County finally decreed against resubmission of the charter (1929 P.D. 573), and its decision was subsequently upheld by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court in 1930.

In 1931 the legislature failed to continue the life of the commission. It continued to function, however, as an unofficial body. That same year the commission offered an amendment designed to eliminate the two-to-one majority clause of the charter, an amendment which was quickly adopted by the legislatures of 1931 and 1933 and accepted by the voters of the state on November 7, 1933.

The new provisions of the amendment merely demanded that a majority vote from the county as a whole and a majority vote of a majority of the municipalities would be required.

In 1934 the Allegheny County Commissioners created a new body called the Peoples Metropolitan Commission. It was made up of twenty-four citizens, each commissioner having named eight. Made up of attorneys, civic leaders, and a few ward, borough, and township officials, the new body did not include any of the surviving members of the old commission. It was hoped the commission would, after adequate study and a number of hearings, recommend a Metropolitan Plan which the county commissioners could present to the legislature as the formal and official preference of the entire county.

The conclusions of the peoples commission, which continued in active existence until 1935, are best summarized in the words of a resolution adopted early in the life of the commission. This resolution called the Metropolitan Plan idea "highly essential . . . in order to attain efficiency in government and a reduction in taxes"; but pointed out that the restrictions and limitations embodied in the constitutional amendments of 1929 and 1933 were of so extensive a nature that any plan evolved would "serve only to continue most of the existing governmental evils which we oppose," and would impose upon the municipalities a "greater and more expensive government and a consequent increase in taxation." The resolution said flatly that the commission was opposed to *any* metropolitan charter "which can be drafted under the present amendments." It urged, however, that the commission be continued in existence for the purpose of proposing to a prospective constitutional convention other provisions which would make possible the drafting of a proper and adequate charter and would suggest measures to eliminate existing governmental evils.

A change in the political complexion of the Board of County Commissioners in 1935, however, occasioned a shift in community interest. The leading members of the body felt that any further recommendations should come from a new membership, and the Peoples Commission died a polite and painless death.

COMMISSION REORGANIZED

In response to a suggestion from the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce, the Metropolitan Plan Commission, originally created by an act of legislature and appointed by Governors Gifford Pinchot and John Fisher, was reorganized and enlarged. The commission immediately introduced another bill which passed in the Senate but went down to defeat in the House.

The new bill, more comprehensive than any that had been submitted up to that time, marked an important milestone in the progress of the metropolitan idea. It suggested drastic reallocations in the county government. It authorized the incorporation into "Metropolitan Pittsburgh" of any subdivision in the county which approved the move in an election and secured the consent of the county commissioners. Under the provisions of the bill, the county would have been empowered: to take over zoning regulations, to maintain through highways, to create special districts for the operation of public utilities, to maintain a county police force, to regulate smoke, to establish uniform property assessments.

To administer the new unit, the bill proposed that seven commissioners be elected by the various districts with the board electing the chairman. The district attorney, recorder of deeds, sheriff, controller, and coroner were to be retained as elected officers; the county treasurer, clerk of courts, register of wills, and prothonetary were to be appointed—the courts to appoint the last three and a new officer, the public administrator, to appoint the treasurer.

The public administrator, under the terms of the bill, was to be appointed by the county commissioners who would become the chief executive officers of the district and name the heads of the departments of finance, health, safety, public works, welfare, parks and recreation, planning, personnel, and law.

The bill also consolidated the poor districts, created a municipal instead of a county court, and abolished the offices of all aldermen, justices of the peace, and constables, whose functions would be absorbed by the new court. The City Board of Assessors and the City Welfare Department were also slated for dismissal with a new county assessor empowered to make all assessments. The bill did not affect the jury commission, the registration commission, the schools, or the courts.

After the defeat of this bill, the Pennsylvania Taxpayers Forum sponsored another amendment which was passed in 1937. There were, however, several hurdles to clear, and the amendment finally fell by the wayside.

In 1939 another renascence of the metropolitan idea took place, initiated by a petition of fourteen prominent citizens addressed to Mayor Cornelius D. Scully. The Mayor enthusiastically welcomed the chance to consummate the years of effort, and a committee appointed by him drew up an extremely interesting draft of a bill. This bill carried the old guarantees against forcible annexation, but included several decided departures from previous suggestions. It proposed to vest full administrative authority in a public administrator whose appointment, salary, and tenure were at the disposal of seven elected commissioners, who were to receive $5,000 a year apiece with $7,500 for the board-selected chairman and were to be elected at large by proportional representation. A new departure, too, was a proposed civil service system applicable to all employees of the consolidated city. In addition to abolishing elected squires and constables, judicial powers of mayors and magistrates were to be eliminated. As a substitute a circulating municipal court was proposed.

These outstanding novelties, however, provoked immediate opposition. Facing a deadline for the introduction of new legislation into the House and with third-class cities lined up against it, heroic action alone could

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Mrs. Minority

Genevieve B. Earle, New York City's first and only councilwoman, believes that woman's place is in the home — sometimes.

By **MIRIAM ROHER**
National Municipal League

THIRTY-TWO years ago Genevieve Beavers walked into the office of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research and asked for a job. As a young girl only a year out of Adelphi, an agreeable woman's college on Long Island, she was "no use to them at all." So they let her work without pay for five months.

She stayed five years, and in 1937 became the first and only woman elected to the city council of the largest city in the world. Two years later, she became the first and only woman to hold the position of minority leader in any legislative body.

In the three decades between her apprenticeship to municipal research and her election to New York City's council, Genevieve B. Earle has ranged so widely over the field of civic endeavor that the six closely typed, severely outlined pages of her career read almost like an encyclopedia of community betterment. She has been actively connected with pioneering efforts in budgeting, public health nursing, administrative codes, weights and measures legislation, municipal reference libraries, police conditions, philanthropic organization, the Gary Plan for schools, vocational training and placement, reorganization of state government, European war relief, child welfare, antiwar work, community centers, city planning, the legal marriage age, the blind, leisure, fine arts, city charters, shade trees in Brooklyn, unemployment, and the election of mayors and governors—to name only some. She has been associated with innumerable "organizations." And she has maintained a home and raised two children to maturity.

The important fact about Genevieve B. Earle now, in 1940, is that she is the leader and the rallying point of the only progressive group of legislators that New York City has had in many years. And a woman to boot.

The story of Mrs. Earle is that of a professional leader of citizens. Not of a hysterical feminine reformer. Not of a housewife converted picturesquely and amateurishly to public work. Not of a feminist bent on subjecting men to women. Nor of a lady politician—although she can give and take with the best and worst of the boys. It is simply the story of a woman interested in government since childhood and actively and successfully associated with government ever since. Why?

"I believe that government, both good and bad, is the single most important influence on everything and everybody."

That simple statement sums up her philosophy and her career. As for the wide range of her activities: "I like to take lost causes. Emergencies are my specialty. When a thing needs to be done, and there's no one else to do it, what else can I do?"

It may be that kind of "emergency" which will keep Mrs. Earle in the New York City council for a third term. Only reluctantly did she decide to run for a second term.

"There are other ways in which I should like to serve the city, since I am not a good debater," she says frankly. "But there were two considerations which determined me to make the run again. I feared that if I did not risk a second campaign, it would be said everywhere that an independent does not care to risk defeat since the question of public support is so important. The second consideration was the fear that since I was the only woman in the city council, my failure to become a candidate might be misunderstood and those who are interested in women in public office might become disheartened and say that a woman 'couldn't take it'."

MRS. GENEVIEVE B. EARLE
New York City Councilwoman

The lady from Brooklyn decidedly can "take it" but it has been a hard and disheartening job. During her first term she was serving on the minority side of a council almost evenly divided between the Democratic machine (Tammany men and their spiritual first cousins) and a miscellany of Fusion followers of Mayor LaGuardia. It was the first council to be elected under the new and immensely superior New York City charter (Mrs. Earle was the only woman member of the committee which framed it), the first council to be elected in New York City under proportional representation, and the first council in decades which the Democratic machine did not overwhelmingly control. While that council served a shockingly no-nothing term because of the obstructionism of the bare Democratic majority, it was a term replete with drama and color and it marked a renascence of the liberal spirit in New York City legislative affairs which was immensely heartening to those who hoped for a machine minority next time.

Moreover, for the first time in years constructive ideas were being sounded on the floor of New York's beautiful colonial council-chamber—ideas, for instance, about abolition of numerous expensive sinecures in New York City's obsolete county "governments," a fight led by Mrs. Earle and repeatedly sabotaged by the Democrats. One dramatic debate on the subject resulted in a twenty-hour all-night session. (At 5 A.M. her husband woke up, noticed she wasn't home yet, and notified the police that his wife was missing!)

While the second councilmanic election in 1939 resulted in Mrs. Earle's re-election at the top of the Brooklyn slate, and while it produced a twenty-one-member council whose calibre and composition was, on the whole, immensely superior to the old board of aldermen, there was plenty of grief in the returns for the Fusion-LaGuardia forces. The machine had an array of fourteen worthies to a mere seven of the independent stamp. And the independents were a motley group whose cohesion in time of pressure could not always be relied on.

MINORITY LEADER

Then B. Charney Vladeck, minority leader in the first council, died suddenly toward the end of his first term and eight months ago Mrs. Earle succeeded to his mantle. Like Finland, in recent months, Mrs. Earle and her puny band have fought the machine in a series of legislative encounters doomed from the start by the disparity in numbers.

Is the fight worth carrying on? That goes without saying. Mrs. Earle is taking her county reform fight over the heads of the council to the people, and she and the citizens groups which back her are getting their referendum petitions signed in spite of the infinite variety of obstructionist tactics which the Democrats in the council always have up their sleeves.

The only reason she is dubious about a try at a third term is the personal sacrifice involved. "After all, it does take it out of you!" she says bluntly. "And when you're getting older—" She has no vanity about her age—tells everyone she's "as old as the Brooklyn Bridge, but in much better condition." A little research discloses that the bridge was opened in 1883.

Not too old for more, judging by the vigorous way she talks and acts, the full life she lives and obviously enjoys. She is a solid-looking woman, with a strong face and a capable figure. Not at all masculine, but more like the women who in another day ran huge family establishments and the neighboring countryside as well. Not that she is a "managing" woman, either. Decisive and firm, perhaps, but the voice that floats out over the council chamber is so ladylike and cultured that compared with the New York-accented bassos that precede and follow her remarks, it is like a fresh spring day juxtaposed with "cloudy and showers."

It may be that the machine men were thinking of these voice contrasts when they took themselves and their council-mates abruptly out of the hearing of the voters of the city. During the first term of the P.R. council their deliberations were broadcast over the municipal radio station, to the delight of many thousands of listeners, who rated it better in entertainment value than Jack Benny. Then, for reasons best known to themselves, but suspected by many, the Democrats decided they would prefer to vote down reforms in less exposed fashion, and as soon as the minority was whittled down by the second election they steamrollered the broadcasts out, in spite of a spirited defense by Mrs. Earle and her minority.

How does a woman with a man-sized job in public life manage her "womanly" duties as well? Even in these days when career women are numerous enough to be accepted in theory, common prejudice still has a sneaking suspicion that the professional woman can't possibly hold her end up as far as ***kinder, kuche, und kirche*** are concerned.

The crowded agenda of Mrs. Earle's life should provide one more blow to that prejudice. Until her husband died a short time ago, she not only managed a full-fledged household but gave aid and comfort in the illness of two of its members. In the presence of the interviewer, she turned down a speaking date on the subject nearest her heart—county reorganization—in order to devote herself entirely to her husband and daughter.

FAMILY APPROVAL

Not that her family jealously demanded these things. Both were proud of their councilwoman. The daughter, who is "artistic" and not particularly interested in government, nevertheless passes around clippings about her mother to anyone who is handy. And Mr. Earle thoroughly approved of his spouse's civic doings, even though he was a "passionate Republican" and she is Republican only when Republicanism means anti-Tammanyism. Mrs. Earle "tries not to cheat her family," and she does it simply by getting up early and going to bed late.

She makes no bones about the minor domestic abilities, however—she simply doesn't have them. She tells about the reporter who came to get a story about her as a mother and a housewife, and wanted a picture of her "doing something domestic." He suggested she sit on a couch knitting.

"But I can't knit."

Could she cook?

"Not a lick."

At last, in desperation, she rushed to the telephone and said brightly, "I shall telephone to the grocer and order some groceries!"

They finally compromised on a dusting scene, with Mrs. Earle using a damask napkin as a rather unorthodox dustcloth.

What is the compulsion that sent this gently bred daughter of well-to-do parents, wife of a well-to-do husband, into the fierce materialistic battles of New York City politics? That is a second question which comes readily to anyone who has observed the vast majorities of comfortably situated women who do *not* go into politics, New York City or otherwise.

There may be a Freudian answer, but Mrs. Earle is so splendidly extroverted a woman that if such an answer exists it is well hidden. The reason she herself gives is that she has been interested in politics ever since she can remember; and that she was brought up with a lot of boys, so that no rough and tumble ever dismayed her. That interest in politics she modifies now, in the light of a maturer understanding, into an interest in government, with a secondary concern with politics merely in so far as politics are a tool to good government.

She believes deeply in the rôle of women in shaping good government. Not that she is a feminist.

"I'm not proud of what women do; I'm proud of what they could do. They could do at least as much as men, but not necessarily better than men."

Women are still the leisure class, philosophizes Mrs. Earle. Each woman could easily devote valuable time to civic activities. Moreover, women are not yet rutted into party lines, as are their men; they are psychologically readier to think independently. And finally, women are naturally conservators; as they become more and more aware of the effects of government (which are these days becoming more and more obvious) they will pitch in to help as naturally as they warm the baby's bottle.

WHY NOT OTHERS?

Although she would prefer to be simply another councilman, Mrs. Earle feels strongly the glare of the spotlight on the only woman member of the council—the first woman member. When she speaks, her hearers assume that all women speak. What she does is blamed on the whole feminine tribe. To Mrs. Earle this is a grave responsibility, and she tries hard to be better than herself, for the sake of the women whom she hopes will follow in her place. (She is a little resentful that they do not follow more quickly.)

But Mrs. Earle's political life is not simply a product of an officious notion that women ought to have as much to say as men in the running of government. The feminine angle is the smallest part of a full-fledged philosophy which has sent her into so many activities, all of them constructive. The epitome of what government means she sees in the New York City tax bill, on the back of which is a breakdown of the city budget. She points out a $100,000,000 item for education. Compare that with the sums privately spent for education! Another $200,000,000 for social welfare purposes of all kinds. Compare that with privately administered funds for social welfare! In other words, private activities for the common good are dwarfed by the towering activities of government. If government isn't as good as it can be, how can we hope for good in any other field?

She sees as the primary task of a citizens' party the dramatization of government so that even the most unimaginative may realize how stupendous a job is to be done by city hall.

"The other day, as I was walking across town, I realized what tremendous changes have taken place in the past seven years," she commented. (The calendar of a good New York City progressive always identifies 1933, the first year of LaGuardia, as A.D. 1.) "For instance, the trolleys are almost all gone and buses have taken their place! We take so much for granted, we forget so much. There are probably many people who think things have always been this way.

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Plea for an Informed Citizenry

States should follow lead of the cities in making available concise, readable reports on all phases of activity; such important matters as state finances, voting statistics, and accomplishments of various departments should be easily accessible.

By **JAMES K. POLLOCK**
University of Michigan

WE ARE beginning to realize and to emphasize that our democracy must be properly informed if it is to function intelligently on public questions. Too much of our public action has been decided "by guess or by God." Many important public questions have been decided by small minorities because majorities have not been informed.

It is interesting to study the voting participation on initiative and referendum issues in the states having these institutions and to see how voters refuse to express an opinion on questions about which they have not been informed. Large areas of our public are not exposed to any regular kind of information service on governmental questions, and even in elections where issues are on the ballot we have done next to nothing to give voters factual information.

In initiative and referendum states—of which there are thirteen with the constitutional initiative, nineteen with the statutory initiative, and twenty-one with the statutory referendum—only ten use so-called publicity pamphlets to inform the voters on issues pending for decision. This minimum effort on the part of the state is very inadequate; it provides the voters with the official texts of the measures and only occasionally with arguments pro and con. These pamphlets are not factual; they do not contain all the information necessary to enable the voter to make up his mind with a full knowledge of the facts; and they are very frequently so unattractive and unimportant looking that they are promptly thrown into the waste basket.

For very small sums of money initiative and referendum states can solve this problem of informing the voters on measures submitted for acceptance or rejection. For a penny a pamphlet a state could inform its voters in an adequate manner, and thus raise the intelligence level of the voting population.

In the larger and more detailed field of administrative information—of information about the hundred different services and activities performed by the average state—the citizen is indeed hungry or starved. Even in the field of public finance the most elementary facts about the state budget are frequently not immediately available to interested citizens. Many political campaigns are fought on the issue of state finance, with the contending candidates asserting figures which may be millions of dollars apart.

When it comes to problems of unemployment, public health, crime, libraries, and securities, it is often with the utmost difficulty that interested citizens are able to secure necessary information. In the matter of voting statistics, although all states publish some kind of manual which contains pages of election returns, in only a few states is it possible to learn the number of registered voters.

INFORM THE CITIZEN

Should it not be possible for the average gum-chewing citizen to learn with the utmost ease whether his state is in the red or in the black, and whether the voters participate well or poorly in elections? If we can spend considerable sums to help the resort areas of the state attract tourists, and to help the American Legion and the DAR to have their state conventions, why can we not make available in attractive and useful form all the relevant facts about the major activities of government?

As it is at present, highway and conservation departments are quite well organized to hand out publicity about their achievements and services. One could wish that equally important state services, such as health and education, social security, and law enforcement, might be able to afford the publicity men who are present in only a few of the better organized departments. The casual nature of state reports, their personal or partisan bias, their incomplete coverage, their unattractiveness, not to mention their inadequacies, may well cause believers in an informed citizenry to wail and gnash their teeth.

If we are convinced of the need of more public information, what should be done to achieve a proper result? First of all, there should be in every state government a centralized control over all reports and all expenditures for publicity. In this way, as in Massachusetts, uniformity and adequacy can be enforced. Instead of allowing a department to spend as much money for publicity as its own budget permits, a central office of finance and administration could require an even and fair allocation for publicity purposes to all departments.

PUBLICITY FUNDS NEEDED

In the second place, simply because there are no pressure groups insisting on expenditures for information, we have found great reductions made in recent years in the funds allocated for this purpose. Considerable increases in funds for informational purposes would do much to improve the democratic process.

In the third place, serious attention should be given to supplying the general public not with a four-hundred-page book of figures, but rather with a set of simple, clear, attractive five- or ten-page pamphlets which summarize essential facts for the average citizen.

Reports should be in two forms. A complete report should be available to agencies and individuals who will make use of its great detail. But more important, a second type of government report should be prepared for general public distribution in brief form. Such reports for the average citizen should be prepared with all the modern devices for conveying information such as pictograms and tabular devices. They should be prepared by persons trained in such matters and not by broken-down politicians or newspapermen. They should appear at regular intervals and not just before an election to help out a candidate who is up for re-election.

Until state and local governments give adequate attention to these vital problems of public information, it will be very inaccurate to refer to our people as an informed democracy. The progress which has been made in the field of municipal reporting can be duplicated in other fields if we insist upon it. Otherwise we might as well admit that democratic government is run by default and ignorance.

Editor's Note.—Paper read at Citizens Conference on Government, Estes Park, Colorado, June 28, 1940.

ST. LOUIS STRUGGLES

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to time thereafter. Repeatedly, for years, the voters have rejected proposals to issue bonds for a new structure, even when the PWA was prepared to pay a large share of the cost. In part this attitude was due perhaps to mistrust of some of the county officials, but there have been strong signs that later defeats were due, to considerable extent, to the feeling that the county and city were destined to get together again, obviating the need. The courthouse has been criticised by grand juries for years as a firetrap and the city government of Clayton has condemned its oldest section, so that postal carriers no longer deliver mail there.

Traveling out from the city into the county in any direction, it takes a trained eye to discern any difference. Physically and socially the community is one; politically it is a long divorced couple, often forgetting good manners to snarl on meeting.

In the mushroom development of suburbs there is serious danger of an early re-creation of the blight which has hurt the city. As a striking example stands the fact that many new subdivisions were laid out with tiny lots, where light and air and privacy will soon be at a premium—paradoxically in a district where there is still plenty of land.

Together the city and the suburban area of the county have a population now slightly in excess of a million, constituting what really is one urban region which would rank sixth among American cities—behind Detroit and Los Angeles but ahead of Cleveland and Baltimore.

The official metropolitan district, bisected by the Mississippi River, as set up by the 1930 census, consists of all but one outlying rural township of St. Louis County and takes in an adjoining county seat, St. Charles, and large portions of two Illinois counties including East St. Louis and Alton. This metropolitan district had a population of 1,293,000 in 1930 and it is apparent that completion of 1940 figures will not make a great change. Probably there will be a slight increase, but various smaller cities in the district have lost population in the decade. The St. Louis metropolitan district was eighth in the nation in 1930 and likely has not changed in rank.

Manager Plan in Connecticut Towns

Three towns and one city have taken advantage of manager legislation; change in government not difficult to attain but many communities still cling to traditional town meeting though cumbersome and antiquated.

By CARTER W. ATKINS
Hartford Governmental Research Institute, Inc.

IT WOULD seem that the simplicity by which most municipalities in Connecticut may adopt the manager form of government would have prompted many more than the present three towns and one city to give that system of government a trial. That they have not done so may be due largely to acceptance of the old habit of thinking of local government as more representative and more democratic when its affairs are administered by elective officials and a multitude of citizen boards and commissions. Certainly it appears that there is a reluctance generally to centralize administrative authority in a single official either elective or appointive.

Connecticut towns hold their town meetings traditional of the early colonial days. One who sees them in operation is led to regard them as an institution not to be thoughtlessly looked upon as a useless or undesirable activity in the conduct of local government. The town meeting represents citizen interest sometimes at its best and sometimes not, but still it is citizen participation and throughout the years has without doubt afforded opportunity to citizens to bring influence to bear upon policies affecting the administration of local affairs. Adoption of the manager form of government in Connecticut neither abolishes nor alters the situation with respect to the continuation of town meetings if the citizens desire them and they are being continued in some of those communities which have managers.

Local governmental functions in Connecticut are administered under several corporate designations including cities, towns, boroughs, villages, and special districts. One hundred sixty-nine cities and towns comprise the entire area and population of the state. Fifteen of these units are consolidated cities and towns. One hundred fifty-three are towns, and one is a consolidated town and borough.

In addition to and operating within some of the 153 towns there are six cities, eighteen boroughs, two villages and numerous school, fire, sewer, lighting, and improvement districts. Thus, in many places there are two and sometimes more than two overlapping local governments.

Uniformity of organization does not prevail among Connecticut cities and towns and there is wide variation in their administrative structure. For example, towns may operate under special charter, or under the general town law either with or without special acts of the General Assembly pertaining to the particular town. They may or may not have a board of finance or a town council. Some have neither and others have one or the other or both, and in the absence of other provisions with respect to the administrative organization the town selectmen become the chief administrative authority.

TOWNS MAY APPOINT MANAGER

At the present time any town which operates under the general town law may of its own volition easily appoint a town manager. This is made possible by a general law passed by the General Assembly in 1917, which provides that any town having a board of finance may, at any annual or special town meeting, vote to have a town manager. Incidentally, any town may provide for the establishment of a board of finance by resolution adopted at a town meeting called for that purpose.

Following adoption at the town meeting of the resolution to appoint a town manager, the board of finance is required to nominate to the board of selectmen one or more persons for the office. The board of selectmen is required to make the appointment from the list of nominees within ten days. The law provides that the person appointed shall be "a suitable person who shall have a practical and technical knowledge of road and bridge building." He is appointed for a term of three years and his salary is fixed by the board of finance.

Although the law has been in effect since 1917, only one town has appointed a manager under its provisions. That appointment was made in the town of Killingly last year. Killingly has an estimated population of slightly more than 9,000. The town has no town council and no special charter so that the manager assumes the duties performed by the town selectmen except those pertaining to the making of voters. A borough government also operates within the town, independently of the town government.

The three other local governments which have appointed managers do not operate under the general town law but instead have obtained special charters through the General Assembly. Each has a city or town council but the governmental organization differs as between each community.

West Hartford was the first town in Connecticut to adopt the manager plan. West Hartford is a high-type residential community adjoining the city of Hartford and is one of the most rapidly growing communities in the state. The manager plan became effective in 1919, at which time the population of the town was approximately 8,800. Today the population is estimated to be nearly 34,000. At the time the first manager was appointed the town had no council but a council was established by charter provision some two years later.

During the period from 1919 to 1935 there was persistent encroachment on the manager's functions resulting from creation of boards and commissions which assumed the supervisory and administrative duties of most of the town's operating departments. The manager, therefore, became manager largely in name only. That condition was changed in 1936, however, as the result of adoption of a new charter by the General Assembly at the town's request. Most of the administrative boards were abolished and the town since then has operated under a council-manager plan. The citizens generally seem to like this form of government. The tax rate is relatively low and one hears the opinion expressed frequently that the town is well managed and efficiently operated.

The city of New London and the town of Stratford adopted the manager plan in 1921. In both communities the plan was established by special charter passed by the General Assembly. Incidentally, there is no distinction in Connecticut between cities and towns with respect to their functions of government. A town becomes a city if it chooses to designate itself a city in its charter. New London has a population of approximately 30,000 and the population of Stratford is estimated to be approximately 22,000.

The tax rate in these two communities is 28½ and 28 mills respectively as compared with 19 mills in West Hartford. Tax rates are of little value, however, for comparative purposes either as between manager towns or as between other towns. A considerable variation in governmental organization and functions, as well as the inclusion of special taxing districts, precludes the possibility of making valid statistical comparisons. Any attempt to measure the effectiveness of the manager plan in those communities would necessitate a careful analysis of the precise structure of their governments and an evaluation of the number and extent of the services rendered before and after the manager plan became effective.

FURTHER TRIAL NEEDED

It appears that the manager plan has not been given a sufficiently adequate test in Connecticut to afford a demonstration of its maximum possibilities under the best form of council-manager charter. Too many variations from the plan of centralized authority for all administrative functions appear to have been adopted in the organizational set-up in those towns which have managers. Perhaps in time communities which are ready to adopt the manager plan will be willing to discard more of the old methods and accept all of the best known principles of council-manager charters. Perhaps, too, when they have adopted the best possible charter they will insist their charter be made to work to the fullest possible extent.

As to the outlook, there appears to be no great degree of activity which would lead to a rapid increase in the number of manager towns and cities in the near future.

In Waterbury, the fourth largest municipality in the state, the citizens voted down the manager plan last year but observers have expressed the opinion that the outcome of the election was due to factors other than

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Detroit's Police Merit Board

Activities of special commission recently set up to select recruits and recommend promotions and retirements still in experimental stage; hold promise of a satisfactory solution of merit problems involved.

By JOHN R. SEARLES
Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research

WHEN Detroit recently experienced some difficulties in controlling police personnel, it struck out to solve these problems with a new type of civil service, which reverses some of the trends of present-day municipal merit systems. The Police Merit Board establishes a principle of regulation which is applicable not only to police and fire departments, but to other departments of government in which there are a number of technical positions.

Until 1939 the management of police personnel in Detroit was strictly a departmental matter, subject only to broad charter requirements that police officers be citizens, be able to speak English, and be promoted on the basis of seniority.[1] Until 1930 there was little public dissatisfaction with the personnel procedures employed. During the 1920's, under progressive police commissioners and superintendents, the selection and promotion of police officers was usually on a practical basis of merit and it was a common practice for the older officers to serve far beyond the minimum twenty-five years required for retirement on pension. With the exception of the Army Alpha Intelligence Test for recruits, no written tests were given. The merit principle was not formalized by city ordinance, charter provision, or rules of the police department.[2]

With a change of administration after 1930, a number of superior officers who had served their required twenty-five years were forced by implied threat of demotion to retire. Under the present Detroit police pension plan, an officer is retired on a pension amounting to one-half his last annual salary. Demotion is, therefore, an extremely severe penalty to an older officer. But such sweeping retirements without adequate explanation caused an unfavorable reaction—which eventually subsided when a new administration took office.

After 1934 forced retirements and extremely rapid promotions again became common. They reached a climax in January 1939, when a large number of ranking officers were retired, some of whom had only recently been promoted. Public resentment this time found voice in an amendment to the city charter, approved by the voters on April 3, 1939.

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[1] The charter provision states that "the officer . . . having served the longest period in any position shall be advanced to fill any vacany in the next higher position, if he shall have the qualifications thereof." (Title IV, chapter XXI, section 14). The last clause has been interpreted by the Corporation Counsel and the Police Department to empower the department to determine the qualifications of each candidate for promotion. This interpretation effectually nullified the seniority clause.

[2] For procedure used in selection of police officers in Detroit prior to 1939 see, *Experiments in the Mental Testing of Detroit Policemen,* by John R. Searles and J. M. Leonard, published by the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, November 1936.

MERIT BOARD AMENDMENT

The charter amendment established the Detroit Police Merit Board composed of the superintendent of police, the executive of Wayne University, and a representative chosen by the Civil Service Commission.[3]

The usual practice in American cities is to transfer all police personnel administration to a local or state civil service commission—of thirty-five larger cities twenty-seven or 77 per cent use an existing civil service agency which is also the selective agency for other city employees. Jurisdiction, however, varies in these systems and sometimes includes control over discipline and promotions. There is an apparent tendency to consider existing civil service agencies as all-encompassing devices to handle personnel problems of all sorts, shapes, and sizes.

There were several considerations which prompted the use of a separate police personnel agency in Detroit. In the first place, a corporation counsel's opinion, holding a twenty-year-old decision of the Michigan Supreme Court still binding, prevented the Detroit Civil Service Commission from taking jurisdiction over the police and health departments and the courts as they are state agencies. While a statute could obviate the difficulty, the Detroit charter provisions governing the Civil Service Commission were not considered adequate for the Police Department.

For instance, the Detroit commission does not have jurisdiction over promotions and retirements, and abuse of these functions was the basis of public resentment over present police practices. The continuing wail of every police commissioner that he did not have a uniformly satisfactory force of ranking officers indicated clearly that only constant effort to improve the type of officer promoted from the lowest ranks would secure ranking officers of superior ability.

Discipline was another barrier. The Detroit Civil Service Commission has full control over discipline of all employees, even including dismissals after the probationary period. A department has some slight powers of suspension for minor difficulties, but the commission retains full rights to determine sufficient grounds for dismissals. However, a police department which has not full powers over the discipline of its members can never be more than partially efficient. Further, through all the attacks on promotions and dismissals, the Police Trial Board, composed of three members—the superintendent and the heads of the uniform and the detective divisions—has received only minor criticism.

Also, the "rule of one" was a hindrance. The Detroit commission must certify the one highest ranking person on an eligible list, and with police testing techniques being what they are, this is an impossible provision. If the Police Department is to be held accountable for the action of its men, it must have the widest latitude in appointing power.

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[3] The Detroit Civil Service Commission, covered by the charter, recruits and disciplines all municipal employees except those of the police and health departments and of the traffic and felony courts. It does not have control over salary standardization or retirements and only slight control over promotions.

SPECIAL TREATMENT NEEDED

A further and more fundamental consideration concerned the efficacy of current civil service techniques as applied to police personnel. Police officers present a special group, distinct from other administrative employees, in that their qualifications cannot be gauged by established measurements. Although simple objective minimum qualifications have been established for police officers, no objective techniques for measuring future success in police work have yet been devised. Not only would the application of the unfamiliar civil service testing techniques be resented by the older police officers, but due to lack of known valid tests for police officers, such application might defeat the merit principle itself.

The Police Merit Board was designed to meet these objections. The board has as its chairman the superintendent of police, who is directly responsible to, and appointed by, the commissioner. The other two, representing the public, are non-political and unpaid members but experienced in personnel administration. These two represent divergent schools of personnel administration. The executive of Wayne University, a division of the Board of Education, customarily appoints and promotes employees of that institution on the basis of merit, not determined by formal testing procedures; the appointee of the Civil Service Commission is schooled in formal testing techniques.

The work of the merit board is divided into two fields. The first relates to the preparation of eligible lists of candidates for appointment and for promotion. While these lists must be prepared in rank order, the police commissioner can make appointments from the lists anywhere according to his pleasure. Thus, the more common civil service rules of certifying one or three, is replaced by giving full latitude to the commissioner to make the best appointments possible from a group of candidates all of whom are considered able, although in a varying degree. The procedure to be used in preparing the eligible lists and the number of names to appear on them is left to the discretion of the merit board, although this is not as serious as it appears since the superintendent of the Police Department serves as chairman. Civilian employees of the department are also included under the merit board but only "until such time as they shall become civil service employees in the classified civil service."

The second activity relates to retirement. Undoubtedly there were unjustified retirements in the past. But at the same time, there was no desire to restrict the commissioner in his power to retire men who were no longer of value to the department. Thus, the merit board acts more as a public forum in retirements than as an agency for absolute authority.

The Police Department recognizes two types of retirements—voluntary, after twenty-five years of police service, and involuntary, where the officer retires prior to twenty-five years service because of sickness or injury. In both cases, the officer appears before the merit board, is questioned as to his service record, reasons for retirement, and other pertinent facts. The board then reports to the commissioner whether in its opinion the retirement is justified. Regardless of action by the board, however, the commissioner may retire the officer thirty days later. The only control is the publicity which would attend an unexplained dismissal.

The entire purpose of the merit board amendment is to dignify the personnel procedures in the Police Department and to give the public an opportunity to see the back-stage action. There are no separate employees of the merit board—they are all a part of the Police Department. The board has no control over the activities of the police commissioner, he is clearly responsible for all the officers who are employed by the department. The board simply aids in sorting out from a group of recruits or candidates for promotion those whom they believe most capable. Its sole power is the ability to focus publicity if the procedure goes wrong, and if the public is indifferent it is the public's police department after all.

Naturally, it is too soon to appraise fairly the work of the merit board, but from activities in its first nine months of existence it may be possible to indicate some of the changes it is creating in the management of police personnel. To date, nine promotional examinations have been given and two eligible lists prepared.[4] Seven eligible lists are in the process of preparation. The board has recommended to the commissioner over forty voluntary and over twenty involuntary retirements in nine months of operation.

MERIT BOARD IN OPERATION

As yet no action has been taken on recruiting, training, or appointment, nor have any promotions been made from the eligible lists submitted.

The rules and regulations of the board are still informal, as the procedures employed thus far have been to a large extent experimental, pending formulation of a definite code after more experience.

The application of testing methods to promotions made the merit board far more vulnerable to criticism than would the mere testing of recruits. One common departmental practice precluded by the establishment of the merit board was the distribution of promotions as rewards for single instances of outstanding or widely publicized work, such as the apprehension of a notorious criminal. Members of the department have well established opinions of their fellow officers and of those that deserve promotions. Recruits, on the other hand, are an unknown quantity. The merit board, however, had no choice but to meet the task confronting it and prepare eligible lists for promotion.

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[4] The examinations given have been for lieutenant in the Accident Prevention Bureau, sergeant in the Accident Prevention Bureau, detective inspector, detective lieutenant, detective sergeant, detective, uniform inspector, uniform lieutenant, uniform sergeant. Eligible lists have been prepared for the two ranks in the Accident Prevention Bureau.

The examinations were announced by departmental order. Announcements described the method of filing applications, minimum requirements in terms of years of service in a particular rank, and the weighting to be given to various sections of the procedure. The written examination has been weighted from 50 to 60 per cent; training and experience from 10 to 20 per cent; the oral examination from 10 to 20 per cent; and the service (efficiency) rating, 10 to 20 per cent.[5] One-half of one per cent for every year of service in the department with a maximum of 6 per cent was added to the final score. No veterans' preference was allowed. All properly filed applications from officers who met the minimum requirements were accepted.

About 75 per cent of the officers eligible took the written examination, which resulted in giving the examination for uniform sergeant to 1,100 patrolmen.

Written tests were difficult to prepare as there was little experience to serve as a guide. The board wished to test the officer's knowledge of modern police technique as applied in Detroit, his knowledge of rules and regulations, and such other information as is considered essential for an officer to have. By and large, tests had to be as practical as possible in order to avert too much criticism. They had to be worded in the language of the Detroit police officers—it is doubtful if standardized tests will ever solve the problem of police examination techniques.

TESTS GIVEN

Several thousand short-answer type of questions were prepared by the merit board's staff in the Police Training School with some assistance from the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research. From these questions the examinations were compiled. Tests were constructed in sections, and, where possible, were made progressive. For example, candidates for all ranks of detective took parts of the same examination at a single time. The parts were as follows:

Section	*Subject*
Test 1	General adaptability
Test 2	Department procedure—rules and regulations
Test 3	Criminal law
Test 4	Evidence and court procedure
Test 5	Observation and memory
Test 6	Criminal investigation
Test 7	Reading ability (legal)
Test 8	Interview technique
Test 9	Supervisory duties
Test 10	Personnel administration

The examination for detective embraced Tests 1 through 7; for detective-sergeant, Tests 1 through 8; for detective-lieutenant, Tests 1 through 9; and for detective-inspector, the entire battery. Not only is this progressive test easy and cheap to administer, but it permits a comparison of scores between different ranks.

The sections of the examination

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[5] The merit board has not been unanimous upon these weights, but they were tried out in these first promotional examinations. The general feeling is that the written examination should not constitute over 50 per cent of the total, perhaps less.

listed above and the sections of the other examinations tend to fall into two groups. One group, Tests 2, 3, 4, 6, and 8 of the various detective examinations, seeks to measure the acquired learning of the police officer. The other group, Tests, 1, 5, 7, and 9, is designed to discover, in police language, the adaptability and general intelligence of the officer. The last test, on personnel administration, was a long answer or essay type of test which proved to be of little significance. The complete batteries of tests in each examination contained between 500 and 600 questions and were administered in from four to six hours, which proved to be ample time for the majority of candidates.

The written examinations were scored and weighted, and a score determined by inspection which would permit from 20 to 35 per cent of the candidates to pass, depending upon the ratio of the number of candidates to vacancies. These scores were reduced to a scale based on a passing score of 70 per cent, although this was not necessary.

The training and experience of all candidates scoring above 70 were carefully rated, with due consideration to education and in-service training. Efficiency or service ratings were secured, using the Detroit form which is a modern type of ten-point profile rating developed by Dr. S. E. Haven of Wayne University. This work was exploratory for the Detroit department and there has been some criticism as to the methods used. As in other parts of the process, the eligibility score was 70 per cent.

The oral interview administered by ranking police officers, proved the weakest from a scoring standpoint, principally due to lack of experience on the part of the examiners and the usual police difficulties with "halo" complexes. This part of the examination was controlled by the Police Department, the merit board accepting its reports without much question. The qualities which go to make up a good police officer have so far resisted the efforts of the written examination technique. While the oral examination might do injustice to a police officer, the matter can be corrected by the commissioner who may select appointments from anywhere on an eligible list.

The final score was computed on the basis of 100, although this has serious disadvantages. To the final score was added the percentage for seniority, and the eligible list prepared. Any candidate who failed to attain a score of 70 in the various major parts of the examination procedure was disqualified.

So far, eligible lists have been prepared only for the rank of sergeant and lieutenant in the Accident Prevention Bureau. The ratio of eligible candidates to vacancies in these classes is about ten to one and two to one. No promotions have been made or seem likely to be made in the next few months.

CONCLUSION

The procedures employed have been experimental, but they have produced much data for further study. Except in the size of the eligible list in relation to the number of vacancies and the use of "police" language in the written test, the techniques used were little different from those employed by public personnel agencies. Other practices, especially adapted to police work, seem likely to be instituted.

The reaction of officers to the new order is mixed but, as no appointments have been made, not violent. Informed opinion in the department indicates that the men most deserving of promotion in the Accident Prevention Bureau appear high on the eligible list. There is no doubt that the merit board has proved an adequate check on unwarranted forced retirements. This single action is perhaps worth more to the Police Department in building up public confidence than is now realized.

Gradual education of the public to condemn any personnel system which is not based on open-window methods and in which the interested citizen does not have a ring-side seat to witness the process, should force police and other similar departments to adopt a merit system which will be suited to their particular purposes. It is idle to think it can be grafted on an existing civil service system without many adjustments. It is likewise idle to believe that it can be so loose as to approve everything the police administration wishes. There must be some type of system which gives large discretion to the chief administrator and yet provides sufficient control to protect public interest regardless of the march of police commissioners through office.

ALLEGHENY COUNTY

(Continued from page 584)

have saved the bill. At the first crack of the gun, proportional representation was eliminated and, like ten pins, other features of the bill began to fall. Finally, the deadline passed and the backers of the emasculated bill sought to introduce it through the Senate which has no deadline. Someone, however, reckoned without the host, for not a single Democratic or Republican senator could be found to introduce the bill.

The violent opposition of the third-class cities had had its effect, and this last and latest effort of the metropolitan idea joined with the others in the limbo of lost causes.

Lost though the efforts may have been, they have been neither forlorn nor barren of hope. One may say with assurance that the charter idea has merely gone into winter quarters. At this writing many of the former workers for consolidation are at work again, supporting a bipartisan "home rule" campaign to permit referendum reforms of municipal governmental structure without specific state legislative action.

As someone has remarked: "Truly, the misfortunes of this movement for a well tailored government to clothe Allegheny County with a garment in keeping with its social and economic stature would satisfy the demands which old-time drama made in the way of trials and tribulations encountered by the hero of the piece."

The search for the happy ending, fortunately, goes forward.

Watchdogs for the Treasury

Budgeting, auditing, and reporting three important devices by which Mr. and Mrs. John Q. Citizen may be kept informed as to the stewardship of their public servants in dispensing government funds.

By **LLOYD MOREY, Comptroller,**
University of Illinois

GOVERNMENT, as I conceive it, is a coöperative agency in which certain persons, elected, appointed, or otherwise employed for various duties and responsibilities, carry on sundry activities on behalf of and in the interest of their fellow-citizens. The latter are, in effect, the owners and employers in this great enterprise. Officials and employees are but servants and trustees. It is the responsibility of the latter to follow the wishes of the owners, protect their interests, and keep them informed of the results.

Democratic government depends for its continuation on an active, well informed citizenry. All too often citizens abdicate their dutiful interest in government and thus open the way for misuse of governmental powers. "It should never be forgotten," says the National Municipal League,[1] "that in the final analysis it is always the good citizen who is responsible for bad government. Those who are interested in bad government are ever alert and on the job. Those who are interested in good government must take the time and make the effort necessary to mobilize their own strength."

Governmental officials and employees depend for success in the public affairs for which they assume responsibility on the interest and support of the citizens they serve. Unless that interest is fostered and maintained, the financial resources as well as the moral backing so essential to carrying out a sound and comprehensive program of community life and development will not be forthcoming. Without these necessary features of support, public officials will bring discredit on themselves and their community. The never-ending problem of the public official, then, is how he can maintain and stimulate the interest of the citizen whom he serves and to whom he must account.

Three principal media are available and rather generally employed by which the citizen may express his wishes and instructions to his governmental servants. The first of these is the **ballot**. Through it the citizen first sets up in constitutions the restrictions he wishes to place on his representatives, and the scope of functions he expects them to carry out for him. He supplements this body of principles by specific judgment on certain major questions upon which he reserves the right to pass individually. Through it also he selects those to whom he is willing to entrust his government for each successive period.

Closely associated with the use of the ballot and to a certain extent depending on it, is the question of the qualifications of those who seek election or appointment to public positions carrying financial responsibility. All too often little or no attention has been paid to this phase of public organization. Adequate training in law, medicine, architecture, or engineering has generally been recognized as essential for positions in these fields of work. The same cannot yet be said as to accounting.

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[1] *Forms of Municipal Government,* 1939.

This is the reason why the American Institute of Accountants not long ago issued a statement under the title, "Qualifications for Public Fiscal Positions." It called upon public officials and public bodies to insist on such standards in keeping with the varying requirements of the different positions in question. It called upon citizens to use every means to obtain "the election or appointment of only qualified persons to positions carrying responsibility of an accounting nature." It vigorously condemned the election or appointment to any such position on "a partisan political basis without regard for technical qualifications."

The next mechanism through which the citizen may exercise at least a measure of control is the **budget**. The budget presents the proposed expenditures for a succeeding fiscal period, and the proposed means of financing them. Here the citizen may see what his official representatives propose to do, and what will be the effect on his pocketbook. If he avails himself of the opportunity, he can have much influence on what the budget contains. Most public bodies are required by law to prepare and adopt an annual budget.

The majority of public bodies provide for ample publicity concerning their annual budgets, both through newspaper accounts and through public hearings. All too frequently, however, citizen interest in such proceedings is a negligible factor. Frequently the only attention given is by representatives of some association interested only in reducing taxes at any cost, or in the efforts of some corporation to get its own taxes reduced.

CONSIDERING THE BUDGET

The time to lock the stable is before the horse is stolen. The proper time to take out fire insurance is before there is a fire. The time to check on public expenditures is before the obligations are incurred, in other words, before the budget is passed. If the citizen feels that his government is costing too much, the time to say so is when the tax and appropriation laws and ordinances are under consideration. If he feels that his representatives are not providing adequately for the services he wishes, the time to say so is when the financial program for the ensuing period is under consideration.

The citizen has the means, through the opportunity given for public discussion of the budgets of the various governmental bodies in which he is concerned, of checking on the programs and policies of those bodies as expressed in these documents. It is his right and his responsibility to take advantage of this opportunity, and if he does not do so, he has little right to complain of the results.

In this connection, attention may well be called to the need of better coördination in the taxing and spending programs of various local agencies. In most communities sundry independent bodies are set up to carry out different functions. These bodies frequently levy taxes on the same property and serve the same group of citizens. In few cases, however, do any means exist whereby the financial programs of these various agencies may be reviewed in a central and unified manner. A local citizens' advisory committee has effectively filled such a deficiency in a number of places. It reviews the financial programs of every tax-spending body in the community and expresses an independent judgment on each and on the entire picture. Only by such a procedure can there be an appraisal of the combined budgets and tax levies on the taxpayers.

SOUND AUDITING

The third device on which the public may depend for control over the acts of its governmental officials is the **audit**. It represents a plan of verification of the correctness of the financial records and reports, the fidelity of management, and the adequacy and soundness of procedure. The citizen should make sure that provision for independent audit exists in every governmental body, and that the conditions under which it is set up and carried out are such as to insure the proper results.

Here again the procedure has often not been such as to secure competent and comprehensive service, and the public has failed to get what it has every right to expect. Two conditions have contributed to this state of affairs: the first is failure of many accountants to acquaint themselves with the peculiar problems to be found in audits of governmental bodies, with the result that their reports have at times not been of such form and character as to be serviceable to officials or informative to the public; the other is the practice of many local governments of calling for competitive bids on audits, and awarding contracts for this service to the lowest bidders, without regard to qualifications or scope of program.

No adequate excuse any longer exists for either of these conditions. Through the work of the National Committee on Municipal Accounting, standard practices in municipal accounting and auditing have been prescribed with which any competent accountant can readily acquaint himself, and which he may follow with confidence. As to engagement of auditors, the movement away from the competitive bid system, both within and without the profession, grows steadily, and it is reasonable to believe that the day is not far distant when it will have completely disappeared.

If, perchance, a government decides to set up its own system of auditing and its own organization, let it see to it that the conditions are identical with those which should be imposed upon outside auditors.

The connecting link between the budget and the audit is the **accounting system**. In one sense it is the most important part of the cycle, for it is here that the results of the budget operations are recorded and where the information so necessary for guidance in administrative and legislative decisions is found. In another sense, however, accounting is but a means to an end, that end being the production of information concerning financial operations and conditions.

"Informative accounting is the light by which the path of public administration is illuminated. The only hope that we can have for an interest in the administration of public affairs by the body politic is to keep that light burning brightly. The keeper of the light must never sleep, for, notwithstanding the fact that the public seems at times totally indifferent to the administration of its affairs, it nevertheless is true that an informed person will ask questions. He will want to know the reason why. Accounting tells the reason why."[2]

ADEQUATE REPORTING

How may public officials inform their superiors—both legislators and citizens—concerning the activities over which they have been given charge, and make to them an accounting of their stewardship? The primary means upon which an official must rely for these purposes is a system of **reports**. "The old idea that the public should be kept in ignorance," says Roger S. Baldwin,[3] "is no longer popular. There is a growing interest on the part of the public in its own business, and an increasing desire for information. The annual report of a municipality is one of the most effective methods of spreading information with respect to its activities."

With respect to those for whom reports are intended, and the purposes they are to serve, there are two kinds of reports: (1) those prepared primarily for the information of administrative and executive officials, department heads, and members of the legislative or governing body; (2) those prepared and issued primarily for the information and use of the public.

The former, of course, must be frequent and detailed. The latter, while covering much of the information also supplied for internal use and reference, necessarily must be compact and readily understood, and hence contain more explanatory material. With respect to the scope and content of reports, there are also two kinds: first, the general report, covering more or less fully the activities of all departments; second, the financial report, dealing only with financial matters.

There are many ways in which information concerning governmental activities may be presented to the public. An inquiry made by *Public Management*[4] revealed the following methods used by various city officials as being most important, listed in the approximate order of importance: newspapers, talks before civic groups, annual reports, radio talks, exhibits and demonstrations, monthly bulletins. Certainly all of these have their place in a complete program of public information.

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[2] From address of T. Coleman Andrews at Municipal Accounting Clinic, San Francisco, American Institute of Accountants, September 1939.

[3] *Municipal Reporting,* 1937.

[4] October 1934.

Undoubtedly the **press** forms the best medium for reaching the largest number of citizens most frequently. The important thing is that material given the press is in such form that it will be correctly interpreted.

How many times officials as well as the public are fooled into complacency by a heading such as this one that appeared in a local paper not so many months ago: "City balances $137,342, Clerk Tells Council." But let us investigate. The body of the report says: "Combined city funds contain balances of $137,342." A little farther on also appears this significant statement: "The balance in the regular general corporate fund of the city [which is the fund out of which the bulk of the current operation expense of the city government must be paid] is $87.77." Against it there were $43,100 of outstanding anticipation warrants! This is the kind of report that fails to emphasize the differentiation between funds so essential in public business.

An alert city administration will not sit back and wait for press representatives to pry news loose, or to get their own information their own way. It will aid these persons in getting worthwhile information and especially will see that a correct understanding of technical data is made possible.

Talks before groups of citizens, as well as over the radio, by public officials have a very definite place in public enlightenment on governmental problems. Their effectiveness depends much on the way in which the material is presented and the ability of the individuals as public speakers. For this reason these methods are not universally applicable, but they should be made use of wherever possible. If discussion can take the turn of a forum in which questions from those present can be offered and answered, the usefulness of the plan is greatly increased.

Some cities print monthly **bulletins** giving brief reports of current condition and progress. They have the advantage of keeping civic problems before the public in a continuous way. As the Urbanism Committee of the National Resources Committee says, "The need for adequate municipal reporting does not arise once a year and then die down till the next annual report must be prepared. Continuous interpretations and explanations of municipal activities in the public press and radio are as much needed by our cities as by the private enterprises that originated public relation techniques."[5]

ANNUAL REPORT IMPORTANT

In many ways, however, the most important report of any governmental body or official is the **annual report**. This is true because it is in this document that all of the things which have happened during the year and which may have been reported individually at various times and in various ways during the year are recorded in a comprehensive and permanent manner. It is here that the record of accomplishment is presented over against the plan of operation and development offered in the budget at the beginning of the year. It is through this medium that other cities and agencies are given an opportunity to view and study what each has accomplished. It is a document that the citizen may peruse at his leisure and in which he should be able to secure a complete picture of the affairs in which he is interested.

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[5] Report of Committee, 1939, U. S. Government Printing Office.

A most excellent guide as to what the general annual report of a city as well as other public bodies should contain is found in a booklet of the International City Managers' Association[6] recently issued, entitled, *Specifications for the Annual Municipal Report*. It outlines quite completely the most effective qualities of general city reports, and gives many illustrations taken from actual publications. It contains valuable suggestions as to content, form, and style. It is worthy of the serious study of every public executive.

REPORTING ON FINANCE

The financial data which such a report contains, however, must necessarily be limited. For that reason, there is a definite place for a separate **financial report** covering such operations in a more complete manner. Even if such a report is not to be published for general circulation, it should be prepared and made available for public examination, and a digest of it should be offered to the press or otherwise published.

The National Committee on Municipal Accounting has provided a most excellent outline of what an annual financial report should contain, in its volume *Municipal Accounting Statements*. This volume contains a list of the essential financial statements for such a report, and suggested forms for such statements. It also contains approved definitions of terms to be used in such statements.

Many cities have found the path of good reporting methods. However, despite the showing that could be made in this respect and the great increase in recent years in the number of cities making reports of one kind or another, a great proportion of our cities, both large and small, and of other governmental units as well, still fail to recognize the value of this phase of administrative procedure.

The responsibility for improving this condition is upon the public official. He is the accountable agent in governmental activities. His business it is to see that accurate and understandable information is supplied promptly and regularly for the activities in his domain. To the extent that he meets this responsibility he aids in making government achieve more fully its fundamental objectives—the welfare and happiness of its citizens.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—From address before Conference on Governmental Accounting, December 1, 1939, Detroit, Michigan.

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[6] 1313 E. 60th St., Chicago.

Contributors in Review

"YOU made me what I am today," the St. Louis Bureau of Municipal Research might well say to **Carter W. Atkins** (*Manager Plan in Connecticut Towns*). For Mr. Atkins joined the staff of that research group at the time of its organization in 1922, was made director in 1923, and continued as director until November 1938. Now he is the first director of the Governmental Research Institute of Hartford, Connecticut. He has participated in numerous surveys, served on many official and citizen committees, and was president of the Governmental Research Association for two years.

A SPECIALIST in municipal politics, **Richard G. Baumhoff** (*St. Louis Struggles for Metropolitan Solution*) has been a reporter for the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* for twenty-two years. He is regarded as an expert on highways, local history and politics, municipal finance, the public school system, etc. His recent study of the decay of downtown St. Louis has attracted wide attention. Carrying his interest in municipal affairs over into his personal life, Mr. Baumhoff is president of his neighborhood improvement association in University City, where he keeps a watchful eye on the community's governmental affairs.

A LEADER in civic action, **H. Marie Dermitt** (*Metropolitan Growing Pains in Allegheny County*) has served as secretary not only to the Civic Club of Allegheny County and to the National Association of Civic Secretaries, but also to a host of right-minded movements in her home area, including efforts for open air schools, education of the foreign-born, public comfort stations, public recreation, municipal band concerts, city planning, city manager, smoke abatement, metropolitan plan, building code, regulation of outdoor advertising, sewage treatment, and many, many others. In line with her chief recreation—music—Miss Dermitt initiated National Stephen C. Foster Day, celebrated on the anniversary of the composer's death.

ATTESTING the preëminence of **Lloyd Morey** (*Watchdogs for the Treasury*) as an authority on governmental accounting is the impressive roster of offices which he holds: comptroller and professor of accountancy at the University of Illinois for the past nineteen years, chairman of the American Institute of Accountants' Committee on Governmental Accounting, vice-chairman of the National Committee on Municipal Accounting. He also holds several posts of leadership in the field of educational finance. Dr. Morey is responsible for four books on accounting, including the *Manual of Municipal Accounting* and *Introduction to Governmental Accounting.* Footnote on versatility: he is also the composer of several musical works.

THE appeal of **James K. Pollock** (*Plea for an Informed Citizenry*) for the governmental enlightenment of the common man stems from his own impressive enlightenment. He has investigated political conditions, political parties and elections here and abroad, is the author of books on elections, party campaign funds, money and politics, Germany, civil service, and the political scene. Dr. Pollock has held teaching positions at Geneva College, Harvard University, Ohio State University, Stanford University, and—at present—at the University of Michigan, where he is professor of political science.

MIRIAM ROHER (*Mrs. Minority*) has been a frequent contributor to these pages —see issues of October 1939 and August 1940.

DETROIT'S police system is one of the specialties of **John R. Searles** (*Detroit's Police Merit Board*), who this year received the degree of Master of Public Administration from Wayne University. As a staff member of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Mr. Searles has assisted in the development of his city's Police Merit Board's examination program (he is author of *Experiments in the Mental Testing of Detroit Policemen*), and has had supervision of a WPA project to analyze assessed valuations by census tracts. He has also coöperated with other agencies in improving the reporting of juvenile delinquency.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

(Continued from page 574)

as the fact that professional politicians just don't like P. R. In New York, for example, Tammany longs for the "good old days" when it could have 95 to 100 per cent of the representatives instead of the exact number its voting strength warranted.

It is well to remind ourselves these days of an old tenet of democracy, that the fair representation of the people makes for strength and unity, while taxation without representation tends either to apathy or to rebellion.

In the United States we need, now more than ever, an informed, participating, responsible citizenry. The rapid extension of the use of proportional representation would do much to make all of our people feel that they have a real stake in our democratic institutions.

MANAGER PLAN IN CONNECTICUT TOWNS

(Continued from page 595)

a straight refusal of manager government. At the present time one hears the manager plan mentioned in various places and one small town is giving serious consideration to the appointment of a manager under the general town law.

Connecticut taxpayers discuss high taxes and need for economy frequently and with vehemence just as do taxpayers elsewhere. Efficiency of government has its appeal and one cannot escape the conclusion that taxpayer interest will ultimately achieve that goal under some form of local government.

The Researcher's Digest: September

Des Moines appraises relief practices elsewhere; Dayton bureau investigates "federal" and "state" aid; financial reports from Missouri and Philadelphia.

IN EVERYDAY language, the **Des Moines Bureau of Municipal Research** reports (No. 673D) on a fruitful study of relief practices which brought it sheaves of correspondence from all the large cities in the country. Taking the stand that "from successful relief practices scattered about the country, we are able to set up a pattern of practices for local application," the bureau assembled all the precedents for constructive treatment of the relief problem which "reduce the relief load and save the taxpayers money."

The bureau comments sharply: "Most agencies are doing little more than feed their relief clients. They have no systematic plans for rehabilitating them."

Ten mimeographed pages are needed to boil down the results of the survey. Then the Des Moines bureau presents a succinct page of its own recommendations for Des Moines. It asks creation of a citizens' committee representative of some fifty civic and welfare organizations, which is to sponsor and delegate to specific groups the responsibility for carrying out the following five-point program:

1. Demonstration project to illustrate the practical savings made possible by decreasing the case load per relief investigator; appraisal of relief machinery with special reference to intake department and high investigational staff turnover; consideration of possibility of city work relief as now employed by Cincinnati;
2. Vocational training plan whereby school system is geared to local employment market;
3. Development of self-help projects;
4. Development of job consciousness among employers and other citizens by, for example, a job creation contest;
5. Plans to stop influx of outsiders who will become relief clients.

Who Really Pays?

"The story of the farmer boy who works hard, so that he can go to the city and work hard, so that he can have a home in the country, is not so far fetched after all." Such is the **Dayton Research Association's** preface to a provocative bulletin (No. 86) on the real source and destination of tax money as among the various levels of government. The bureau accounts "local" taxes all those collected on the basis of income, property taxes, sales taxes, and licenses; non-popular taxes, it deems, are franchise taxes, corporation licenses, taxes on railways, light, power, and heating companies, phone, telegraph, and others for the right to conduct business, customs, interest, fees, permits, sales, royalties, etc.

Taking public welfare costs in Ohio for 1939 as an example, the report shows the disparity between the apparent division of expenses among federal, state, and local governments, and the true division as worked out by the Dayton bureau. Apparently the federal portion was 80 per cent, the state portion 15 per cent, the local portion 5 per cent. However, considering the source of the funds, the bureau maintains that the federal portion was only 6½ per cent, the state portion 7/10 per cent, and all the rest—92 4/10 per cent—came from local taxation!

Fuel for Civic Thought

Thirty-five pages of detailed descriptive tables have been issued by the **Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia** to satisfy civic curiosity as to the much touted Philadelphia bonded debt. Most of the information in the report is either not available elsewhere in published form or is not conveniently available.

To satisfy similar demands, the **Governmental Research Institute of St. Louis** published a report (No. 118) on *Missouri State Finances, 1933-1940.* There are eight detailed printed pages with tables as evidence and text as interpretation.

Other contributions of the Philadelphia bureau to local good government are revealed in a modest folder, *Service Report for 1939.* The bureau was instrumental in preventing one disastrous financial proposal and in instituting three other desirable financial moves. It made studies of street-cleaning practices in other cities, in order to aid the local department. It also led civic opinion in urging improvement of waterworks practices. The bureau's director was active in development of a voluntary merit system for the employment of probation workers. These are some of the highlights of an active year, typical of the active year spent by research bureaus all over the country.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Debt

The Bonded Debt of the City of Philadelphia, May 31, 1940. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, June 1940. 35 pp. mimeo.

Elections

Review of the 1939 Mayoralty Election. By Donald S. Hecock. Detroit, Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., August 1, 1940. 4 pp.

Finance

Cost of Local Government (Provincial plus Municipal and School) in Canada. Citizens' Research Institute of Canada, *Canadian Taxation,* June 29, 1940. 4 pp.

Who Pays for What? Dayton Research Association, *Facts,* July 29, 1940. 2 pp. mimeo.

Missouri State Finances 1933-1940. St. Louis, Governmental Research Institute, *Mind Your Business,* July 18, 1940. 7 pp.

Highways

The Providence Highway Program 1935-1940 (Map). Providence, Governmental Research Bureau, June 1940. 1 p.

Mayors

The Mayors of Rochester. Rochester, Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc., *Municipal Research,* June 1940 and July 1940. 1 p. each.

Pensions

About Being Practical. Detroit, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Just A Second,* August 6, 1940. 2 pp. mimeo.

Public Welfare

Successful Relief Practices Elsewhere. Des Moines Bureau of Municipal Research, April 23, 1940. 11 pp. mimeo.

Research Institute

1940 Institute of Government. Seattle, Bureau of Governmental Research, University of Washington, *Washington Municipal Bulletin,* July 15, 1940. 7 pp. mimeo.

News in Review

(Continued from page 571)

Four years ago the city council rejected the petitions of this group as inadequate.

In **East Lansing, Michigan,** the manager plan is one possibility in connection with a proposed revision of the charter.

Petitions for voting on the manager plan are being circulated in **Ennis, Texas.**

In **Mill Valley, California,** a board of freeholders has been authorized by a vote of 754 to 411 to draft a new charter.

Trinidad, Colorado, is reported as showing considerable interest in the manager plan.

Dallas Enlarges Program of Citizen Action

A three-point program for informing citizens on municipal affairs has been inaugurated by Dallas, Texas, in an effort to obtain a wider spread of public education than is possible through the city's annual printed report. The International City Managers' Association reports that this includes a series of special information leaflets enclosed with water bills, a series of radio programs devoted to services of individual city departments, and a motion picture of city functions.

The leaflets are small, four-page, printed circulars, each covering a single subject on recent improvements of interest to the entire city. One such pamphlet deals with the new sewage treatment plant, and carries three pictures of plant operations. The last page of the leaflet invites citizens to listen to the municipal radio series, "This Is Dallas," broadcast over the municipally-owned radio station, WRR, every Thursday evening.

Each radio program, dramatized under direction of the Dallas Little Theater Group, is devoted to services rendered by a city department, with City Manager James W. Aston conducting three fictional characters, Mr. and Mrs. John Dallas and their son Johnnie, on imaginary visits through the department. Character parts in the plays are taken by members of the Little Theater and by department heads and employees.

The motion picture has just been completed for use by luncheon clubs, civic organizations, and public schools this fall. The thirty-minute picture, in color, produced at a cost of $1,500, presents the story of the city's revenue dollar—its source and the services it finances through the various city divisions and departments. An off-scene voice explains details. The movie was produced by a local producer of commercial and advertising films.

Municipal Civil Service Organizations Surveyed

The 869 municipal civil service agencies in the country are set up on a wide variety of legal bases and under many types of organization, according to a recent survey by the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada. They may be established by the state constitution, by an act of the legislature, by municipal charter, or by local ordinance.

Although the majority are called "civil service commissions" there are some fifty other names for them.

More than three-fourths of all city civil service agencies are of the three-member type, appointed so as to provide overlapping terms and thus to further continuity of policy, according to the survey. Commissions of five members are next high in number. Most of the municipal civil service commissioners hold office for six years, and in a few cities the commissioners serve at the pleasure of the appointing authority.

Mayors make the appointments to city civil service commissions in a majority of the cities, and in the next largest group of cities appointments are made by the city councils. In some cities the commissioners are selected jointly by city or state officials, employee and civic groups; in others, elected by the people as commissioners or named ex-officio as commissioners after election to other positions. In a few cities they are appointed by the city managers.

Provisions in the civil service acts of Minnesota, New York, Rhode Island, Tennessee, and Wisconsin authorize the state personnel agencies to render technical and administrative service to local jurisdictions for a fee. In New Jersey similar assistance from the state can be obtained without cost upon approval of municipal voters.

Local Housing Authorities Now Number 175

The number of local housing authorities with United States Housing Authority loans reached 175 when President Roosevelt approved a loan list totaling $11,854,000 to ten such agencies on July 25, to construct low-rent projects in the nationwide slum clearance program. With these approvals the USHA loan contract column totaled $622,480,483 to local housing authorities in thirty-three states, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico. Earmarkings outstanding for further loans stood at $58,954,517, making a total of $681,435,000 in USHA commitments to 201 public housing bodies.

Administration of Second Hatch Act

The United States Civil Service Commission makes the following statement of general policy concerning administration of the Hatch act (approved July 19, 1940) designed to prevent pernicious political activity by officers or employees of state or local agencies whose principal employment is in connection with activities financed in whole or in part by loans or grants made by the United States or by any federal agency:

> 1. Those acts which clearly fall within the category of "pernicious political activity" will be prosecuted by the commission. This will mean that there will be at all times a reasonable relationship between the offenses prosecuted by the commission's staff, and the only penalty which the commission can impose, namely, that of removal from office, as prescribed by the law itself.
>
> 2. The commission will also administer the law in such a manner as to protect fully the civil rights of the employees subject to its provisions. In this connection, the commission will distinguish between participation in the discussions of issues of broad social, economic, or general public character on the one hand and partisan political issues on the other hand. The commission believes that the primary objective of the legislation is to prevent partisan political activity in connection with the conduct and management of political campaigns. The commission's administration of the law will conform to this objective.

Government Personnel Now Four and a Half Million

Approximately four and one-half million persons in the United States are employed in government service in federal, state, and local units on an annual payroll of $6,000,000,000, according to the 1940 census of the merit system made by the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada. About 1,200,000, or more than one-fourth, of these employees are in public education. More than one-half of the total number are in other nonmilitary services.

At the first of 1940, nearly 29 per cent of the total number of government employees were listed on the federal payroll; 12 per cent at the state level; about 21 per cent in city government; and 12 per cent on county and township payrolls. Many in the last group are part-time and temporary.

Louisiana Adopts State Civil Service Act

WITH adoption of a civil service law last month, Louisiana becomes the eighteenth state to select its workers through a formal merit system, according to the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada. The new law will not become entirely effective until July 1, 1942, although certain provisions, laying the foundation for the system and starting the machinery for classifying jobs, already are in effect.

The new act will be administered through a Department of Civil Service, and includes a state civil service commission appointed by the governor from a list of eligibles submitted by presidents of five colleges in the state, and a director of personnel chosen by the commission. Practically all positions in the state service except elected officers, legislative employees, court employees, and the military come under the act. Approximately 16,000 workers, it is estimated, will thus be placed under civil service.

If candidates who are citizens of the state cannot meet qualifications for a certain position, residence requirements may be waived. Veterans are still given preference, however.

As in the case of civil service laws in several other states, the Louisiana law also permits the state to give personnel services to local governments on their request.

States Vary Greatly in Vote Restrictions

Every state except Michigan can, under its statutes, bar an adult citizen from voting for at least one reason, according to a study just completed by the Council of State Governments. South Carolina has the greatest number (twenty-eight) of reasons for disqualification. Fifty different reasons were found in all the states taken together. There are two chief categories—persons convicted of certain crimes, and persons who are insane, idiots, incompetent, illiterate, paupers, etc.

New Hampshire Police School Cancelled

Increased work of state and local police due to "fifth column" scares, added protection necessary for the Portsmouth Navy Yard and certain factories, made it necessary to cancel the Police School planned at the University of New Hampshire. It is the hope that it will be possible to hold such a school next summer.

LASHLEY G. HARVEY
University of New Hampshire

Defense Personnel Program Speeded by U. S. Commission

The United States Civil Service Commission is revising old procedures and developing new machinery in an effort to provide maximum speed and efficiency in the recruitment of personnel for national defense agencies, according to the Civil Service Assembly. A number of executive orders authorize greater flexibility in filling positions. A new policy enables defense agencies to have first call for employees of other government offices. The commission expects that in the next few months it will be asked to recruit close to 100,000 civil personnel.

British Local Governments and the War

A survey of the experience of British local governments in the national defense program, recently compiled by the American Municipal Association from British local government journals, reveals far-reaching effects.

Finance officers had to contend with the demand for economy, the order to cease borrowing, the rise in costs of materials, and the drop in tax revenue.

Officials responsible for recruiting personnel found their difficulties multiplied: first, by the loss of municipal employees to the armed forces; second, by the demand for expansion of all departments assisting in civil defense.

Police officers had to deal with sabotage, organize air raid protection, control traffic during blackouts. Fire departments established auxiliary corps, equipped new stations, and developed emergency water supplies.

City engineers took over the job of building air raid shelters in public places, of training demolition and rescue squads, and of protecting municipal utilities and other property from air raids.

Welfare programs had to be adjusted to the rise in the cost of living. Public housing authorities faced new rent collection worries. Public health officers, besides mobilizing hospital and first-aid services, were concerned with the spread of diseases which arise from population movement and congregation.

Finally, there was a whole series of new duties thrust on cities and counties—registration of all civilians, food rationing, and food production in parks and on vacant land.

Even the structure of British local government was modified. The traditional administration by a group of council committees was supplanted in some cities by a single emergency committee and a controller, and municipal elections were suspended by Parliament until after the war.

The basis of the British grant-in-aid system—that local governments must make some contribution to each aided activity—was abandoned, and many emergency measures were financed by 100 per cent grants from the national treasury.

More than 1,200,000 persons—one out of every forty persons in all Great Britain—were enrolled by local governments in emergency civil defense work before the end of 1939. A drive to boost the number still higher was launched early in 1940.

The new employees, mostly unpaid volunteers, were assigned to auxiliary fire or police organizations, to first-aid, rescue, and wrecking crews, to air raid control centers, to emergency hospital employment, and to all of the other varied phases of air raid precautions, or "A.R.P." The number of firemen, for example, rose from 20,000 to 200,000.

Every one of the 1,200,000 or more persons in the emergency services had to be given some training, usually from nine to twenty hours, British writers said. Including retraining, the total amount of instruction was well over 15,000,000 man-hours—undoubtedly the most intensive program of civilian training ever undertaken by any democratic government, and most of it in pioneer fields.

College Field Class Studies Local Organization

A class of twelve students from Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, has spent eight weeks in field study of community organization and problems in two widely separated municipalities—Lewiston, Maine, and Anniston, Alabama. Accompanied by the professor of economics and business administration and his assistant, the class of twelve young men and women travels in a specially built and equipped truck. The problems given detailed attention include those in the fields of city government, public health, social welfare, recreation, religion, labor, manufacturing, etc.

Organizations Plan Meetings for Fall Months

The 32nd annual meeting of the **Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada** will be held in Cleveland, Ohio, September 30 to October 4, inclusive, with the Hotel Cleveland as conference headquarters. A series of panel discussions on technical personnel problems is planned, as well as meetings devoted to general questions of public personnel administration.

The **United States Conference of Mayors** meets September 19-21, in New York City. Headquarters will be at the Waldorf-Astoria.

The **American Public Works Association** will hold its 1940 Public Works Congress at the Book-Cadillac Hotel, Detroit, Michigan, September 30 to October 2, inclusive.

More than six hundred members of the **American Political Science Association** are expected to attend the meeting of the Association at the University of Chicago in December 1940, held in connection with the celebration of the University's fiftieth anniversary.

The **Tax Policy League** will hold its annual conference on December 2 and 3 in Chicago, with headquarters at the Palmer House. The subject of the discussions will be "Tax Barriers to Trade."

The place of recreation under present world conditions will be the general theme of the twenty-fifth **National Recreation Congress** to be held in Cleveland, Ohio, September 30-October 4. More than forty meetings dealing with a wide variety of topics in the recreation field are being arranged.

The 1940 **New York State Conference on Social Work** will be held in New York City, at the Hotel Pennsylvania, on October 8 to 11 inclusive, preceded by the usual conference institutes on October 7 and 8, including twenty-eight courses of four sessions each for social workers and public welfare officials.

American Judicature Society Offers Journal Free

Readers of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are now privileged to receive free the *Journal* of the American Judicature Society, Law School, Ann Arbor, Michigan, if they inform the society of their desire to do so. The purpose of the society and the *Journal* is to promote the efficient administration of justice.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

Citizen Groups Organize Schools for Voters

National organization plans adaptable for local use throughout the United States

Schools for voters are being organized by at least two national organizations this fall in preparation for local, state, and national elections.

Both the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs and the National League of Women Voters have prepared blueprints for these schools which are readily adaptable by every citizen organization in the United States.

The national federation suggests that during October its local chapters take the initiative in establishing schools for voters with evening sessions.

Particular emphasis is placed on the importance of coöperation from other organizations. National headquarters recommends:

"The school could be formally opened . . . by official action of the mayor or chief local government official. The coöperation of local groups should be enlisted, such as service clubs, the chamber of commerce, the Y.W.C.A., League of Women Voters, A.A.U.W., the Board of Education, and farm or union organizations.

"Each organization should be asked to set up a committee to reach voters and about-to-be-voters and bring them to the classes. Enrollment blanks for the names and addresses of voters should be prepared. A public school auditorium may be secured for the sessions."

Program Blueprints

Programs for seven sessions, as outlined by the national federation would line up like this:

"*First session*: The Bill of Rights and/or the Constitution of the United States should be read. During the reading of the Constitution there should be pauses at various points for the reader to point out its application to current situations. A brief explanation may be given by a member of the bar association as to the method for amending the Constitution, together with a short description of the twenty-one amendments which have been added in the past one hundred and fifty years.

"The system of checks and balances as provided by the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the government should be explained.

"Who can vote? A copy of the state election law, telling who is eligible to vote, how to become eligible, etc., can be secured from the local board of elections or from the secretary of state and should be given to each student. In some areas important restrictions are placed on voting.

"*Second session*: The two party system of government . . . the electoral college . . . the election of one-third of the U. S. Senate and a complete House of Representatives in 1940 should be explained. A speaker from the political science department of a university or the local bar association could give this section of the program.

"The local candidates for Congress from your district may be guests of honor at this meeting, each one to be asked to speak briefly on 'Why I Want to Represent This District in Congress'. . .

"How to analyze the records of local candidates is a fundamental problem. A questionnaire could be prepared which would give their stands on discriminatory legislation. It might be possible to coöperate with other groups in issuing these questionnaires. Ask the candidates the facts about their education, occupation, and party enrollment; specific questions on their attitude toward discriminations; their general philosophy of government.

"*Third session*: How to separate fact from fiction (a panel). The purpose of this session is similar to . . . a citizen laboratory—getting at the facts, recognizing the facts, sharpening our wits. The presiding officer will introduce members of the panel and encourage the audience to ask questions of them.

"The panel could consist of such persons as a newspaper editor, a radio official, a club woman, and an outstanding business man. The editor should outline how his newspaper is presenting the news of the 1940 campaign, the radio official should tell the rules his station is following about dividing the time on the air between the political parties. . . . The business man may tell how he reaches his own conclusions on the issues as a sort of 'Exhibit A.' Then the audience should begin to participate.

"*Fourth session*: An 'Information Please' quiz may be arranged. Questions may be framed which bear on the facts brought out in the preceding three meetings. A capable presiding officer should be secured to put the questions to four 'experts.' The experts will be chosen because they are well informed on public affairs. . . . Questions which cannot be answered by the experts should be passed on to the audience. To add interest, there can be a cash register to 'ring out' wrong answers and to provide pennies for awards to the audience members who answer questions which the experts have flunked.

"*Fifth session*: Problems in local government. A social science high school teacher, a professor of political science, or some other qualified person should give a brief résumé of facts about your local unit of government. What offices are being filled? Candidates for local elections should be present to discuss 'Problems Facing My Community Today.'

"A 'chalk talk' might follow. If a double blackboard is secured, conflicting points of view on major local problems can be summarized. If a clever and humorous speaker can be found to do a monologue or running-fire comment, the audience will enjoy both seeing and hearing the chalk talk. Afterwards the speaker should erase the chalk talk and question the audience, rating each one ten points for each question answered. An official score keeper to sound a gong will add to the fun.

"*Sixth session*: 'Coming of age' session. Each member of the club should try to bring a young woman just twenty-one to all sessions of the school. The sixth session should afford instruction in passing the literacy test—if one is required in your state, the operation of voting machines, the marking of ballots, the method of enrollment in a political party. Two workers, each from a different party, could act as teachers. Information on the election district or ward of each voter and the address of the place of voting could be given.

"*Seventh session*: The first part of the final session may be used for a group quiz, reviewing the ground covered during the week. 'Diplomas' in the form of letters on the club stationery certifying the completion of the course may be issued.

"This closing session should face the question of 'whither now?' Shall we go on from here? What is needed in the plan for tomorrow? How can we function 365 days in the year? A forum might be planned, under the guidance of a strong committee, which would present possibilities for discussion. Perhaps, for example, your town needs a community council, in which case the forum might be an excellent place to introduce the idea to the public.

"At the close of the session a thoughtful person should give a challenging summary of what it means to be an American today, sketching our responsibilities as citizens to elect to Congress the men or women who have the right attitudes toward important questions at stake; our duty to our country in accepting our individual responsibility at the polls. International relationships depend on the attitudes of the new Congress—we have a solemn and sobering duty. The school may close with the salute to the flag and the singing of 'America'."

Campaign Schools

The League of Women Voters plans

to hold one-day campaign schools in thirty-one states and six hundred local communities before election day. The schools will be open to the public, led and managed by the local leagues.

They will examine the "representative function in a democracy," "political parties," and the "conduct of foreign policy." Party platforms, campaign speeches, league experience in promoting federal legislation, brief articles on the general problems as well as the usual textbooks will be used in the schools.

Discussion of the "representative function in a democracy" will include the relation of the legislative to the executive branch, devices for lightening the legislator's burdens such as legislative councils and the elimination of patronage, the relationship between legislators and their local constituencies, and the meaning of representation. Emphasis will be placed on the point that Congress must be freed from the excesses of local self-interest because it is imperative that we speak as a nation with one strong voice.

The session on political parties will include evaluation of the parties as channels for political activity and expression of political views, investigation of the relationship of citizen groups to political parties, and study of reasons why political parties in the United States are not based primarily on difference of issues.

Discussion on the conduct of foreign policy will center around the respective functions of the executive and legislative branches of government. Importance of public opinion in determining direction of foreign policy will be considered.

Special articles on each of the discussion subjects have been prepared for study and guidance.

Man Can Bite Dog in Reform Field Too

The Connecticut Merit System Association will select a field secretary for its own staff by examinations comparable to those given for civil service positions.

Maxwell Devoe, Rhode Island State Personnel Director, says it is "the first time, to my knowledge, that an association has actually decided to carry through such plans."

The position will pay $2,400 a year. Candidates will be judged on three ratings, the first to be based on a record of experience and training, the second on a written examination, and the third on an oral interview given to those who successfully pass the first two parts.

The examinations are open to men between the ages of twenty-five and forty-five, living anywhere in the United States, who have a professional knowledge equivalent to a college education and who have had one year's experience or training in community-wide fund raising, executive responsibility in a public or private personnel agency; success in organizing fraternal, labor, social, charitable or civic groups; graduate training in public administration, public or group contact work, or any combination of experience and training which the examining committee deems equivalent.

Full particulars regarding duties, applications, and procedure to be used, which follow that used by most advanced municipal personnel departments, may be obtained by writing to the Connecticut Merit System Association at 33 Lewis Street, Hartford, Connecticut. Applications will be received until November 4.

Butler to Require Citizenship Course

Butler University's President D. S.

Robinson and Dr. Roy M. Robbins, head of the department of history and political science, have announced a new program in citizenship. All sophomores will be required to enroll in a full year course in American government and citizenship, which will emphasize the development and character of political institutions as well as the rights, duties, and privileges of citizens.

Dr. Franklin L. Burdette, formerly of Princeton University, has been appointed assistant professor and director of the course. Other members of the staff are Assistant Professor Warren R. Isom, Dr. Albert R. Highley, formerly of Rutgers University, and Dr. David M. Silver, recently of the University of Illinois.

Seattle League Prepares Autumn Program

Committees and staff members of the Seattle Municipal League are concentrating on city and county finances during the summer months in preparation for budget hearings next October, at which the league plans to assist in the establishment of sound fiscal policies for all branches of local government.

Studies published to date in the *Seattle Municipal News* include a fifteen-year survey of King County finances, showing that it has operated at a deficit consistently since 1924; and various analyses of county expenditures, particularly since 1930.

In coöperation with Professor A. N. Lorig, an instructor in municipal accounting at the University of Washington, and officials of the City Comptroller's department, the league also published simplified statements on Seattle's financial condition over the past ten years.

In a declaration of policy accompanying the financial reports, the Municipal League declared that "1941 budgets now being prepared by city and county officials must be considered in light of the national defense emergency. It is now necessary to cut out some of those luxuries to which, in typical democratic fashion, we have become accustomed. Tax preparedness, to clear the way for necessary military and other expenses, must take the form of reductions beyond all previous conceptions of local economy."

Ewen C. Dingwall
Municipal League of Seattle

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Two Counties Seek Manager Plan

Onondaga, New York, and Sanoma, California, want new charters.

The special commission appointed by the Board of Supervisors of **Onondaga County, New York,** has chosen to draft a charter as permitted by the selective plan in Chapter 863 of the Laws of 1937 (the Buckley act). It has submitted its proposals to the Board of Supervisors which has sent a certified copy of a resolution, calling for a vote at the November election, to the Board of Elections. If the plan is adopted by a majority vote both in the city of Syracuse and in the area outside of the city, the charter will become effective January 1, 1942.

The plan calls for a full-time manager appointed by the Board of Supervisors for a four-year term. There are no residence requirements, and his salary would be determined by the board. He is given administrative control through broad powers of appointment and supervision over the administration. Thus the treasurer's office is abolished and replaced by an appointive director of finance. The offices of coroner and welfare commissioner also are made appointive under the manager.

An elective comptroller heads the department of audit and control, and the fiscal year is changed to the calendar year. An effective executive budget system is provided. Appointive offices are made subject to change, abolition, and consolidation by the manager and Board of Supervisors. The powers and organization of the board remain substantially unchanged.

California County Seeks Manager Government

The grand jury committee on county government, which recently reported to the **Sanoma County** (Santa Rosa), California, Board of Supervisors, has recommended that the county seriously consider adoption of the manager plan of government. While no definite suggestions are made in the report as to the pattern such a charter should take, it is generally understood that Sacramento County's charter is considered the best form adaptable to Sanoma. A strong merit system is also recommended.

Amendment Would Abolish Peace Justices

If the proposed amendment to the West Virginia constitution is approved in the November election, the justice of peace courts and their attendant constables will be abolished and replaced by county-wide "summary courts." In the United States generally there is a widespread belief that the office of justice of peace is inefficient and outmoded, but except for action taken by a few counties in Virginia and Tennessee, the West Virginia proposal is a pioneer effort in this phase of reform in the state judiciary.

The amendment was passed by the state legislature in 1939. It would abolish the positions of nearly six hundred justices of peace whose duties include trying minor cases, issuing warrants, and determining bail. Similarly it would eliminate the 585 constables who are the chief administrative officers for the justices.

Judges elected for four-year terms would preside over the "summary courts" provided by the amendment. They would be assisted by the sheriff and his deputies who would act as administrative officers of the court. The courts would have jurisdiction in criminal law over cases involving misdemeanors and in civil law over cases involving $500 or less. The jury in criminal cases would be composed of six members rather than twelve. Appeals to the higher courts would be permitted.

It is believed that these reforms would eliminate many evils emanating from justice of peace courts. For example, abolition of the fee system of compensation would remove the incentive of judges to encourage litigation and to create speed traps. Conflicts between the constables on one hand and city, county, and state police officers on the other would be abolished, thereby eliminating many of the present uncertainties in law enforcement. Proponents believe that such reforms instituted through the adoption of their proposal would give West Virginia a unified and efficient system for the administration of justice that might well serve as a model for other states.

Model By-Laws Drafted for Massachusetts Towns

The research department of the Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations has published a forty-eight page pamphlet, *Model By-Laws for Massachusetts Towns,* which undertakes to codify and standardize by-laws relating to the financial operations of town (township) government. The pamphlet includes an interpretation of the by-laws and suggestions regarding methods of adoption.

Publication of the pamphlet is the result of numerous requests from the towns to the federation for aid in drafting and revising their legislation. Only a few towns have well drafted by-laws at the present time, and in the majority of cases such by-laws are incomplete, inadequate, and outmoded. The importance of this pamphlet is demonstrated by the fact that the 312 Massachusetts towns are the major units of local government for more than one and one-third million people.

Three Illinois Counties Have Financial Surveys

Financial studies of Morgan, Stevenson, and McHenry Counties, Illinois, have been completed recently by the Citizens' Public Expenditure Survey of Illinois, a new research agency organized approximately a year ago with headquarters in Chicago. The survey is planning to undertake additional studies of local units of government throughout the middle west.

The following are some of the recommendations resulting from the studies of these counties: Installation of a centralized purchasing system embodying quantity purchasing and competitive bidding, more careful budgeting, more detailed and more complete audits, greater care in keeping and preserving records, consolidation of school districts, and combination of road districts. In Morgan County alone possible economies amounting to $70,000 were pointed out and submitted to local officials and citizens for consideration.

LEON WEAVER

University of Illinois

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Arkansas Completes Year of Assessment Supervision

Takes first step toward securing up-to-date assessment procedure

On July 1 the tax division of the Arkansas Corporation Commission completed its first year of state supervision of local assessments. The results, although not monumental, are encouraging.

The Arkansas assessment system is noticeably out of line with most of the eighty principles set down by the National Association of Assessing Officers.

Arkansas assessors are elected for two-year terms, while the NAAO's committee on assessment principles recommended that assessors be appointed on a merit basis and serve as long as competent. Salaries are inadequate "to attract qualified persons to office"; roll copying prevails; self-assessment is the rule; tax maps are almost unknown; little attempt to "survey the property" is made; property descriptions are antiquated; and the legal assessment rate is 50 per cent, to name only a few violations of assessment principles.

Until 1939 the tax division of the Corporation Commission consisted of one $2,400-man whose duty it was to assess all public utilities in the state and perform all other functions usually handled by tax commissions in other states.

Studies Show Inequalities

A study of the assessment situation in Arkansas, published in 1928, showed that "flagrant inequalities in assessment exist on every hand."[1]

In order to study the Arkansas property tax assessment situation, a selected sample of 2,033 rural and urban properties was taken.[2] Estimated true value was ascertained from records of real estate firms, lending agencies, and owners. Comparisons indicated that individual property owners were assessed at varying average percentages, certain types of property were favored and others discriminated against, and properties in adjoining counties were assessed at different average ratios of assessed to true value. Real estate worth less than $600 was assessed, on an average, at 53.6 per cent, while properties worth $40,000 and over were assessed at 15.4 per cent. Farms worth less than $5 per acre were assessed at 70.4 per cent of true value, while farms worth $70 and over per acre were assessed at 16.7 per cent. Assessment percentages on the properties surveyed showed a marked deviation from the average assessment percentage, indicating a high degree of inaccuracy in the system.

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[1] C. O. Brannen, *The Farm Tax Problem in Arkansas,* Arkansas Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin No. 223, p. 27.

[2] See the author's *Inequalities in the Arkansas Property Tax Assessment System,* Arkansas Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin No. 269.

A personal property assessment survey made by the State Department of Education and the WPA in 1938 showed that no radios were assessed in thirty-three of the state's seventy-five counties, no firearms in fifty-seven, no chickens in fifty-two, no refrigerators in thirty-nine, and no bicycles or motorcycles in thirty-six counties.

The tax division of the Corporation Commission, in 1939, reported: "For a great many years criticism of the administration of the ad valorem tax has been common within Arkansas. Unquestionably, over the state as a whole, assessment of property has been in a chaotic condition. As a result it is recognized generally that assessments are not equitable. This has tended to place property assessment on a hypocritical basis."

Taking cognizance of these deficiencies, the 1939 session of the General Assembly appropriated funds for considerable expansion of the tax division and the establishment of assessment supervisors. The division now consists of the tax supervisor, assistant tax supervisor, valuation engineer, and seven district supervisors. Since the inception of the new division, one member of the commission has given almost his entire attention to tax work.

The activities of the new division have been along two lines: reassessment of utilities, assisting and supervising local assessors.

Reassessment of Utilities

One of the first steps of the reinvigorated tax division was complete revision and standardization of forms used by utility companies in rendering reports. Formulas for determining utility values were also overhauled and applied, replacing the old system of copying prior values and accepting blindly reduction requests of taxpayers. Much to the surprise of one railroad, its request for a major reduction in assessed valuation has been vigorously contested in the courts on the ground that such reduction would be contrary to scientific assessment procedure. The railroad was surprised because it had been accustomed to having its reduction requests honored without question.

Through a thorough revamping of assessment methods used for valuation of motor carriers, and with the cooperation of the carriers, assessed valuation on this type of property was increased from $197,550 to $983,210 in one year without protest from any carrier.

"A surprising situation with reference to private car taxes" was revealed by an investigation of the tax division reported in its 1939 annual report. About one-half of the taxes have been delinquent in recent years. Under the law a 25 per cent penalty is automatically assessed against delinquents. The investigation showed that settlements had been made on the basis of approximately 50 per cent of the original tax with the entire penalty waived. Out of $46,395 taxes and penalties charged against delinquent companies from 1937 through 1939, only $19,787 was collected, and of this amount the state paid $4,934 in fees to its special counsel. The new tax division has taken steps to remedy this situation.

During the four-year period, 1935-38, the state paid special counsel $42,805 to collect delinquent franchise taxes. In 1939, for the first time since 1934, the tax division was able to get all corporations to pay franchise taxes before the delinquent date. Discrepancies have also been eliminated from the franchise tax through checking the tax division's records with those of the Secretary of State.

Assistance and Supervision

The Corporation Commission paved the way for state supervision through a series of district meetings for assessors followed by a state meeting. This was done to acquaint the assessors and the people of the state with the possibilities in a program of better assessments. It was emphasized that the supervisors were to be in no sense policemen, but were to act as advisors and arbiters.

The first specific step taken by the new tax division was the checking of state income tax returns against personal property assessments. The staff in the central office copied income tax returns and turned them over to district supervisors who worked with county assessors correcting inequalities uncovered.

One of the early discoveries of field men was that in several counties boards of equalization were not established, or, if established, were not functioning as required by statute. Steps were taken to correct these deficiencies.

The tax division, with the assistance of a Committee on Classification and Schedules composed of one assessor from each supervision district, developed uniform valuation schedules for several types of property including automobiles and oil properties. These were widely used by county assessors and greater state-wide uniformity was accomplished as a result. Schedules for additional types of property are being compiled.

Handicaps and Shortcomings

The personnel of the tax division is not as well paid as is desirable to attract competent people. In many instances, supervisors receive less than the assessors they supervise. This does not lend itself to the establishment of a system whereby the better assessors will be attracted to supervisory positions.

Supervisors are not selected on a merit basis and do not have permanent tenure. They should be placed on a civil service basis.

The new tax division lacks a research unit, so essential to the success of tax commissions. The active administrative officials have neither the time nor temperament to carry on sorely needed research to give a firm foundation to the whole program.

The Corporation Commission, as now constituted, is charged with the regulation of all transportation companies in addition to tax work. The tax division should be separated from the rate division and established under a tax commission or attached to some other state department more closely associated with taxation and local government. The task of regulating transportation companies is a monumental one and is deserving of the entire attention of the Corporation Commission.

The superstructure of the tax division and supervisors still rests on a defective foundation, the constituent parts of which are elective, short-term officials attempting to administer a cumbersome, self-assessment system. Almost any reform is a step in the right direction for Arkansas, and assessment supervision has made a notable contribution during its first year. A really modern and efficient system, however, cannot be established until some of the fundamental deficiencies of the assessment system are corrected.

Estal E. Sparlin

University of Arkansas
College of Agriculture

Municipal Bankruptcy Act Covers Many Local Governments

The extended municipal bankruptcy act, signed by President Roosevelt on June 28, authorizes approximately 1,500 cities, counties, and other local governments to take advantage of its terms, according to a report of the Municipal Finance Officers Association.

The current amendments to the municipal bankruptcy act make it possible for local governments, with the consent of creditors, to adjust their debts until June 30, 1942. Most significant among the changes is the inclusion of special assessment districts and county governments, hitherto omitted. The amended act also specifies that the fiscal agent, attorney, or other person promoting the composition of debts under the act shall not receive compensation for his services from both the governmental unit and the bondholders.

The number of localities struggling with debt default is fewer by several hundred than it was when the federal municipal bankruptcy act was first approved in 1934, and almost two hundred fewer than even a year back, exclusive of special assessment districts, as shown in a survey made a few months ago by *The Bond Buyer,* municipal bond trade journal.

As of February 1, 1940, a total of 734 cities and counties were in default; on the same date in 1939 the number stood at 824. Six hundred school districts and 137 other districts—water, sanitation, etc.—were also listed as being in arrears with their bonded debt payments, although the actual number is probably much larger.

As late as 1938, it was estimated that 3,100 local governments—about 2 per cent of all local units in the country—had defaulted. Only a few, however, have reduced the principal of their debts.

Not all defaulting governmental units settle their difficulties by applying the bankruptcy act, the association pointed out. A number of them have taken advantage of the recent favorable interest rates on bonds and have provided for refundings and readjustments. A majority of defaults are adjusted by direct dealings between the interested parties. Other factors, such as "cash basis" legislation in New Jersey and improved economic conditions in Florida cities, have aided recovery in the worst default areas.

Louisiana Repeals Its Sales Tax

Louisiana is the eighth state to abandon the sales tax as a revenue source. On December 31 of this year purchasers will cease paying out tax tokens as a result of recent repeal legislation, the Federation of Tax Administrators reports.

New York State allowed its sales tax law to expire in 1934, Vermont and New Jersey repealed such taxes in 1935, and Idaho, Kentucky, Maryland, and Oregon did away with sales taxes in 1936.

The act repealing Louisiana's tax also rescinds the authority granted New Orleans to levy a municipal sales tax. Remaining on the municipal sales tax list are six cities, of which New York City is the only large one.

Tobacco Tax Upheld by New Hampshire Court

The Supreme Court of New Hampshire upheld the state tax of 15 per cent on tobacco on June 20. The tax, which applies to all tobacco, showed a return of $990,000 during its first six months of existence and promises a greater sum than was collected from towns each year. Many municipalities have shown economies this year because they were relieved of the state tax by the tobacco tax. The decision was considered one of the most liberal of those handed down by the Supreme Court. Its liberality may be challenged, however, on the ground that the court held the tax was a tax on property and within the constitutional standard of uniformity. It was pointed out specifically that the "opinion does not open the way to graduated taxes." Aside from this constitutional point of the decision, it must be admitted that in upholding the tax the court granted a substantial relief to the towns.

Lashley G. Harvey
University of New Hampshire

Iowa Finds Quick Use for Tax-Forfeited Property

Because of an amended tax-title law enabling counties to purchase and dispose of tax delinquent property, Polk County (Des Moines), Iowa, has within the last few years acquired land for a number of municipal purposes, sold several hundred parcels at a profit, and encouraged local home building, a report to the American Society of Planning Officials shows.

Polk County has a real estate department, set up after enactment in 1935 of the "scavenger tax-sale law" which allows counties to acquire title to tax-delinquent land for the use and benefit of other taxing bodies. The department determines whether property acquired by tax sale can be put to public use or whether it should be offered for sale.

Among properties so converted during the past five years were a greenhouse which was turned over to Des Moines for use as a municipal greenhouse, a large tract in the center of Des Moines with a natural lake now made into a municipal park, land for a hospital site, and a considerable amount of property along street developments.

During the last calendar year the real estate department sold 694 parcels of land at an aggregate sale price of $66,881, which was $6,465 in excess of the amount of tax delinquency, interest, costs, and penalties. During the same year 186 permits were issued for construction on vacant lots sold by the county, with a combined building value of $553,000.

Many of the cheaper lots falling to the county were sold to people of limited income for $50 apiece, enabling such purchasers to build a home and become property owners when otherwise it would have been beyond their means.

The scavenger tax-sale law was designed, primarily, to reclaim tax-delinquent lands for the tax rolls. Although certain concessions are granted former owners of tax-reverted land, the bids of "outsiders" must at least equal the amount due in general taxes, interest, costs, and penalties before they will be recognized as legitimate bids.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

Five Referenda on Adoption of P. R.

A Vacancy in New York
P. R. in India and Malta

The November 5 election will decide the fate of efforts to secure "Plan E," the city manager plan with proportional representation, in **Cambridge** and **Chicopee, Massachusetts.** Sufficient signatures were filed in these cities to bring the question to a vote under Massachusetts law, and vigorous campaigns are now under way.

North Adams and **Quincy** have also filed similar petitions, the sufficiency of which has not yet been certified.

Lynn filed petitions but they have been declared insufficient by the Board of Election Commissioners.

Sufficient signatures were collected in **Springfield**, the state's second-largest city, but those behind the movement there decided it was wiser to conduct a more thorough educational campaign and bring the issue to a vote in 1942, the next year in which such referenda are permitted.

Cambridge nearly succeeded in adopting Plan E in a colorful campaign in 1938, and Quincy also recorded a creditable vote on its adoption the same year. This year the P.R.-manager forces are out to win. It will be the first attempt in North Adams and Chicopee, though Chicopee narrowly missed adopting "Plan D," the manager plan without P.R., in 1938.

Johnstown, New York, to Vote on Charter Revision

The thriving industrial city of Johnstown in the Mohawk Valley is expecting to vote November 5 on an extensive revision of its charter prepared for the Johnstown Non-Partisan Charter Committee by the National Municipal League. The revision includes P.R. for the council, the city manager plan, a modern budget and financial procedure, and most of the other features of the model city charter of the National Municipal League.

The question is being put before the voters by the petition procedure provided in the state's city home rule law. A sufficient petition containing signatures numbering more than 10 per cent of the city's last vote for governor was filed with the city clerk July 1. Since the city council showed no signs of submitting the proposal to the voters in response to this first petition, the committee proceeded under the leadership of Louis K. Maylender, Jr., to collect enough further signatures to force the issue. Under New York law if a city council does not respond to a 10 per cent petition for a charter amendment within two months after its filing, a second petition with new signatures numbering 5 per cent of the last gubernatorial vote in the city and submitted at least sixty days before the general election can compel the amendment's submission.

White Plains Campaign Postponed

The committee of the City Government League of White Plains working for the introduction of the city manager form of government, with proportional representation in the selection of the council, decided to abandon its efforts to secure a referendum this year.

The very light registration in 1939 made about 8,000 voters out of a total of 22,000 ineligible to sign the necessary petition. The local GOP machine terrorized all city employees. They did not dare jeopardize their jobs by signing the petition. As one colored man told the writer, "Yes, city manager and P.R. are good for the city, but signing your petition would be bad for me. We are free slaves now."

A garageman who signed last year's petition for the P.R. referendum was threatened with the loss of all the business the city was giving him. He said that obviously he would not sign another petition.

A substitute teacher, who taught many days in 1938, did not get a single day's work in 1939-40. A near relative had circulated the petition for P.R.

A groceryman, who was getting more than $1,000 a month in welfare orders in 1938-39, was cut to less than $100 a month after he signed the P.R. petition.

The members of the City Employees' Association were warned not to let their names be found as signers.

Welfare, schools, public works, and all functions of the city are so ruthlessly used by the machine that eventually the people will revolt.

In spite of opposition, the committee was able to enlist a small corps of able workers, and if it had had another ten days, it might have obtained the quota necessary to put the question on the ballot.

Next time, work will begin earlier and White Plains should win.

A. V. Brisson

White Plains, New York

A Vacancy Election for the New York Council

A novel situation arose this spring in the New York City council. Councilman John Cashmore, majority leader, was chosen by the council to serve as borough president of Brooklyn to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Borough President Raymond Ingersoll, pending the election of a successor at the polls this fall. This left a vacancy in the council delegation from Brooklyn, which had been elected by P.R. from the borough at large the previous fall.

As required in the city charter, the council filled this vacancy in its own number by choosing a person of the same party and from the same borough, Edward Vogel, who had been one of the unsuccessful Democratic candidates at the regular election. The state constitution provides, however, that "in case of elective officers no person appointed to fill a vacancy shall hold his office by virtue of such appointment longer than the commencement of the political year next succeeding the first annual election after the happening of the vacancy." Thus it became necessary to hold a vacancy election at the polls this fall, as provided by law for other elective officers, even though it would have been more in harmony with P.R. principles for the council's appointment of a person of the same party to hold for the remainder of the unexpired two-year term.

The charter is silent as to how such an election shall be conducted. An application was made in the Supreme Court in Kings County by one Albert Ross for an order to require the election to be held by proportional representation. It was evident, however, that the P.R. rules with their provision for the election of one member for every 75,000 votes cast in the borough were inapplicable to the filling of a single vacancy, and the Court of Appeals in a decision handed down on July 24, so held. The court further held, as the city's corporation counsel had contended, that the election should be held in the borough at large according to all the regular provisions of the state election law, including partisan primaries. Councilman Vogel is a candidate at the general election to succeed himself.

In 1936, while the charter revision commission was drafting the present city charter, the New York Citizens Union pointed out to it the possibility of such a situation as has now occurred and recommended that any vacancy be filled by a preferential recount of the ballots which elected the vacating member, together with the ballots which did not succeed in electing any member—as provided in the new charter of Yonkers. This method would not have been an "appointment" and could therefore have been used to fill any vacancy for the duration of the unexpired term. Furthermore, it would have preserved the proportionality of the result on the basis of the expressed wishes of the voters at the time of the regular election. But the charter commission thought it best not to lengthen the P.R. provisions for so infrequent an occurrence, which even when it happened would not be likely to disturb the proper proportions a great deal.

Having failed in its original suggestion, the Citizens Union proposed to the state constitutional convention of 1938 that in the case of a body elected by P.R. an appointment be permitted to hold for the duration of the unexpired term. This proposal (Int. 632, introduced by Delegate Edgar Nathan, as amended) was reported favorably to the convention by its committee on the governor and other state officers. It was voted down because of hostility to P.R. by much the same combination as a few days later carried the proposal to ban the use of P.R. altogether, a proposal which the voters of the state overwhelmingly rejected.

In the present case the necessity of holding a majority election to fill a P.R. vacancy will make no difference unless Brooklyn's usual large Democratic majority should be upset. If it had been one of the minority members who resigned, however, the requirement would obviously have taken one place from the minority and handed it improperly to the majority as excessive representation for the last year of the term.

P. R. Finds Favor in India

India is not unfamiliar with proportional representation. In the Government of India Act, 1919, provision was made for certain limited and experimental uses of proportional representation. Ten years later the Indian Statutory Commission, under the chairmanship of Sir John Simon, visited India, and in its report said: "The second feature of our proposal, to which we attach very great importance, is the use by the provincial councils of the method of proportional representation in selecting members for the Federal Assembly." And again: "A system of proportional representation, following the model of that in use in the South African Parliament, has been constantly employed in the Legislative Assembly and the provincial councils for the selection of committees. No difficulty has been found in its practical operation, and the members fully understand it and appreciate its advantages."

Proportional representation owes its introduction in India to Great Britain. But it is noteworthy that, as was the case in Ireland, the principle has found favour with the people of India. That powerful body, the All India Congress Committee, is elected in two stages. First, the supporters of Congress in each province elect a provincial committee on a territorial basis, and, second, the provincial committee elects delegates to the National Congress by the single transferable vote system of P.R.

—Annual Report of the British
P.R. Society, June 1940

Malta Continues Use of P. R.

In July, 1939, under the constitution granted in the previous February, the elective members of the new Council of Government of Malta were elected by the single transferable vote form of proportional representation. The first use in Malta of this method of voting took place in 1921 under the constitution granted when Mr. L. S. Amery was Parliamentary Under-secretary for the Colonies. Three languages are spoken in Malta—English, Maltese, and Italian. There is a considerable proportion of illiteracy. Nevertheless, all elections held in Malta with the single transferable vote have been carried out with the utmost smoothness and the results have been representative; and when, in 1931, a commission was appointed to examine the working of the Maltese constitution, leading members of all the political parties in Malta gave evidence in favour of maintaining the proportional system.

—Annual Report of the British P.R. Society, June 1940

MRS. MINORITY

(Continued from page 589)

These are the changes and advances we need to dramatize."

By implication, then, lack of dramatization is what is wrong with the Fusion forces which originally put in both LaGuardia and Mrs. Earle—although each, in his own way, is strong enough to manage an independent campaign. Mrs. Earle will not admit that LaGuardia is on the verge of deserting New York at the first invitation to greener pastures. She says merely that she is not in the Mayor's confidence on that score. Nor will she admit that there is anything wrong with the Fusion forces now. But she *is* deeply concerned with the need for keeping the city government out of Tammany and machine hands, and it is obvious that she would like more than the minority of seven councilmen which the Fusion forces were able to muster last year. A citizens' group which can dramatize good government is, to her mind, the answer.

"If I were not a member of the council I'd work every day and every night for such a group," she says earnestly.

It may be that fearlessness is the word for Genevieve, courage in the face of the highly organized machine politics against which she has battled, in one guise or another, since 1907. As she says herself: "I have no fear—except perhaps the fear that I may sometime find myself on the side of the majority. Then I'll know there's something wrong with the way I think."

They do say that a strong minority is the hallmark of democracy.

Addition for Tables on Comparative Tax Rates

The following footnote for Dayton, Ohio, (No. 41 in the list of cities) should be appended to the 1939 comparative tax rates set forth in the December 1939 issue of the REVIEW.

"City rate includes $2.82 and county rate $.36 for flood protection. City rate includes $1.50 for poor relief and school rate includes $2.00 special levy effective for two- and one-year periods respectively."

Books in Review

EDITED BY ELSIE S. PARKER

The Federal Income Tax. By Roy G. and Gladys C. Blakey. New York City, Longmans, Green and Co., 1940. xvii, 640 pp. $7.50.

What follows is in no sense a review; it is simply a notice to those who might not otherwise come to know that there is now available this stupendous monograph on the history of the legislation, administration, and adjudication of the process by which approximately 40 per cent of the ordinary revenues of the federal government is now obtained. It is to be hoped that the formidable number of pages in the book will not prevent its being read by many people, for three-quarters of it consists in most part of fascinating history fascinatingly presented.

Nothing so releases the energies than to first let a person become possessed of money and hold legal title to it and then take some of it from him by authority of law. The history of the income tax is, therefore, the history of the major social ideas, and the forces which generate them, for the last sixty years—hence also of politics both exoteric and esoteric. The historical section of the book is just as vivid and stirring in its way as the four famous Greek dramas.

This is followed by a chapter which is of interest to far more than the special group for which the entire monograph was written. It deals with the "Evolution of the Definition of Taxable Income." No other piece of writing known to this reviewer is as fine an example of a process which all concerned with molding public opinion must keep in the foreground of consciousness. Here the problem of the meaning of words at a given time, and the problem of the change these meanings undergo with time, become so impressed upon one that no teacher of semantics could ask for a better example of his discipline.

The concluding chapter, we are pleased to learn, does not contain all the judgments the joint authors have reached concerning the effects of the federal income tax on state and local tax systems and "in relation to the national economic and social milieu." On such questions, we are told in a footnote, discussion is reserved for the future. Those interested in getting sufficient revenue for local government can look forward hopefully to the fulfillment of that promise.

To return once more to the significance of the book in the study of the history of ideas and attitudes in the politico-economic realm, the authors declare in their last paragraph that "no important tax is better qualified than the income tax to minimize social friction and promote social coöperation. That is, no other important tax is more in harmony with the ideals of democracy." Today this statement is given universal assent, but as late as 1894 a United States Senator, acclaimed as a great man, represented the majority when he associated it with "socialism, communism, and devilism." The change of attitude did not just happen but has occurred because men of vision constructed weapons out of ideas, and since this book is the story of how they did it, it has a value beyond its value, great as that is, as a study of the federal income tax.

W.J.M.

Democracy's Challenge to Education. Edited by Beulah Amidon. New York City, Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1940. xii, 263 pp. $1.50.

"Three hundred and twenty-four million dollars is much money. Even in a current military budget it would be a major item. In the civil budget of one state in the depression year of 1932 it was enough to make the fingers of deficit-hounded businessmen itch. Three hundred and twenty-four million dollars was the cost of public education in the State of New York in 1932."

This is the lead paragraph of one chapter in "Democracy's Challenge to Education." It suggests only one reason for this omnibus survey of education by some twenty-five "experts" who are also writers. On the premise that it was about time that the intelligent American had a chance to see American education as a whole, the editors of *Survey Graphic* devoted their entire November 1939 issue to this question. The issue sold out many times over, thus proving that it answered a need. Its issuance in book form, well illustrated with excellent photographs and charts, supplemented by lists of view questions, and equipped with a bibliography, will certainly serve a useful purpose. Entertainingly discussed are such subjects as the value of nursery schools, the problem of jobless youth, the quality of American teachers, rural schools—in short, all the aspects, new and old, of education for democracy.

M. R.

Manager Boroughs in Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Government Administration Service, 1940. 28 pp.

The compilers of this handbook on council-manager government in Pennsylvania boroughs have managed to cram most of the essential facts on the subject into twenty-five mimeographed pages.

They explain the manager plan briefly and outline how it can be set up to operate in Pennsylvania boroughs. How the plan works in the boroughs which now have it is also summarized as a guide to persons interested in establishing manager government in their own communities.

Finally there appears a model borough manager ordinance making the picture as complete as space limits of a pamphlet will permit.

This is the sixth in a valuable series which covers briefly and practically a variety of subjects of specific importance in Pennsylvania local government. Such series as these give interested citizen leaders practical information and guidance in their struggles for better government.

E.N.T.

Municipal Administration. By John M. Pfiffner. New York City, The Ronald Press, 1940. xvi, 582 pp. $4.00.

This addition to the *Political Science Series* is also an addition to the spate of textbooks on municipal government which have been pouring from the presses in the last few years. But it cannot be said to be an unnecessary one; far from it. For one thing the principal author, who is professor of government at the University of Southern California, his colleagues and assistants consciously set themselves the goal of writing a textbook that would "teach." That word is not easy to define but it includes the concept of "easy to understand while reading and the content remembered without much difficulty." The book should achieve that purpose for it is racily written; for instance, we are told that a certain municipal administrator was "roiled." A list of forty-nine illustrations is given but they are practically all diagrams which "teach" much better than pictures, as a rule. This is a feature future textbooks would do well to copy.

The book has eight parts and twenty-seven chapters. The division seems reasonable both as to major and minor topics. It is questionable, however, whether schoolmen will be satisfied with the scant twenty pages given to education or with the fact that it is only one chapter of the section entitled "Cultural Activities." The following chapter deals with "Libraries, Museums, and Music," and quotes a librarian as saying, "the quicker the physical book wears out the better." That leads one to ask whether books which contain so much good material in one binding as this could not also be put into other physical forms. For instance, a slight modification of the two chapters on police would produce a pamphlet which might not only sell at a low price but greatly influence public opinion as to what this oldest of municipal functions has now become, and what the citizen should expect and not expect of it.

A book of almost six hundred pages is formidable enough to put into the hands of any young person who is toying with the thought of some day being in municipal administration; and in putting such a book together the question must always be not what to put in but what must be left out. But it is to be hoped that whoever uses it in teaching will enlarge upon the problem of enlisting citizen interest in municipal government and administration. This is directly dealt with only in the last paragraphs of the opening chapter and indirectly in part of chapter IV, though it must be said this chapter deals in an unusually telling way with that agency which is indispensable to good citizens in the modern city—the bureau of municipal research.

W.J.M.

American State Government and Administration. By Austin F. MacDonald. New York, Thomas V. Crowell Company, 1940. xii, 639 pp. $3.75.

To encompass the significant changes and new developments of the past six or seven years, Professor MacDonald has revised his textbook on state government and administration, which was first published in 1933. The volume is now divided into two parts: government and administration. Interstate relations now receive a separate chapter. Sections have also been added to deal with new state activities, including liquor control, industrial hygiene, and planning. Chapters on business, labor, welfare and revenues have been rewritten. As an interesting summary of the events of the last few years, it is a worthwhile exercise to compare the first edition with the present book. For the rest, it remains an intelligently written volume with a very real use for college students and others.

M.R.

Additional Books and Reports Received

Assessment

Assessment of Real Estate in Kansas. Topeka, Research Department, Kansas Legislative Council, 1940. xi, 53 pp. mimeo.

Equalization Agencies. Sixth progress report of the Committee on Assessment Organization and Personnel. Chicago, National Association of Assessing Officers, 1940. 62 pp. One dollar.

Democracy

In Defense of Democracy (third edition). By Frank Murphy, with introductory notes by Charles A. Beard and Franklin D. Roosevelt. Washington, D. C., American Council on Public Affairs, 1940. 15 pp. 25 cents.

Fire Insurance

Fire Insurance Rates on Municipally Owned Property in Colorado. By William H. Slaton. Boulder, Colorado Municipal League, 1940. 12 pp. mimeo.

Fireworks

Regulation of Fireworks. By Carl N. Everstine. Baltimore, Research Division, Maryland Legislative Council, 1940. 61 pp. mimeo.

Government—General

Essentials of American Government (Third edition thoroughly revised). By Frederic A. Ogg and P. Orman Ray. New York City, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1940. viii, 634 pp. $3.25.

Legislation

Sources of Information on Legislation 1939. A bibliographical list of published material received in the Library of Congress prior to January 1, 1940. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1940. 36 pp. 10 cents.

The Problem of Local Legislation in Maryland. By V. O. Key, Jr. Baltimore, Maryland State Planning Commission and Maryland Legislative Council, 1940. viii, 18 pp.

Municipal Government

City Problems of the South 1940. The proceedings of the Southern Regional Conference of the United States Conference of Mayors, Birmingham, Alabama, March 8-9, 1940. Edited by Paul V. Betters. Washington, D. C., United States Conference of Mayors, 1940. iii, 138 pp. $3.00.

1940 Annual Report, Association of Washington Cities. By Chester Biesen. Seattle, Washington, 1940. 26 pp. mimeo.

Personnel

A Public Service Education Program for Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, Institute of Local and State Government, University of Pennsylvania, 1939. 42 pp. mimeo.

A Survey of Public Personnel Legislation and Administrative Regulations. By Clay Morris Ross. University, Virginia, Division of Publications of the Bureau of Public Administration, 1940. 147 pp. mimeo.

The Wisconsin State Government In-service Training Apprenticeship Program—Its First Year. By Horace S. Fries and Ernest Engelbert. Madison, University of Wisconsin Extension Division, 1939. 57 pp. mimeo. 40 cents.

Police

Manual for Police Records System and Uniform Crime Reporting. Raleigh, North Carolina League of Municipalities, 1940. 26 pp. mimeo.

Renting Cars for Police Use. The Evanston and Wilmette Plan. Chicago, American Municipal Association, 1940. 9 pp. mimeo. 50 cents.

Politics

The Political Use of the Radio. By Thomas Grandin. Geneva, Switzerland, Geneva Research Centre, 1939. 116 pp. 40 cents. (Order through Columbia University Press, New York City.)

Purchasing

City Purchasing Methods. Some details of practice. Chicago, American Municipal Association, 1940. 18 pp. mimeo. 50 cents.

State Government

Manual on the Use of State Publications. Edited by Jerome K. Wilcox. Chicago, American Library Association, 1940. x, 342 pp. $6.00.

Taxation and Finance

A Model State Tax System. New York City, Tax Policy League, 1940. 8 pp. mimeo. 25 cents.

Analysis of New Jersey's 1940 Property Tax Levy. By Alvin A. Burger. Newark, New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce, 1940. 6 pp. mimeo.

A Study of the Occupation Tax. Prepared at request of the Mayor of the City of Butler. Butler, Penna., Butler County Committee of the Pennsylvania Economy League, 1940. 33 pp.

Earmarking of Public Revenues. Denver, Department of Government Management, School of Commerce, Accounts, and Finance, University of Denver, 1940. 27 pp. 10 cents.

Financial Statistics—Cities Having a Population of over 100,000, 1937, Summary Bulletin. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1940. 30 pp. 5 cents.

Financial Survey of the Borough of Yeadon, Pennsylvania. By the Institute of Local and State Government, University of Pennsylvania. Yeadon, Borough Council, 1939. 55 pp. mimeo.

How Money Works. By Arthur D. Gayer and W. W. Rostow. New York City, Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1940. 32 pp. 10 cents.

Installment Payment of Current Property Taxes. Springfield, Research Department, Illinois Legislative Council, 1940. 16 pp. mimeo.

Louisiana State Taxes, Second Compilation. Prepared by Research Department. New Orleans, Association of Commerce, 1940. 23 pp. mimeo.

Ownership of Real Property in Illinois by Non-residents of the State. Springfield, Research Department, Illinois Legislative Council, 1940. 14 pp. mimeo.

Property Tax Rates Begin a Downward Trend in New Jersey. As revealed in the 1940 Tax Rates of 552 out of 566 New Jersey municipalities. By Alvin A. Burger. Newark, New

Jersey State Chamber of Commerce, 1940. 4 pp. mimeo.

Relative Taxpaying Ability of the States. New York, Tax Policy League, 1940. 12 pp. mimeo. 25 cents.

Save New York City. A short and long range program to stabilize the finances of the City of New York. New York City, Citizens Budget Commission, Inc., 1940. 21 pp.

South Dakota Revenue Laws and Their Distribution. Aberdeen, League of South Dakota Municipalities, 1940. 13 pp. mimeo.

Taxation and the National Income. New York City, Tax Policy League, 1940. 4 pp. mimeo. 25 cents.

Tax Delinquencies and Mortgage Foreclosures in Manhattan's Blighted Areas. New York City, Citizens' Housing Council of New York, 1940. 8 pp. mimeo. 10 cents.

The Problem of Special (Fee) Funds in Kansas. Topeka, Research Department, Kansas Legislative Council, 1940. xi, 58 pp.

The Story behind the Tax Rates. A study of the tax rates of the city, school, and county during the past decade and their relationships to expenditures and changes in assessments. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Economy League, 1940. 11 pp.

Voting

Absentee Voting and Registration. By James K. Pollock and Edward H. Litchfield. Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1940. 16 pp.

Ballot Analysis and Ballot Changes Since 1930. A survey of state laws regarding the various types of ballots in use throughout the country. By Spencer D. Albright. Chicago, Council of State Governments, 1940. 37 pp.

How—For Whom—For What—Do We Vote? A manual for voters [New York City]. Compiled by Bianca S. Simon. New York, New York City League of Women Voters, 1940. 36 pp. maps. 25 cents.

Registration of Voters in Louisiana. By Alden L. Powell. Baton Rouge, Bureau of Government Research, Louisiana State University, 1940. 14 pp. 10 cents.

The Initiative and Referendum in California. By Winston W. Crouch. Los Angeles, John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation, 1940. 32 pp. 10 cents.

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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

Muckrakers, Please Come Back Again

Editorial

A City Goes to Town Meeting

Mayor Frank Stewart Gaines

Greater Newark: A Quarter Century Vision

Lawrence H. Wendrich

Irish Manager Government Extended

Arthur W. Bromage

The News in Review

October 1940 Vol. XXIX, No. 10

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News in Review

City, State, Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Indiana Commission Submits Manager Amendment

Cities may frame new charters under proposed constitutional provision

The City Manager Study Commission, created by joint resolution of the legislature to draft legislation authorizing the adoption of the council-manager plan of municipal government (declared unconstitutional by the Indiana Supreme Court in 1929), submitted a draft of a proposed constitutional amendment, with an accompanying report, to Governor M. Clifford Townsend in the latter part of September.

The proposed amendment, of five sections and approximately 1,500 words, authorizes any incorporated city or town to frame and adopt a charter for its own civil government, and does not specify the form. The report states in part:

"It will be observed that the amendment is of the so-called self-executing type. That is, if the amendment is submitted and ratified no further action by the General Assembly is necessary in order that a city or town may change its form of government. On the other hand, no city or town under the proposed amendment is required to change its form of government. Moreover, in order that any change shall be made only after careful deliberation, it is provided that a charter can be attained only through a convention composed of popularly elected members. The voters must vote favorably on the question of holding a charter convention, must select the members of the commission, and must approve the charter after it is prepared by the convention. Thus the principle of popular government seems to be adequately safeguarded.

"The amendment also provides methods for amending a charter once it is formulated and adopted. Single amendments may be initiated either by the legislative authority of a city or town or by 10 per cent of the voters therein. However, no amendments can be adopted except by majority vote of the electorate.

"The powers of cities and towns which adopt charters under the proposed amendment are defined by sections three and four of the amendment. Section three lists five groups of powers which may be exercised by such cities and towns subject only to the restrictions imposed by the constitutions of the state of Indiana and the United States. Section four permits the General Assembly of the state of Indiana to grant or withhold other powers by general laws; but powers may be withheld from cities or towns which adopt charters only if they are similarly withheld from all cities or from all towns of the state.

"It will be observed that, by clause one of section three, cities and towns which adopt charters may choose under the constitution their own forms of civil government. . . .

"By this provision cities and towns may establish the manager plan of government if they choose and distribute the functions of government among officials and departments. Unlike so-called home rule amendments in a number of states the proposed amendment does not permit a city or town to determine what functions of local self-government it cares to exercise. The determination of functions of local government remains with the General Assembly. But the forms of local government for administering the legislature-enacted functions will be determined by the city or town. Control over personnel will likewise be exercised by the city or town.

"Clause two of section three permits charter cities and towns to regulate the manner of nominating and electing their officers. Cities and towns are also authorized to provide for the recall of elective officers. Clause three permits charter cities and towns to determine the organizational setup by which they will carry out municipal functions.

"By clause four cities and towns are allowed to make their own rules relative to the selection, compensation, hours of work, and dismissal of officers and employees; and the term of office of elective officials. . . .

"Clause five relates to the authority of charter cities and towns with regard to the administration of special districts which have been or may in the future be created. The charter city or town may elect to administer any such district if more than half its area lies within the limits of the city or town. But if a district is already in existence at the time this amendment becomes part of the constitution and if it was created for the purpose of operating a public utility the charter city or town may not disturb the existing arrangement unless the General Assembly of the state enacts legislation permitting the charter city or town to do so. . . .

"Inasmuch, however, as this amendment applies only to civil cities and civil towns these provisions with regard to the government and administration of special districts do not apply to schools or to school districts. . . .

"Section five of the amendment insures the continuing validity of existing legislation relating to the administration of cities and towns except as it is immediately superseded by provisions of the amendment or may in the future be superseded by action taken in accordance with the provisions of the amendment."

Council-Manager Plan News

The town of **Hartford, Vermont,** decided at a special town meeting held September 9, by a vote of 216 to 133, to inaugurate the town manager plan as soon as the selectmen can choose a manager.

Bloomfield, Connecticut, at a town meeting held September 25, adopted the manager plan by a vote of 388 to 279.

Cleveland, Oklahoma, has voted to retain the manager plan, 500 to 373.

Voters of **Raleigh, North Carolina,** defeated a manager proposal, submitted to a referendum on October 1, by a vote of 4,142 to 3,553.

In **St. Louis Park, Minnesota,** a proposed manager charter was defeated by a vote of 1,340 to 937.

In **Pontiac, Illinois,** a proposal to substitute the commission-manager plan for aldermanic government was defeated, 1,609 to 223.

Chicopee, Massachusetts, is proceeding actively toward the scheduled vote on Plan E at the November election this year. A demonstration of P. R. voting was conducted at a meeting of 350 persons at the city hall auditorium, September 11. In **Northampton** a petition for Plan E has been filed with the board of registrars; it bore 1,500 names, of which the board certified 1,259, or 99 more than the minimum required; however, by a misunderstanding of the law the filing was nine days late, and

(Continued on Page 688)

The League's Business

Springfield Conference Plans

PRELIMINARY programs of the League's forty-sixth annual National Conference on Government, to be held November 18, 19, and 20 at Springfield, Massachusetts, will be mailed to members of the League late in October.

There will be prominent speakers at the annual dinner and at the luncheons the first and third days of the conference. General sessions will be held Monday and Tuesday afternoons. Among the subjects to be discussed at round tables will be "Opportunities and Responsibilities of the Press in Today's Crisis," "The Struggle between Cities and Their Suburbs," "New Citizenship Responsibilities," "Progress in City Management," "Proportional Representation," "New Developments in Local Finance," "The City and State in the Defense Program," "Citizen Groups in Action," "Civil Service."

Meeting with the National Municipal League will be the Proportional Representation League and the National Association of Civic Secretaries, the executive committee of the Governmental Research Association and various League committees including the Committee on a Model Fiscal Program for Cities and the Committee on a Model State Constitution.

(Room reservations should be made directly with the Hotel Kimball, convention headquarters.)

Nominating Committee Appointed

President Dykstra has appointed the following members of the League as members of the 1940 nominating committee: Dr. Harold W. Dodds, President of Princeton University, *chairman;* Arnold Frye, New York City; Carl P. Herbert, director, St. Paul Bureau of Municipal Research; Dean William E. Mosher, Syracuse University; Miss Anne M. Mumford, secretary, The John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation; and Clarence E. Ridley, executive director, International City Managers' Association. Officers of the League to be nominated include the president and ten members of the council. The report of the nominating committee will be presented at the annual business session of the League to be held in connection with its annual Conference on Government at Springfield.

Visitors at the League's Office

Recent visitors at the League's headquarters in New York City include H. F. Alderfer, executive secretary of the Institute of Local Government, Pennsylvania State College; Harry K. Butcher, secretary of the Philadelphia Committee of Seventy; C. A. Crosser, director of the Des Moines Bureau of Municipal Research; Edward Fenias, chairman of the Citizens Union of Newark, New Jersey; Frederick D. Griggs, executive director of the Springfield (Massachusetts) Taxpayers Association; John D. Langmuir, executive director of the New Hampshire Federation of Taxpayers; Mark Matthews, president of the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce; Miss Rosina Mohaupt of the staff of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research; William R. Pouder, executive secretary of the Tennessee Taxpayers Association; and Dr. Paul W. Wager of the University of North Carolina.

HOWARD P. JONES, *Secretary*

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Muckrakers, Please Come Back Again

FOR years it was common report that the elections of Kansas City, Missouri, were dishonest, that it was the usual practice to steal votes, that people who dared to vote against the machine were persecuted. Finally the accumulated stench blew off the lid and it was discovered the rumors weren't "the half of it."

People in Jersey City appear to accept without a qualm the long-continued sideshow of charges of election irregularities there, and they seem only amused when an official goes to bed to prevent an investigation of the locked-up records, when the city clerk blandly admits burning poll books which were being sought for investigation, when Mayor Hague says he dearly loves honest elections but opposes voting machines because they are so complicated they would deprive 40,000 persons of their ability to vote. His opponents, as is well known, charge that many ballots have been cast in the names of non-voters, non-residents, and dead persons.

In Newark, New Jersey, the superintendent of elections recently found that in five of the sixteen wards 11,000 of the 41,692 persons on the registration books could not be found. They had moved, died, or were "unknown" (except, perhaps, at election time). The Newark Citizens Union is waging a campaign for a restoration of honest voting but is retarded by the lack of a vigorous prosecutor and the election-year fear in influential quarters of doing anything which might embarrass political parties "at a time like this."

In Chicago it doesn't seem to matter whether it's "Big Bill" Thompson or the Kelly-Nash machine—the situation in its essentials remains pretty much the same. And then there was the classic occasion in Philadelphia of which a commentator said, "Either good voting or good counting," when one precinct reported 800-plus for the machine and two votes for the opposition.

In the face of scandals like these and others which are openly discussed but about which little is ever done, is it only the clear-sighted few who cringe when statesmen righteously hold forth about the "sanctity of the ballot" and about honest and unhampered voting being the cornerstone of self-government? If it isn't election year which causes the honest men in parties to restrain their urge to do something about it, there is some other excuse. Bryce and Munro thought twenty years ago that we were well on the way toward putting all things like this behind us, but perhaps what we need as much as anything right now is a new generation of "muckrakers."

Is the Mayor Eclipsed?

BERKELEY, referred to in the following editorial, has had the council-manager form of government for eighteen years. Mayor Gaines' acceptance of his responsibility for civic leadership is therefore refreshing and a good illustration of a basic but sometimes misunderstood principle of the manager plan.

Far from eclipsing the mayor, the manager plan gives the mayor a greater opportunity for important service to the voters. He is freed from technical administrative duties and from the usual procession of job and favor seekers. He can concentrate on leadership of the council while it shapes the all-important policies which determine the course of city government, the kinds of services it renders, and the amount of the people's money it spends. But above all his chief responsibility is to interpret the work of the city to the voters, and, in the finest sense of the word, to be the city's political leader.

Public Problem No. 1

THERE is a considerable popular feeling that, instead of being leaders of public thought, men in public office spend their time simultaneously sitting on a fence and keeping one ear to the ground.

Legislatures—local, state, and national—most frequently are seen in this awkward and unattractive position.

That's one side of the picture. Another side is found in the genuine need which many honest and far-sighted public officials feel for a return to something like the old town meeting of New England. It isn't so much that they want the voters to be giving them orders from day to day. Primarily they want the voters to throw off their habitual indifference. They want the voters to understand public business, to discuss it, to have convictions about it. A man gets pretty lonely away out there in front, after all; it's comforting to have around you others who understand and who are going the same way, or at least have a factual basis for opposition.

Two recent constructive efforts toward enlarging popular participation in public affairs are described in this issue of the REVIEW.[1] Interestingly enough, both efforts were initiated by mayors who were drafted and snatched from their careers. They have a special right, therefore, to demand that the people who put them in office stick around instead of adopting the usual attitude that "good government" would be automatic hereafter.

A self-governing system simply doesn't work that way. When the people abdicate (as happens as fre-

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[1] See "A City Goes to Town Meeting," by Mayor Frank S. Gaines of Berkeley, California, p. 643, and "Madison Citizens Advise Officials," by C. K. Alexander, p. 693.

A City Goes to Town Meeting

The "Berkeley Plan" now tested by experience makes democracy work and increases efficiency.

By **FRANK STEWART GAINES**
Mayor of Berkeley, California

IT MAY be, as some have said, that we in Berkeley have stumbled upon one of the basic principles of democracy for which the founders of our nation sought, but which they failed to reach before they were superseded by other governing groups which became preoccupied with the material development of the country and with the search for political instruments which could safely advance that material development while barely keeping alive the democratic philosophy.

What we have found may be what Thomas Jefferson felt we lacked when he declared, "We do not want cities in America, for they will mean the loss of democracy." And it is true that, as the villages and towns of Jefferson's day evolved into the cities of today, the once universal interest in the town meeting ebbed, all but disappeared, and finally became the less than casual interest of today. The average council meeting in the average American city of today is an affair ill-attended by the citizenry, customarily attended only by those with some axe to grind, and often attended only by professional hangers-on.

The citizens, in fact, have been getting together anywhere *but* in the council chamber. They've been thinking of themselves as "governed by politicians" because their municipal governments have been magnificent mysteries to them.

Our new Berkeley method is designed to convince citizens that they do, indeed, govern themselves—just as the old New Englanders knew for a certainty—and that *they* are the "stockholders" in the community corporation, to whom the councilmen, as their board of directors, are strictly responsible.

It is difficult to be complacent about life today in America or anywhere else. Not that we have made more mistakes than the rest of the world, but that we have packed them into such a comparatively brief span that at present we sit as on a powder barrel with the fuse burning. This fuse, it seems to me, may best be described as indignant citizens who, in a system we call a "democracy," fail to find any appropriate satisfaction in the mere mechanism of the voting booth. They want the satisfaction of helping run the system of government under which they live. They are entitled to that satisfaction, and when they get it, the work of operating a city government becomes immeasurably easier for every city department.

We have found this to be eminently true in Berkeley, where most citizens already consider themselves ex-officio members of the police department—accounting for a great deal of our police efficiency—and where they are now being drawn into similar sympathetic attitudes toward other city departments.

Our experience with what may be termed "The Berkeley Plan" indicates that it is practical. It works. After forty or more council meetings we can say confidently that the plan will work anywhere, that is, in any city. For it is not applicable, for technical reasons, to a state legislature or to Congress.

We feel now that this plan, or something of the sort, should be applied in every town and city in the country as a matter of intelligent self-interest.

FRANK S. GAINES
Mayor, City of Berkeley

CITIZEN INTEREST AROUSED

The basic idea is to arouse in our citizens a greater sense of responsibility for the affairs of local government. Our aim is to put citizens to work for democracy and to stimulate their interest in the American method of government. We feel that if democratic institutions are to be preserved it is necessary that citizens be more familiar with the principles for which they presumably stand.

Our plan is to induce ten citizens to attend—and participate in—each weekly meeting of the city council, and the prestige of the Mayor's office is used to bring this about.

Invitations, personal and signed by the Mayor, are despatched several days in advance of the meeting. On the theory that two invitations must be sent in order to secure one acceptance, we select twenty names. Half of these are women, the other half men; also, half are Republicans, the other half Democrats. (Politically, in matters of local government, we operate on a nonpartisan basis.)

The names are selected from the precinct registers. This insures a systematic sampling of the city geographically.

In choosing names from the precinct list, we use the indicated vocation as an index of availability. In the case of women, the determination is a relatively simple one because a large proportion of them describe themselves as housewives, which they are in fact. Whenever we find a woman who styles herself as "homemaker" we select her in preference to an ordinary housewife, because we have found that "homemakers" usually have a more lively sense of civic and social responsibility. In the case of men, we are pretty much limited to non-professionals or non-artisans; that is to say, those who are executives, merchants, manufacturers, retired, and the like. This is because we hold our council meetings for the most part on a working day at 10 o'clock in the morning. When we hold an evening meeting, which we do once a month, we are able to choose anybody regardless of occupation.

At the meetings we adhere strictly to corporate terminology. The council is called the board of directors. The top-flight administrative officials are called officers of the corporation. The invited "stockholders" are seated on a platform in the council chamber near the directors.

Immediately after the formal opening of the meeting, following roll call and approval of the minutes of the previous meeting, the directors are introduced, one by one, to the "stockholders." Then the officers of the corporation are introduced. They are: the general manager (city manager), the legal advisor (city attorney), and the secretary of the board (city clerk).

In turn, the "stockholders" are introduced to the directors and officers, each being called by name. Usually all hands arise when their names are mentioned and make a dignified bow. There are already smiles all around, because the "stockholders" recognize names they have often read about in the newspapers, and the officials are anxious, naturally, to make a good impression on the "stockholders." In fact, we have found that there are a number of distinct improvements in the way we conduct the council's business, due to the alert, interested presence of the "stockholders." We hadn't foreseen this, but it is one of the benefits of the new plan.

The attention of the "stockholders" is then directed to a bulletin board located on the council chamber wall directly opposite them, on which are listed in large letters a number of desirable public projects which they, the "stockholders," may be called upon ultimately to finance, and their comments are invited on the relative merits of these projects. They are also requested to suggest other projects which they deem to be desirable in the public interest. They are invited to visit the various municipal buildings and facilities that may be of interest to them, at the conclusion of the meeting, with transportation provided by the city government.

The "stockholders" are invited to interrupt the routine of the council meeting at any time a question may occur to them. In addition, they are urged to be prepared at the conclusion of the meeting to give the members of their board of directors the benefit of constructive criticism on any matters having to do with the welfare of the city.

A FEW POINTERS

Each "stockholder" is given a copy of the agenda for the day, a copy of the minutes of the preceding meeting as an example of how the records of the board of directors are kept, and a copy of the latest annual report of the city manager. Finally, each is given a copy of the "corporate articles," i.e., our city charter, with the suggestion that each may wish to refresh his or her memory as to the basic rules under which their corporation operates. Probably no one of them has ever laid eyes on the charter before.

Mayors who wish to introduce the "Berkeley Plan" in their communities will find serviceable these few points on technique. First, timing—our tempo is fast; the whole introductory procedure takes just six minutes. Second, we make it clear and repeatedly state the fact that every citizen is a "stockholder" and as such is just as welcome at council meetings as are those who are especially invited. Third, we strive to make all the invited "stockholders" feel at ease. This is done initially by my secretary who makes it a point to be present in the council chamber to identify and receive the invited "stockholders" when they arrive and to conduct them to the seats which have been provided for them. She does this graciously, in a manner calculated to overcome any strangeness they may feel in the council chamber atmosphere. Immediately preceding my entry into the council chamber she gives me a list of those present and so arranged that I am able spontaneously to call each person by name.

Those who may envision in this plan a certain amount of confusion and aimless discussion such as might feature an indecisive forum, may be assured that such is not the case. The affairs which come before the city council are handled just as expeditiously as before, and probably more so. Petty, futile obstructions tend to disappear when mayor, city officers, and council are placed fully on their behaviour in the presence of the "stockholders" who are given *carte blanche* to criticize.

A cardinal merit of the Berkeley plan is that it cannot be subverted in any manner. The city's business is placed squarely in the open. The fact that the plan has been inaugurated and is operating is first class local news and hence is supported by the local newspapers. There are few editors, even of an opposition press, who are so lacking in community ideals that they would be willing to attack an implement of government which so openly weds the interests of citizens and elected officials.

The greatest menace to the preservation of democratic institutions is public apathy. This we have known for years. And many of us have tried every sort of idea to persuade the public to do its duty by us—help us govern our cities. We've tried mass meetings, and we've tried sending public officers into the schools, fraternal and patriotic meetings, churches, and labor union meetings—only to find that, as soon as some issue of the moment with emotional appeal had subsided, the public subsided too.

INTEREST CONTINUES

Now at last we have discovered that when we call upon the public to bear a hand in this business of city government, and when we give the public something *meaty* into which it may sink its teeth—such as real council meetings in which the "stockholders" don't have to listen to any of our orators, but instead participate in actual deliberations—the apathy of most good citizens evaporates.

We have noticed something else. Now that the Berkeley plan has been in operation for some time, men and women who first came to the council chamber as members of the invited "stockholders" panels, begin appearing in the regular spectators' seats.

This is the mayor's cue often to turn to the spectators when some significant piece of business is under consideration and ask, "Isn't there someone here who would like to be heard on this matter?"

We find these "stockholders" suggesting improvements and public projects which, if the council itself were to advance them, might set these very citizens up in opposition. It's different, however, when they make the suggestions.

Many of them have thought that "politicians" have a private stamping ground at city hall. When they find the city's affairs being conducted by a very business-like group of councilmen and councilwomen who often strike sparks in their sincere efforts to save the taxpayers' money, they drop their cynical attitudes in a flash of surprised appreciation. And when they themselves are asked by the mayor what their own opinion may be on the question in debate, and when they find the members of the council seriously listening to what they say, they become forthwith ex-officio aides to the members of the city government.

Extended over a year, the Berkeley plan finally builds up hundreds of key citizens who help find the way to economies in the city's business, perform countless voluntary services, and facilitate the development of needed municipal projects without costly campaigns to acquire them. That is to say, when projects vital to the municipality are proposed and explained, they may be intelligently voted upon in the precincts on their actual merits and not because voters harbor cynical attitudes concerning their local government. Each of the "stockholders" who has once sat in the "stockholders" panel in the council chamber is an educational factor in his neighborhood in behalf of honest democratic processes.

EDITORIAL

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quently as not in local affairs), they are asking for bossism, either benevolent or malignant.

We are worrying more and more about "fifth columns." A greater peril to our way of life, however, is the refusal of those who consider themselves "the better people" to participate in local politics. Local affairs constitute the original cell of a self-governing system. When local elections repeatedly bring out only 30 to 50 per cent of the qualified voters, we simply do not have democracy or self-government. When the result of such an election is good, this is due to the fortunate existence of high-minded, selfless leadership rather than to an effective demonstration of government by the people and of the people.

The mayors of Berkeley and Madison are attacking our number one problem in a mature, intelligent manner. They are giving their people a real opportunity.

Maine a Pioneer in Town Management

Nine cities and seventeen towns now operate under manager charters; plan recognized as an accepted and approved form of municipal administration.

By **ORREN C. HORMELL**
Bowdoin College

MAINE has become one of the outstanding experiment stations for the manager plan of government.

Twenty-three years ago (1917), the city of Auburn secured from the legislature a manager charter which was adopted the following year by a referendum of Auburn voters. Today, the manager plan has been adopted and put into effect in nine cities and seventeen towns. The cities operate under special charters, granted by the state legislature (see Table I).

During the same period the following cities have refused to ratify manager charters granted by the legislature: Saco (1925), Calais (1936 and 1939), Bath (1939), Gardiner (1939). One city, Old Town, was refused a charter by the legislature.

It is interesting to note that influential citizens of two-thirds of Maine's cities have been able to secure manager charters from the legislature and that 64.3 per cent of the cities granted charters have adopted them by local referendum.

Thirteen towns also operate under special charters granted by the state legislature (see Table II).

Several towns have refused to adopt manager charters enacted for them by the legislature. Outstanding among such towns are Sanford (1929), Bar Harbor (1937), Old Orchard (1937), Fort Kent (1938), and Bridgton (1938). The last named town, however, has come in under the 1939 enabling act.

Four towns operate under the municipal manager enabling act (chapter 130 of the *Public Laws of 1939*).

TABLE I

City	*Population 1930*	*In Effect*	*Act of Legislature Private and Special Laws*
Auburn	18,571	1918	1917—Ch. 200
Portland	70,810	1923	1923—Ch. 109
Belfast	4,993	1930	1929—Ch. 115
Bangor	28,749	1931	1931—Ch. 54
Brewer	6,329	1931	1931—Ch. 75
Presque Isle[a]	4,662	1933	1931—Ch. 100
Ellsworth	3,447	1933	1933—Ch. 34
South Portland	13,840	1934	1933—Ch. 55
Eastport[b]	3,466	1935	1935—Ch. 66

[a] Presque Isle was changed from a manager town to a manager city by special act of the legislature in 1939.

[b] Eastport since 1938 has been operating under a commissioner appointed by the State Emergency Municipal Finance Board. The commissioner in actual practice operates much as a manager.

Town	*Population*	*In Effect*
Bridgton	2,659	1940
Hodgdon	1,054	1940
Linneus	1,000	1940
Norridgewock	1,478	1940

The town manager enabling act should be recognized as a landmark in the development of municipal government in Maine. It provides that any town at either an annual or special town meeting "provided an appropriate article has been inserted in the warrant . . . may vote to employ a town manager or to form a union with one or more other towns in the employment of a town manager."

The "town manager shall be the administrative head of the government of the town, or each of the several towns comprising a town union, and shall be responsible to the selectmen of each town for the administration of all departments of such said town over which the selectmen of towns have control. . . ." Furthermore, the selectmen may require the manager to perform "the duties or any part of the duties of the town treasurer, the road commissioner or commissioners, the tax collector, and the overseers of the poor."

It is safe to predict that in a relatively short time most of the twelve "agent" towns[1] mentioned below will operate under the 1939 enabling act. The so-called "town agents" are taking the initiative in securing a vote of the town under the enabling act in order that the agent may assume the more professional title of manager.

The so-called town agent—resembling a town manager—is appointed by the selectmen under a general statute. The statute, however, does not define the agent's duties and in practice he varies from a secretary or "errand boy" to the selectmen to a full time, well paid manager.

An example of the latter may be found in the town of Dexter. In 1931 the town voted to increase the number of selectmen from three to five for overlapping three-year terms, to reduce the salaries of selectmen to one dollar per meeting, and authorized them to engage "a town agent or manager and fix his salary." The manager plan in practice has been in operation under a well paid manager

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[1] Corinna, Dexter, Guilford, Hampden, Hartland, Lubec, Mapleton, Monticello, Masardis, Patten, Pittsfield, and Sangerville.

TABLE II

Town	*Population 1930*	*In Effect*	*Act of Legislature Private and Special Laws*
Camden	3,606	1927	1927—Ch. 101
Fort Fairfield	2,616	1929	1929—Ch. 65
Mt. Desert	2,022	1932	1929—Ch. 97
Washburn	1,974	1934	1933—Ch. 61
Rumford	8,726	1935	1935—Ch. 48
Oakland	2,664	1935	1935—Ch. 58
Baileyville	2,017	1935	1935—Ch. 95
Ashland	2,198	1936	1935—Ch. 12
Milo	2,912	1938	1937—Ch. 25
Dover-Foxcroft	3,730	1938	1937—Ch. 57
Houlton	6,865	1939	1939—Ch. 3
Caribou	7,248	1939	1939—Ch. 46
Lincoln	2,161	1940	1939—Ch. 62

in Dexter since that time. Thus custom in some cases is more effective than law. It should be noted here, however, that there is no logical reason for Dexter to delay in adopting the real manager plan under the 1939 enabling act. Several towns have used the town agent device for trying out the manager plan. Camden and Fort Fairfield thus experimented for two years before asking the legislature for a charter.

Another type of administrative agent quite similar in many respects to the town manager is found in the "commissioners" of the towns and plantations taken over by the Emergency Municipal Finance Board. There are twelve such municipalities[2] operated by commissioners appointed by and responsible to the board. Of the five commissioners now administering town affairs for the board, two have charge of three towns each, and one conducts the business of four towns. An excellent opportunity is thus being given to try out and evaluate the uniting of two or more towns under a single administrative expert.

EARLY CHARTERS

Space does not permit a lengthy historical and descriptive sketch of the manager movement or an evaluation of the more important charters. Some attention should be given, however, to the experiment in the first two Maine municipalities to adopt manager government—Auburn, 1918, and Portland, 1923. The charters of these two cities have served materially as models for other Maine municipalities. The financial features of the Auburn charter were followed by the drafters of the Portland charter and have been incorporated in a major portion of the charters of other manager cities.

The ward system of electing the city council of five members was retained in Auburn, not because the drafting committee believed in the ward method of representation, but because the committee believed that the abolition of that system, with a solid French-Canadian fifth ward, would result in inevitable defeat at the popular referendum. However necessary it was to retain the ward system in 1917, experience shows that its retention has been, from time to time, a deterring factor to effective management. The council members are elected for two-year terms; all retire at the same time.

A mayor is elected who presides over but has no vote in the council; at times the mayor tries to assume functions legally belonging to the manager.

The manager and his subordinates by charter provision are appointed to serve for an indefinite tenure at the pleasure of the appointing authorities. By custom (extra-legal if not illegal) the council after each biennial election considers vacant all positions which it is authorized to fill and makes appointments anew. To the credit of the council only occasionally have political factors caused the dropping of experienced and efficient servants. Mr. Fred Ford, now with Public Administration Service, was the city manager of Auburn for twelve years from 1926 to 1938.

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[2] Blaine, Connor, Eagle Lake, Eastport, Fort Kent, Kingman Plantation, Reed Plantation, St. Francis Plantation, Silver Ridge Plantation, Stockholm, Van Buren, and Wallagrass Plantation.

A weak feature of the Auburn charter, one copied unfortunately in all other manager charters in Maine, is that relating to the appointing power. Several of the important administrative positions are filled directly by the council and all of the manager's appointments are subject to council confirmation. Moreover, no departmental organization was set up in the charter. The manager was given the difficult duty of supervising a large number of subordinates who were subjected to council appointment or confirmation and might recognize loyalty to an influential councilman more than loyalty to the manager.

With all of its defects, however, the manager system in Auburn, after twenty-three years, seems to have the support of a great majority of the voters of the city.

PORTLAND'S EXPERIENCE

The experience of Portland with the manager system is worthy of special notice. Portland has operated under only two managers since the inception of the system in 1923, Harry A. Brinkerhoff and James E. Barlow, both trained and experienced in engineering and administration before their appointment to the Portland position.

The committee representing the Portland Chamber of Commerce and the Citizens Committee of 100, which drafted the unsuccessful charter of 1921 and the charter which was adopted in 1923, drew not only from the Auburn charter but also from the 1915 Model Charter of the National Municipal League. In several important articles, however, the Portland charter differs fundamentally both from the Model Charter of 1915 and from the subsequent revisions of that charter. Such differences may be explained largely by a statement of the drafting committee (headed by Ralph O. Brewster, later Governor and Representative to Congress) to the effect that "it should be definitely and clearly understood that this is a Portland charter—made in Portland—made for Portland—made by Portland men." The committee emphasized the desire to appear original by giving the following reasons. "It is felt that New England for historical reasons has developed a distinctly different type of municipal government than existed in other sections of the United States. It seems evident that this difference in conditions must constantly be borne in mind and that charters from other sections of the country must be scrutinized with great care before their provisions are adopted. The experience of New England cities must be of primary importance."

The amazing lack of an integrated administrative set-up is accounted for in part by the committee's announcement that "it seems the part of wisdom to disturb the administrative organization of the city *to the smallest extent possible* as the citizens are accustomed to its mode of functioning, and the limits of the several departments are now determined with some precision by our customs and habits of thought. The tentative draft of the charter . . . leaves the existing administrative organization of the city almost entirely intact with the names and functions of all executive officers and boards precisely as before with certain minor exceptions."

The injurious effects of the lack of integration appear most convincingly in the absence of an integrated department of finance.

NO INTEGRATION ATTEMPTED

Under the charter no attempt has been made to create by ordinance integrated departments which to a limited degree would be legally possible. It appears that the framers of the Portland charter made it difficult for councils and managers to effect departmental integration from the fact that in the charter, article VI, section 1 (a), the following officers and members of boards were to be appointed by the council: "city manager, city clerk, corporation counsel, treasurer and tax collector, health officer, city hall music commission, trustees of Evergreen Cemetery, and two members of the board of registration"; while the following were to be appointed by the manager, *subject to confirmation by the city council*: "commissioner of public works, city electrician, chief of police, chief of the fire department, secretary to overseers of the poor, city physician upon recommendation of the health officer, inspector of buildings . . . and all other department heads whose positions may from time to time be created by ordinance; and except as herein otherwise provided, upon recommendation of the heads of their departments, all minor officers and employees."

Such provisions reveal the weakness of the manager's position. Although he is declared to possess responsibility for the administration of all departments he has no share in the appointment of several important officials, and, what is more important, all of the manager's appointments are subject to "confirmation by the city council." His power of removal is even more limited, at least in practice, than his power of appointment. Since all appointments are subject to the confirmation of the council and all of the manager's appointees serve "during the pleasure of the appointing power" removals to date have been attempted by the manager only after being assured of the council's approval. It is not surprising then that, in general, the administrative staff turns for approval to the council rather than to the manager.

The power of the manager to develop an integrated administrative organization is further limited by the charter provision that "duties of administrative officers other than the city manager may be prescribed by the city council."

Notwithstanding these various weaknesses, public service in Portland, compared with the character of service under the earlier political system, has been greatly improved under the manager form. The city debt has been decreased by approximately $500,000 from that of 1923 while the total tax levy has been maintained at a constant level, notwithstanding great loss in property values and inevitable increase in welfare costs during the depression.

FIRST TOWN MANAGER

Among Maine towns Camden assumed leadership in 1925 by establishing a manager under the title of "agent" and after two years of successful experimenting the town asked the legislature for a manager charter.

The administration of the town is largely vested in one board of directors, the selectmen, with the exception of school affairs which are vested in a separate school board. The town also elects a treasurer, collector of taxes, clerk, and auditor of accounts.

The selectmen appoint a manager who in turn appoints all other nonelective agents and employees of the town subject to confirmation of the selectmen. All appointive officers hold office at the pleasure of the appointing power, except that the town manager and health officer can be removed only upon written charges and after a public hearing.

The charter provides that the town manager shall be chosen solely on the basis of his executive and administrative qualifications and his technical knowledge of road construction, and that preference be given when possible to a duly qualified engineer.

The manager is declared to be the administrative head of the town government, responsible to the selectmen for the administration of all departments of the town over which the selectmen have control.

Important among the specific duties of the manager enumerated in the charter is that of acting as a purchasing agent for all departments of the town.

The charter further provides that the manager shall devote his entire time to his office and shall receive a salary to be fixed by the selectmen.

Camden elects seven selectmen. They meet once a week. They receive no salary but the town does pay their necessary expenses.

Under the manager system Camden not only has had efficient supervision of all its departments, but especially has been able to carry out a constructive and continuing program of road building extending over a considerable period of time.

Fort Fairfield, in 1929, copied the Camden charter and received permission of the legislature to make it the town's fundamental law. The economies and efficiencies of the manager system for a small town have been unquestionably proven in Fort Fairfield.

The manager in that town is the administrative head of all town departments except schools; in other words, is overseer of the poor, road commissioner, town engineer, purchasing agent, tax collector, building inspector, plumbing inspector; and in addition supervises the fire department, police department, and department of health, prepares the annual budget, and controls all town expenses, as well as the routine office work. In fact the system worked so well that the city of Brewer (January, 1932), went to Fort Fairfield for its new city manager.

HOULTON'S CHARTER

The town manager charter of Houlton, enacted as an emergency measure by the legislature on February 14, 1939, presents a few noteworthy features. A council of seven members, serving overlapping terms of three years, was established. In the council are concentrated the powers and duties of former selectmen, overseers of the poor, assessors, and board of road commissioners. The council

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Greater Newark: A Quarter Century Vision

Politics a stumbling block to effective metropolitan community in Essex County region; local patriotism and fear of shift in balance of political power defeat attempts to secure consolidation.

By **LAWRENCE H. WENDRICH**
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THE municipalities of Essex County play dual roles. On the one hand, they are a part of the New York metropolitan region. On the other, they form an Essex County metropolitan region with Newark as the central city. Desirable as unification of the New York region may be, a multitude of factors militate against an early adjustment. The unification of the metropolitan sub-unit of Essex County would not meet the same prohibitive factors and is justifiable in view of relationships within the area.

By the application of a number of tests it becomes evident that Newark and almost all the rest of the county would be classified as a metropolitan area in itself were it not for its proximity to New York. If that proximity were ignored, the Bureau of Census method of determining a metropolitan area by population density would reveal Newark as a central city with twenty of the twenty-one suburban communities of the county as part of its metropolitan area.

Newspaper circulation demonstrates that Newark newspapers are the principal news medium of the Essex County resident, with New York papers of secondary importance. In addition, the Newark press has a wide circulation in adjacent counties. A measurement of department store deliveries discloses that Newark stores are the most important shopping sources for Essex residents. Investigation of wholesale trade establishments points to an overwhelming importance of this city as a wholesale center for the county. A survey of the transportation facilities indicates that Newark is the focal point of the daily population movements in the county.

All these indices reveal the social and economic domination of this central city over an area somewhat larger than Essex County.

In order to simplify the problem of consolidation, attention will be given only to the problems and methods of consolidating those municipalities within the political boundaries of Essex County. The situation before us still remains complex, however, for although Essex County is a unit by every social and economic test, its political divisions include twenty-two municipalities, the county, independent boards and commissions, and several *ad hoc* authorities.

The municipalities embrace an area of only 127 square miles. Their individual populations range from 989 to 442,337.[1] Taxable property values range from approximately $1,600,000 to $780,000,000. In a closely knit area of this type such a situation may have wide ramifications. Crude as the results may be in determining the quantity and quality of services of the separate municipalities by a per capita local government cost, they indicate marked inequalities of adequacy or efficiency. Whatever the reasons for the inequalities they form a basis for argument in favor of consolidation by those who view the metropolitan problem as a problem of the area as a whole; substandard services in one municipality materially affect its neighbors.

Among the ten largest communities the per capita tax for local purposes ranges from $12.46 to $47.67 with a median of $27.16. These wide differences may be due to administrative techniques or differences in service problems; but they may be due to marked inequalities in ability to pay. Among the twenty-two communities per capita valuations range between $813.37 and $4,198.90 with a median of $1,805.72.

NEED FOR CONSOLIDATION

A myriad of uncoördinated special authorities blanket the county—added proof of political multiplicity and a need for consolidation even among these "coördinating" authorities. Established to rectify pressing problems that were beyond the scope of the individual municipalities, these *ad hoc* areas frequently add to the confusion and have occasionally clashed among themselves and with other authorities over jurisdictional and financial matters.

The North Jersey District Water Supply Commission furnishes an important service to Essex municipalities, yet four communities of the county purchase water from private companies. It is hampered by its limited scope of authority and an inability to establish new facilities in keeping with its regional character. The Joint Outlet Sewer Commission performs a much needed service in an efficient manner. Coördination of this authority should not impair this phenomenon. The Passaic Valley Sewerage District embraces portions of Passaic, Bergen, Hudson, and Essex Counties. Its objective to prevent pollution of the Passaic River has been accomplished, but at a highly unsatisfactory cost. These agencies are makeshift solutions and could profitably be consolidated on a regional basis; failing this, a closer harmony within each single county is greatly needed.

In addition to this confusion of municipal and special authorities, consideration must be given to the county government and the several independent county commissions. Despite the common concept of county government as "rural" it maintains an important role in this urban area of Essex County. The county performs not only the traditional charitable and institutional services but also several urban functions. Vocational education, a small share of roads, shade tree development, almost all the parks of the area, and mosquito control are directly or indirectly administered by the county. A teletype system has been established in the sheriff's office in an attempt to correlate municipal policing efforts.

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[1] All population and per capita figures derived from the 1930 census. The 1940 preliminary returns which show only slight changes have been widely protested in Essex County. Tax rates, etc., are of the most recent date obtainable.

Few municipal services are administered at the maximum economy and efficiency realizable in a consolidated community embracing Essex County's "Balkan" subdivisions. The problems left to the twenty-two municipalities included: police and fire protection, health, waste disposal, education, planning, purchasing, financial administration, and so forth. State and county functionaries engage in some of the same work, but it is secondary and duplicatory; these problems are primarily a local responsibility. Consequently, within this compact area, twenty-two municipalities are geared to the financing and administering of these services. Equipment and personnel of the individual municipalities are seldom used to their full capacities. Municipal boundaries are the confining lines; frequently the effective service area of one town is the responsibility of one or more of its neighbors. This is particularly true of fire and police protection in the more densely populated areas surrounding Newark. Fire protection may soon be administered on a more sensible basis among certain municipalities bordering Newark if recent discussions meet a better fate than many previous plans.

The demand for increased services, decreased costs, and state regulation of municipal indebtedness will make the present irritating shortcomings acute problems of the impending future. At present there is a wide variety of formal and informal "understandings" between municipalities to prevent fire, police, and water problems from producing absurd situations similar to Chicago's "no man's land." These existing interjurisdictional agreements are by no means a solution to the problem as a whole. Only earnest coöperation can substitute for administration of these services on at least a county basis. To date no coöperative effort competent of solving the dilemma has appeared on this chaotic scene.

OBSTACLES TO CONSOLIDATION

Any plan for consolidation has the prerequisites of legality and public support. Model provisions for consolidation are embodied in chapter 343 of the *Public Laws of New Jersey 1939,* which require adequate planning, state recommendation, and local referenda. It is the second of the prerequisites which bars the desired reorganization. Basically the problem can be attributed to an "urban attitude" and a "suburban attitude" which are the results of economic and political considerations. One or both of these attitudes stifle any plan in its inception. It must be recognized that no plan can offer economic and political advantages of the type desired to all factions.

The opposition to consolidation is latent primarily because there have been no vigorous and sustained campaigns for reorganization. On several occasions when movements were afoot this opposition made itself felt as will be shown in the historical summary of such movements. There is little opposition from Newark other than certain political considerations which grow out of the fact that Newark has strong Democratic and Republican organizations which frequently join forces against the common foe—the "Clean Government" Republicans who dominate suburban politics. It is possible that the enlarged community might make this alliance unavailing, and that Newark would be controlled by the suburban vote.

The forces of opposition in the suburbs rest mainly upon two facts: first, Newark is ruled by "dirty politics," and second, suburban administration and services are superior to those of Newark. Specifically these attitudes are brought about by the special interests and social, political, and economic conditions of the individual communities. The suburbs point to frequent manifestations of politics and some "suspicious deals" in Newark in the not too remote past. Newark's tax rate is usually the highest in the county. The responsibility of assuming Newark's net bonded debt of approximately $75,000,000, while not particularly large viewed from a per capita basis, alarms suburbanites.

Several suburban communities are noted for their wealth and fear diversion of part of their revenues for the benefit of less fortunate neighbors. Needed capital improvements in some outlying suburbs would cause several of the more completely developed suburbs, as well as Newark, to view consolidation as a scheme to shift capital costs to those who have already made improvements.

Control of the enlarged electorate is a problem for both Newark and suburban forces to speculate upon. An enlarged city might shift the balance of political power to the other group since many county elections are decided upon the narrowest of margins. A local patriotism, particularly in some of the wealthier and "exclusive" communities is of such intensity that many would justify an individual existence of these communities for the prestige of their names alone. Closely allied with these sentiments is the fear of joining with Newark and its large foreign-born and negro population. It is assumed that this group is easy prey for unscrupulous politicians. It is also feared that present impotent minorities of suburban "undesirables" might form an uncontrollable combine with the Newark elements if the political areas were merged.

Until the time when spectacular advantages of consolidation can be demonstrated, public opinion will continue to be dominated by the considerations mentioned.

ATTEMPTS TO CONSOLIDATE

During the past twenty-five years Essex County has witnessed numerous attempts to reorganize the area. As early as 1915 a "Greater Newark" was planned which called for incorporation of municipalities of an adjoining county rather than the Essex suburbs which were of minor importance at the time. In 1924 interest in consolidation was aroused when Essex suburban growth reached notable proportions. During the legislative sessions of 1926, 1927, and 1928, bills to facilitate consolidations were submitted, each of which was defeated by strong suburban opposition groups. Several hybrid plans were offered at the time.

During 1927 the annexation of East Newark and Harrison to Essex County was discussed but shelved because Essex Republicans feared the effects of these two strongly Democratic communities. At the same time the mayors of Caldwell, West Caldwell, North Caldwell, and Essex Fells urged a merger of these communities. Their present independent status reveals the unsuccessful results of their effort.

These developments did arouse public interest. The Newark Chamber of Commerce urged a federation of the municipalities of the metropolitan Newark area. Officials of the suburbs promptly expressed disfavor. President Dodds of Princeton, addressing a Newark group shortly thereafter, criticized the chaotic governmental areas and predicted that "consolidation of some sort is as inevitable as death or taxes." During 1928 and 1929 two prominent Essex citizens spoke on the problem and suggested consideration of the possibilities of a federated city.

In 1933 a new consolidation bill was introduced in the New Jersey Assembly. Municipal consolidation measures had, by this time, almost become a permanent part of the legislature's agenda, but the sponsor believed that the depression would make friends for the bill. The need for economy had no effect upon the opposition.

One result of the agitation was the creation in June 1933 of a State Commission to Study Consolidation of Local Governments, under the chairmanship of Thomas McCarter. The following November the commission suggested that the county should play a more important part in local government by assuming certain municipal functions. The chairman characterized conditions as "intolerable" and suggested that solution lay either in outright or functional consolidation. In December of 1934 the commission recommended indefinite postponement of any move to consolidate county and municipal governments. Officially it was announced that public sentiment was insufficient, but it was suggested by the press that coöperation of municipal officials was lacking.

During 1936 and 1937 a mild "civic group" interest was nursed by several speakers. A county official emphasized that any plan had to come from citizen groups and recommended that, if nothing else, tax collections be made by the county. The following year a plan for the consolidation of Orange, East Orange, South Orange, and West Orange died during the speech-making stage.

POSSIBLE SOLUTION

The Princeton Local Government Survey obtained the enactment of a model consolidation bill by the legislature in 1939. No further legislative aid is necessary, but the new law has had little effect upon the opinion of municipal officialdom. Since its enactment one official has expressed opposition to consolidation but urged a survey of the problem because it was highly controversial and complicated. He admitted, however, that "many common services could be merged with marked savings for the taxpayers."

History clearly shows that consolidation in Essex County is generally viewed as interesting speculation, but remote and impractical. Evidently political "independence" is worth the excessive cost even to those who tilt with a vague foe of inefficiency and oppressive tax burdens.

In this setting of lethargic public opinion, guarded special interests, and local prides, what are the possible methods by which the present situation can be changed? Twenty-five years of agitation for direct consolidation have resulted in nothing. It appears that desired ends can be reached only by charted indirection.

The county government has been mentioned in some detail, and at this point it must be stated that Essex County government has not been a "dark continent." Aside from its alertness and general reputation for honest administration is a peculiar feature of its structure by which the office of county supervisor could be transformed into a modern county manager. At present this is an elective office. A change whereby this officer would be appointed by the county board of freeholders would be the first step toward the reorganization of this government for the purpose of assuming a greater administrative responsibility.

Functional consolidation may then be realized through the county government; a solution which is the only one likely to succeed. Functional consolidation is recommended for several reasons: first, it could be effected immediately in those functions which constitute the most pressing problems; second, gradual shifting of responsibilities to the county government would draw less attention and protest from consolidation opponents; and third, the gradual process would permit the county government to effectively reorganize its internal administrative machinery to cope with increased functions.

The consolidated community of Essex County can be achieved, under present conditions, only through this slow, indirect method. It is hoped that its application in Essex County will solve some of the most distressing problems and in doing so will aid in changing public opinion to favor still greater consolidation. If functional consolidation could be continued it is possible that the final result would leave the present municipal units with a few unimportant functions. The tottering claims to continued existence might then fall to an enlightened public opinion.

It is necessary, however, to end in a realistic, if not dismal, note—the desired ends will be achieved only after a long, unrelenting campaign of diplomacy, planning, research, and education by clear-sighted citizen groups.

Irish Manager Government Extended

Achievements of manager plan in cities of Eire have led to its extension to all counties; system has full support of both major parties.

By **ARTHUR W. BROMAGE**
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FOR a few years after the establishment of the Irish Free State (now known as Eire) in 1921, English influences continued to dominate Irish local government. Large county-borough, county, and borough councils persisted, functioning as in the days of English rule. By means of large committees acting in conjunction with administrative and professional officers, over-all direction and surveillance was given to local activities and employees.

The first break with tradition came in the nineteen-twenties through the dissolution of certain local corporations (like those of the county-boroughs of Dublin and Cork) in favor of administration by a centrally-appointed commission as in Dublin, or by a single commissioner as in Cork. This action amounted to a negation of local self-government, although the centrally-selected commissioners were not necessarily adamant against local influences or bent upon house-cleaning local staffs.

Essentially, these commissioners supplanted the general control of administration previously wielded by the elected councils. In fact, they performed so well as supervisory agencies that Dublin and Cork were never to return completely to control by locally-elected, representative councils. Instead they were destined for a modified system of local self-government plus a high degree of centralized authority.

The second radical readjustment of Ireland's urban and rural administrations involved the method of appointing their executive, professional, and technical personnel. In the period from 1921 to 1926 appearance of a spoils system threatened the selection of personnel by county-borough, county, borough, urban district, and town councils. When influences of a political or personal nature were brought to bear, the national government decided to step into what might become an ugly situation.

William T. Cosgrave, as President of the Executive Council (cabinet), sponsored a new plan for the recruitment of certain local officers and employees. By the local authorities (officers and employees) act of 1926, a centrally-appointed Local Appointments Commission was set in motion. This body of three commissioners, responsible to the Executive Council, was given power to recruit by examination for executive, professional, and technical positions in local units. Local councils were required to appoint to such posts candidates selected by the LAC. Centralized recruitment became the source for such officers and employees as managers, secretaries, clerks, medical officers, engineers and surveyors, fire brigade officers, architects, rate inspectors, sanitary inspectors, etc.

In examining applicants, the LAC, which has been functioning ever since, has made wide use of what is called "interview board" procedure. The LAC sets up a panel of experts and laymen to hold oral interviews, and these panel boards rate the applicants as to training, experience, and personality. Their recommendations are reported to the LAC which, in turn, certifies the leading candidate to the appropriate local authority for appointment. Except in certain cases of promotion from within the service, it is impossible for the local authorities to escape from the heavy but expert hand of the LAC in the choice of executive, professional, and technical officers and employees.

MANAGER PLAN ESTABLISHED

The third major trend away from the English model came in certain Irish municipalities. This was the establishment of county-borough and borough management. The first community to be organized on the managerial principle was the county-borough of Cork in 1929. The county-borough of Dublin and the borough of Dun Laoghaire (in the Dublin metropolitan area) followed suit the next year. Two other county-boroughs—Limerick (1934) and Waterford (1939)—became managerial experiments.

Although these local units were reorganized by means of special acts passed by the Oireachtas (parliament), the same general organizational and administrative principles are in large measure common to all. The formula worked out for Cork by John J. Horgan, prominent solicitor of that city, General Richard Mulcahy, then Minister for Local Government and Public Health, and E. P. McCarron, then secretary to that department, has stood the test of time and has been reworked in subsequent acts. Mr. Horgan had studied the American manager plan and had written an article for *Studies* on "City Management in America" as early as 1920.

In writing subsequently about the Cork city management act in an explanatory pamphlet in 1929, he remarked about his own earlier investigations: "I found that in this field [city management] America had been the world's chief laboratory for political experiment, and that though costly, and not always effective or satisfactory, these experiments had been most instructive, and had in the end led to real and notable improvements in the administration of municipal affairs."

The American system of council-manager government was greatly modified in its application to Ireland. At the core of the managerial idea in the United States is the power of the local council to appoint and to remove the manager and the power of the manager to appoint and remove administrative subordinates. Although some of the Irish acts named the original managers, the basic plan of selection which they all incorporate is that of recruitment by the LAC. Furthermore, removal of a manager may be made only by vote of the local council concerned and the approval of the Minister for Local Government and Public Health, and thus far no removal has occurred. So both as to appointments and removals central control is of paramount influence. This means that the supervision which Irish councils may exert over their managers is by no means as direct and compelling a force as is the case in American cities.

On the other hand, the experienced Irish manager consults and advises with the council in a reciprocal interchange which does little to remind one of the powers of central authorities as to his recruitment and removal. That is to say, while the managers need not brook any interference with their statutory powers, they are willing to discuss administrative policies and acts with their councils. There is an obvious line between consultation and dictation. In Ireland, I never heard the view expressed that any manager submitted to orders, thus becoming the clerk of the council in administrative matters.

A further radical difference is that the section (department) heads in Ireland are not appointed by nor removable by the manager. Here, too, the LAC plays its accustomed part in recruitment, while the Minister for Local Government and Public Health must approve removals.

Nevertheless, the Irish manager is the chief executive of the city; his working relationship with department heads is close; and his power to suspend and to instigate removals gives him a firm grip on administration. For example, the first borough manager of Dun Laoghaire obtained the removal of some twenty officers and employees. Members of the council objected to no avail. The manager informed them that they were outside their province in attempting to interfere with the process of removal —a power vested in him subject to the action of the Minister for Local Government and Public Health.

WATERFORD ACT

Clarifying the statutory plan of city management in Ireland is the most recent of these individual acts. The Waterford city management act of 1939 provides for a council of fifteen members elected by proportional representation. P.R. is the ruling favorite in Irish affairs, prescribed by the constitution for national elections and provided by statute for local elections. The council, which has power to elect one of its own number as mayor, is vested with authority to exercise all and every power, function, and duty pertaining to a specified range of matters, including: the making of any rate or the borrowing of any money; the making, amending, or revoking of any by-law; the making of any order or resolution by which any enactment is brought into operation in the city, or the revoking of any such order or resolution; the nomination of a candidate for the office of President of Ireland; the appointment or election of members of any public body; parliamentary and local elections; subject to stringent limitations of central control, the appointment, suspension, and removal of the manager; determination of the salary and remuneration of the mayor; disposition under the municipal corporations (Ireland) acts, 1840 to 1888, of lands, tenements, and hereditaments belonging to the corporation. These and some other powers of a lesser nature of the council are known as "reserved functions." In addition the Waterford Council was given power, subject to the sanction of the Minister for Local Government and Public Health, to prescribe procedures to be followed in regard to the reception and examination of all or any class or classes of tenders for the supply of goods or the execution of works.

With reference to the appointment, suspension, and removal of the manager, the Waterford city management act parallels the other Irish managerial statutes. The office of manager is one to which the local authorities (officers and employees) act, 1926, applies, which means that recruitment is under the LAC. The manager holds office until he dies, resigns, or is removed. He may not be removed without the sanction of the Minister. A resolution of the council to suspend or to remove the manager requires for passage an affirmative vote of not less than two-thirds of the members of the council pursuant to seven days' notice of such resolution to every council member. The Minister from time to time determines the remuneration of the manager.

The manager is vested by the act with a wide range of power and saddled with various responsibilities. He has a duty: to furnish information at his disposal to the mayor or council on request; to prepare and present to each councilman a monthly statement showing as nearly as may be the financial position of the corporation; to advise and assist the council in the performance of its reserved functions, and to carry out all lawful orders of the council in relation thereto; and, pursuant to resolution of the council, to submit plans and specifications for the execution of works, together with an estimate of probable costs. The manager has a right to attend meetings of the council and to take part in the discussion, but not to vote. Furthermore, he must attend any council or committee meeting when requested so to do.

The manager is given general control and full supervision of officers and servants of the corporation. Subject to regulations of the Minister, the manager considers and determines all questions in relation to the service, remuneration, privileges, and superannuation of officers and employees. He acts by signed order and he must keep a register of orders made by him. He may by signed order, countersigned by the treasurer, authorize the making of payments for expenses and accounts legally incurred by the council or manager. The council may by resolution direct that every such order must also be countersigned by the mayor or a designated member of the council.

UNANIMOUS SUPPORT

Bills of the Oireachtas dealing with management in Cork, Dublin, Dun Laoghaire, Limerick, and Waterford have all been sponsored by the Department of Local Government and Public Health, and they have had the sanction of the government majority. Whereas the Cork, Dublin, and Dun Laoghaire acts were passed by the Cosgrave Government, the Limerick and Waterford acts were passed by the De Valera administration. The inception of the earlier measures provoked long debate on general principles. By the time of the Waterford bill in 1939, however, parliamentary discussion turned on details and technicalities.

The fact that both major parties have seen fit to support extension of the managerial idea is a good omen. The truth of the matter is that there has not been a great deal of faith in the use of councils and their committee system as instrumentalities for the supervision of administration. The need pressed for some chief executive to integrate administrative control, to deal *vis-a-vis* with the administration and the council, to focus central-local relationships, and the Irish city manager has been the result.

MANAGERS AT WORK

How the manager plan works in practice varies among the different councils and managers. Mr. Philip Monahan was commissioner of Cork before the manager plan was established in 1929. For four years he administered the city without benefit of council. This perhaps accounts for the fact that he is the example par excellence of the manager who forges ahead on his own initiative without as much consultation with members and committees as the council might like. Managers in the other cities are more apt to lean over backwards in consulting and informing their respective councils in advance about administrative details over which the manager actually has full rein.[1]

Mr. P. J. Hernon was one of the commissioners in control of the Dublin Corporation during the twenties. When the Dun Laoghaire manager plan was set up in 1930, he became the executive for that borough. During 1937 he was advanced to the Dublin managership. In that position, which is the leading executive position in a local governmental unit in Ireland, he carries on normally without utilizing general staff meetings of his department heads. He summons such staff meetings only when the corporation is getting out a report for some central authority. Then the staff is called together to hammer out a unitary policy which will be supported by the collateral reports from the individual departments. Various interstaff relationships serve him as occasion demands. For example, if the fire brigade chief requests new apparatus, the manager requires that the proposed equipment be approved by the city engineer before he as manager will include this as a budget item to go forward to the council. While general staff meetings are not the rule, individual consultations with department heads are frequent—and as the manager said, they can always get him on the phone.

Consultation with the department heads is only one facet of the manager's many-sided duties. It is his business to keep the council informed. While this is done at regular meetings by formal reports and informal statements, there is another avenue of approach no less vital. With the sectional committees of the council, which keep in general touch with the work of the different departments, Mr. Hernon maintains close communication. This committee set-up is unquestionably, in part, a vestige of the days when councils wielded complete power over administration, and committees were the means whereby this control ramified into departmental detail. The Dublin manager follows a policy of telling the committees fully and frankly what the administration is doing. They may not be amused, but they are kept informed. The manager figures that two days out of every week are devoted to consulting with department heads and with committees of the council.

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[1] How the plan actually works has been described to me by various city managers with whom I have had interviews in 1936 and again in 1939.

To field trips, to viewing such projects as municipal housing schemes, road construction, the new water supply scheme, the Dublin manager devotes as much time as he can spare. He generally goes alone and without advance notice, preferring that the men on the job do not recognize him.

Unpredictable but inevitably involving the manager are trade union disputes arising out of various construction projects. For such an agricultural country, labor is well organized in Ireland. In addition, there is a Labor party which polls in general elections anywhere from eight to twelve seats out of the 138 in the Dail or lower legislative house. City management inevitably responds to predominating factors in the public scene, and trade unionism in Ireland is one of them.

One of the interesting things is to observe how a trained manager shifts his sights from the problems of one city to those of another. In 1936 Mr. T. C. O'Mahony was the county-borough manager of Limerick. There he was engrossed in municipal housing projects and public works problems. He had visualized and studied important trends in the growth of the city and had foreseen the *probable* need for annexation of certain surrounding areas.

After Mr. Hernon moved up from the Dun Laoghaire post to Dublin, Mr. O'Mahony was recommended by the Local Appointments Commission to the Dun Laoghaire council. Accordingly, in 1939 he engrossed himself in the managerial problems of that borough. This post, because of the pleasing location of the borough on Dublin Bay and the wealth of its residents, is regarded as a plum in Irish local administration.

DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED

The borough manager, as Mr. O'Mahony acknowledged, was not without his problems: the numerous retired pensioners residing in Dun Laoghaire have time to object if the garbage is not collected on time, for example. The commercial interests want to develop the resort aspects of the city along Blackpool lines, while old residents yearn to keep it as an exclusive residential city. Other problems spring from Dun Laoghaire's favored-resort position in the metropolitan area of Dublin. Some Dubliners wanted Dun Laoghaire to erect sea baths for holiday and week-end crowds; the people of Dun Laoghaire did not desire sea baths even if some other source were to contribute 85 per cent of the cost of the project. Shore traffic on the main streets of the borough was a serious problem. An interlocking issue was Dun Laoghaire's dependence on the corporation of Dublin for its water supply, a matter which raised issues as to amounts and prices.

WATER AND SEWAGE PROBLEMS

In Limerick, in 1939, the manager was faced with a very old problem, that of a palatable supply of water. Limerick draws its water supply from the Shannon and it has a peaty color. In the Limerick rapid-sand filtration plant they have been using alum for settling and chlorine for safety. During the summer of 1939 they were experimenting with lime treatment. Water supply was the most common source of popular complaint.

The city maintains its own trucks and employees for garbage collection. Like other local authorities, for street lighting the city rents standards and lamps from the Electricity Supply Board (a central governmental authority) and buys its electric current from the same source. Limerick is not far from the hydro-electric development on the Shannon River at Ardnacrusha.

Sewage is discharged untreated into the Shannon west of Limerick. This river flows rapidly and the absence of any large community between Limerick and the Atlantic makes a sewage disposal plant unlikely. Limerick constructs and maintains its own streets, but like other local authorities, receives grants from the central government for the construction and maintenance of arterial streets.

Again following general practice, the city must purchase its supplies from the official list of contractors at established prices issued annually by the combined purchasing section of the Department of Local Government and Public Health.

When I talked with him, Mr. Berkery had been in Limerick for only four months, having moved up from a lesser post in Clonmel. He had found the county-borough council very coöperative. One of the basic problems in local government, he thought, was the tendency of people not to improve their property, because they were so afraid that their ratable valuation would be increased.

One of the most pragmatic tests of any system of local administration is whether it is or is not being extended to other units of government. In 1940 a general act of the Oireachtas provided for the application of the managerial plan to all counties. This, as well as many other factors, speaks well for the achievements of Irish city managers.

Author's Note.—Acknowledgment is made to the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies of the University of Michigan for a grant which made this and other studies of Ireland possible during the summer of 1939.

Tennessee Cities a Proving Ground for Nation

Recent acquisition of electric properties and development of contracts with TVA will require up-to-date standards of finance and accounting.

By LEE S. GREENE, *University of Tennessee,* and
LYNDON E. ABBOTT, *Work Projects Administration*

THE problems of urban administration in Tennessee are to be viewed against a unique background of population distribution. The state has four metropolitan districts; the remainder of its 233 incorporated places have less than 30,000 people each, according to the 1930 census. Most of the incorporated places have less than 5,000 inhabitants each. Thus, the administrative machinery of Tennessee must recognize the existence of a cleavage between the large urban area and the small town, where no communities of intermediate size exist.

Tennessee is one of the few remaining states in which cities rely chiefly on the special charter method of incorporation. Each session of the legislature is confronted with a large mass of local special bills, a considerable proportion of which finds its way into statutes. As a rule, the legislature passes local measures as sponsored by local legislative delegations. Sometimes this may reflect local opinion adequately, but there is no guarantee that this will be the case. As a general rule, local machinery to influence formally and directly the passage of local special acts is not provided.[1] General law charters for the mayor-council system and for council-manager government exist, but few cities have used either of these options.

No provision is made for home rule for cities nor can it be said that a demand for it exists. From time to time the citizens appear to be conscious of a need for more adequate means of expressing their views on local affairs but so far the special legislation system has furnished enough outlet for this demand to deflect the development of a demand for home rule.

Tennessee cities rely chiefly on the mayor-council and commission forms. As of September 1938, there were 178 mayor-council cities in the state, and thirty-five cities under the commission form. Only six cities were functioning under the manager plan.[2]

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[1] An instance is provided in the change from the city manager system in Knoxville to the mayor-council type, and back again to the city manager form. No provision existed whereby the issue could be made dependent on a local referendum. See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, January 1938, p. 46; March 1939, p. 248.

[2] *Cf.* Lyndon E. Abbott and Lee S. Greene, *Municipal Government and Administration in Tennessee* (University of

At that time Memphis and Chattanooga functioned under the commission form, and Nashville and Knoxville were under the mayor-council system. Knoxville, Johnson City, and Columbia have since joined the city manager cities. Some of the explanation for the sparing use of the manager plan is undoubtedly to be found in the size of Tennessee urban units.

Throughout the state free use of boards and commissions is made for the conduct of special functions. Education is frequently entrusted to special boards, although there are important instances, such as Chattanooga and Jackson, where it is treated as are other functions. Boards are also used for such functions as parks, hospitals, planning and zoning, pension and sinking fund management. In one important instance, that of Memphis, the use of commissions and special boards is emphasized to a striking degree, although some of these boards are in reality bureaus attached to city departments.

Tennessee cities are relatively free from the plague of special districts. Although a number of such districts are authorized by law, comparatively few have been organized. This is also true of metropolitan areas, particularly with respect to Knoxville and Nashville. Neither city is completely free from boundary problems, but as compared to areas in other states, little conflict arises in these urban areas because of competing local units.

The financial problems faced by Tennessee municipalities are exceedingly grave. The situation requires the placing of undue reliance on the property tax. State-administered, locally-shared taxes have not been widely developed in Tennessee and, aside from schools, the grant-in-aid has not been extensively employed. Federal grants have constituted important sources of municipal income. The solution of Tennessee's urban revenue problems depends upon an adequate revision of state fiscal policy, which so far is not in sight.

URBAN FINANCE

Tax administration in Tennessee leaves much to be desired, although signs of improvement are discernible. Some cities rely on county assessments, whereas others employ municipal assessors. This is a reflection of a situation in which county assessment valuations are frequently such that urban areas feel the need for independent treatment. If county assessment methods were improved, it would be possible to eliminate some overlapping in this field. Studies of assessment in Tennessee indicate great variation in valuation practices as between separate assessing units. Improvement of any real scope can scarcely be expected until administrative guidance is offered by state agencies.

Certain Tennessee cities are using acceptable techniques for improving their collection records. Memphis, Nashville, and others permit installment paying. Memphis and Knoxville are examples of a considerable number of cities which use early payment discounts. A few cities mail tax bills.

Tennessee, 1939), p. 52, table VII. This study forms the basis for much of the information included in this paper.

Delinquency continues to be an extremely serious problem in Tennessee. The legislature has displayed a tendency to interfere in municipal collection by waiving interest and delinquent penalties at various times. As a general rule, litigation has not proved attractive to cities as a means of collecting delinquent taxes.

A large number of the smaller cities of the state make no effort to operate under careful budget administration. Most of the larger cities, however, are cognizant of good budget practices, but in some localities serious defects exist, such as the adoption of the budget after the beginning of the fiscal year. In some cities, the accounting systems used permit an examination at any time of the city's financial position. Nashville undertook a complete revision of its accounting system during the year 1939.[3]

Perhaps the most serious problem is faced in the local debt burden. Frequently the net bonded debt of municipalities reaches 30, 40, or 45 per cent of the assessed valuation. In Knoxville 38 per cent of the tax rate goes for debt service. This proportion is exceeded in many places; in several towns, over 70 per cent of the tax rate is devoted to debt service. A number of Tennessee cities reorganized their debt under the federal municipal bankruptcy acts.

Causes for this city debt cannot be readily assigned but some contributing factors may be found in the rapid urban expansion of recent years, inadequate tax collections, and, in some instances, local economic changes over which cities have no control. Moreover, the practice of granting inducements to industry tends to increase the debt burden.

Tennessee urban debt administration, in common with that in many parts of the country, fails to measure up to the most approved practices. An example can be noted in the arrangement of maturities commonly found, although it is encouraging to see that recent refundings have shown an improvement in the planning of maturities.

The system of special legislation employed in the state complicates debt administration in that bonds are frequently validated by special legislative act after actual flotation has occurred. No executive state control is exercized over the incurrence of debt by cities.

PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT

Under present conditions of administration, personnel management is a live municipal issue principally in larger urban units. Little can be accomplished for smaller cities except under the guidance and aid of the state. Tennessee has not yet reached that state of interest in personnel matters. Two of the larger cities, Knoxville and Memphis, have developed formal merit systems which cover a considerable proportion of the total number of employees. The merit system has been applied in part in a few other cities, but in all cases additional effort seems required in order to bring the systems into accord with most advanced practices.

Those systems which exist tend to be confined to some provision for control of recruitment, but as yet inadequate recognition is accorded to the need for comprehensive classification and compensation plans. Grievance and dismissal procedure constitutes an especially troublesome problem in some quarters. In Knoxville a portion of the civil servants are entitled to *de novo* hearings before the courts on dismissal. This clumsy procedure seems to have worked out very badly from the point of view of sound administration.

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[3] *The Municipal Year Book, 1940,* The International City Managers' Association, Chicago, 1940, p. 159.

Retirement provisions covering a portion of the employees are provided for by charter in the five largest Tennessee cities. These provisions are carried out in the form of twelve systems, separately operated and differing in detail from each other. Judging from financial reports of recent years, it seems that most of the systems are being operated on the cash disbursement basis. It is thus questionable whether the funds can continue to be operated without embarrassment in the future.

In-service training in Tennessee cities has attracted some attention, although it has thus far been limited largely to public safety services.

Unionism among municipal employees has failed to establish itself in many cities. Only in Chattanooga has an affiliated organization of municipal employees survived,[4] although non-affiliated organizations exist in some cities.

UTILITY ADMINISTRATION

In common with other cities of the country, Tennessee urban units face new problems brought by the assumption of new duties. Because of the recent acquisition of electric properties and the development of contracts with the Tennessee Valley Authority, Tennessee cities will become a proving ground for federal-municipal relationships. Contractual relationships with TVA will require the observance of certain standards of accounting and fiscal policy with respect to electricity funds under which the utility's operation is to be separated from the city's governmental operations. These standards certainly constitute a very definite advance over practices obtaining in many Tennessee municipalities until within recent months.

Separation from other city functions is reflected further in the development of special boards for the administration of city utilities to a considerable degree independent of other city administrative and political agencies. The Knoxville board exemplifies what seems likely to become a general pattern.[5] This board consists of five commissioners, at first appointed by the mayor and confirmed by the city council. Terms are for ten years, arranged in staggered order. Future vacancies are to be filled by nomination by the city manager and the board sitting together, although the city manager has a veto on any suggested nominee. Nominees become commissioners if approved by a majority vote of the city council. With certain exceptions, the electric and water system is declared to "be free from jurisdiction, direction, and control of other city officers and employees and of the city council."[6] Semi-annual reports are to be made by the board to the city council through the city manager. The board is required to appoint a general manager of the system, responsible to the board and serving at its pleasure.

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[4] Chattanooga-Hamilton County Teachers' Federation, affiliated with the American Federation of Teachers.

[5] *The Municipal Year Book, 1940,* p. 235; NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, April 1939, p. 310.

It is evident from this form of organization that an attempt is being made, by a familiar device, to give municipal utility systems a status separate from the ordinary administrative apparatus of the city. Whether or not such separation, particularly in a city manager system, is advisable is open to question. Insistence on this plan of organization is still common within citizen groups.

HOUSING AND PLANNING

With the aid of the federal government, Tennessee cities have also entered the field of public housing. Projects of the Public Works Administration have been developed in Memphis and Nashville, and the USHA has aided projects in Memphis, Chattanooga, Knoxville, Nashville, and Kingsport.[7] The Tennessee enabling statute with respect to public housing has been upheld by the state supreme court.[8] Housing is administered typically by special housing authorities.

Some concept of the role of planning has been awakened in Tennessee cities, although in common with other urban areas of the country, planning has not been carefully followed through into day-to-day problems. The state legislature passed a 1939 statute enabling unincorporated communities to prepare and adopt master plans.[9] City or regional planning commissions have been set up in some of the smaller cities and in Davidson County, Shelby County, in the Great Smokies region, and in northeast Tennessee. Memphis probably has the best record for following through on planned improvements. Kingsport has been built up on a carefully worked out street plan, but failure of architectural control, aside from a civic center, has produced disappointing results. Much remains to be accomplished in Knoxville, where the present sprawl of building over surrounding areas is already producing consequences bound to become more serious in the future. Apparently planning is actively pursued in Nashville, where a long-time public works program has been considered.

INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONSHIPS

One of the most encouraging aspects of municipal administration in Tennessee is the development of coöperation between governmental units. Although no progress has been made in the matter of territorial consolidation, functional coöperation and consolidation between county and city units is evidenced in the fields of taxation, health, welfare, education, and land-use planning. Unfortunately the record of coöperation is not so good with respect to law enforcement agencies, but even here, some progress can be noted. Coöperation between cities is more unusual and perhaps it is here that major effort

(Continued on Page 681)

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[6] Tennessee, *Private Acts,* 1939, chap. 106, sec. 32-A (6).

[7] *The Municipal Year Book, 1940,* pp. 322 ff.

[8] *Knoxville Housing Authority, Inc.* v. *City of Knoxville, et al.,* 174 Tenn. 76.

[9] *Public Acts,* chap. 158.

Pennsylvania Experiments with Public Service Training

Correctional Workers School conducts successful classes for custodial and probation workers, parole agents, etc. First year of endeavor receives approval and cooperation of judges, probation officers, and prison administrators.

By **J. O. REINEMANN**
Juvenile Division, Philadelphia Municipal Court

THE wholesome trend of developing public service into a profession has brought about a growing demand from state, municipal, and county administrations for in-service training. Newspapers and periodicals report a number of courses for police officers, for workers in fire, health, and welfare departments of cities and counties, for employees in the correctional field.

In-service training is not a substitute for adequate preparation for entering such work, it is no short-cut to governmental service, it is no competition for colleges, universities, and schools of social work. It is destined—as its name clearly defines—to aid those who are already public servants, who might have been government employees for many years, in the daily performance of their work.

This report deals with a new experiment in public service training carried out during recent months in Pennsylvania.

The Public Service Institute, a unit of the State Department of Public Instruction in Harrisburg, was organized to develop programs of in-service training to be given free of charge on a state-wide and zone basis. Its funds come largely from the federal government through the George-Deen act (which amended the Smith-Hughes act by extending its provision of funds for vocational education to the field of training of public service employees). After the institute established training courses for police officers, firemen, and administrative employees of state departments, it entered a new phase of work by sponsoring, for the first time, such in-service instruction for workers in the correctional field during the winter 1939-1940.

Training of correctional workers in the past has been limited to lectures before the staffs of probation departments of certain courts, or instruction of prison personnel in physical training and enforcement of rules and regulations. This kind of training is better than none, but it is necessarily limited to the narrow confines of the officer's job routine.

The Correctional Workers' School, as organized by the Public Service Institute and set up simultaneously in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, was unique because it included as students both institutional and non-institutional workers from a number of different agencies,[1] because its program embraced the wide field of criminal justice and penal treatment in its different stages without neglecting the presentation and discussion of problems which are specific either in probation and parole or prison administration, and finally because a special textbook was prepared for the students. The compilation of this study manual, which was distributed in advance of each lesson, was expertly done by Helen D. Pigeon, formerly executive secretary of the International Association of Policewomen, who had been active in probation work in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. Although there has been sufficient literature dealing with individual phases of correctional work, no comprehensive study was available which, without being too academic, contained condensed material on historical development, legal and social aspects, procedures and techniques, and a bibliography on the various aspects of criminology. This gap has now been filled by the study manual of the Correctional Workers' School.

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[1] A valuable by-product to the primary

TWO CITIES PARTICIPATE

Evening classes which began early in January were held once a week for two and one-half hours over a period of twenty-three weeks. In Philadelphia the Municipal Court Building and in Pittsburgh a high school building furnished rooms for class sessions. The program, which was identical in both cities, comprised three sections: "Criminal Justice Program of Pennsylvania," covering police, detention pending trial, the courts, probation, correctional and penal institutions, and parole; "Behavior of the Delinquent"; and "Treatment of the Individual Offender." During the latter part of the program the institutional and non-institutional groups held eight separate meetings. The former considered specific problems presented by the prison inmate—first aid, self-defense, use of weapons, medical and mental problems in the institution. The latter group discussed typical questions of case work in probation and parole administration—establishment of a relationship, use of authority, use of volunteer service, the case work approach. Both groups met jointly for a final class discussion on crime prevention.

In both cities local committees on arrangement, consisting of persons who hold leading positions in the correctional field, were instrumental in organizing courses. Headquarters of the Pennsylvania Committee on Penal Affairs of the Public Charities Association served as offices of the local committees. The writer of this report was leader of the course in Philadelphia; Theodor W. Broecker, chief field investigator, Quarter Sessions Court, Probation Department,

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aim of in-service training can be attributed to the fact that among students of the courses given in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh a number of agencies were represented all of which work in the same field, and which are called upon to handle identical cases at different stages of their development. The employees of one agency usually do not have much more than occasional and superficial contacts with the workers in the other agencies. They were brought into close personal contact through these courses and thus are now able to appreciate each other's work and the problems involved.

acted as course leader in Pittsburgh.

In Philadelphia classes were attended by probation officers—men and women—from the United States District Court, Quarter Sessions Court, Municipal Court; state parole agents of the Department of Justice; custodial officers, including guards, block officers, identification officers, clerks in the rehabilitation department, from the Eastern State Penitentiary and the County Prison. Institutional and non-institutional workers were equally divided.

The subject was presented by the course leader, assisted at a number of sessions by guest speakers, experts in their respective fields. Dr. E. Preston Sharp, director of rehabilitation of the Eastern State Penitentiary, conducted the eight separate sessions of the institutional group; other guest speakers included a judge, three prison wardens, superintendent of a training school for girls, three heads of probation departments, psychiatrists, and representatives of educational and social agencies. Field trips were made to a vocational school operating under the Board of Education, and to a training school for girls; two clinical demonstrations of mental cases in the psychopathic ward of a hospital were attended by members of the class.

There was an oral quiz after the first half of the course was over. A written examination was given at the end of the course and passed by all forty-one members of the class. The number of enrolled students was originally fifty-three, but declined somewhat because of sickness, change in shift of institutional workers, resignation from office, transfer to other branches of service. Corresponding figures for Pittsburgh were thirty-six and thirty respectively.

COURSES PRAISED

Certificates were awarded to all students for regular attendance and successful completion of the course. At the final exercises in Philadelphia Judge Gerald F. Flood of Common Pleas Court, as principal speaker, stressed the necessity of such training courses for officers in probation, parole, and prison administration from the standpoint of the judge. For the judge, he stated, the knowledge that qualified officers will be in charge of the offender after the verdict is rendered is most important in meting out justice.

These words are characteristic of the general and professional acclaim which this first venture in in-service training for correctional workers in Pennsylvania has received. The school won the full coöperation and approval of judges, heads of probation departments, and prison administrators. It was enthusiastically received by the students themselves. Their participation in class was encouraged in every respect and manifested itself in various ways: records of actual cases were presented to the class and discussed, short papers were read, clippings from newspapers dealing with current events in the correctional field and excerpts from magazines were submitted to the course leader, suggestions regarding the use of charts and graphs were made, etc. Towards

(Continued on Page 706)

That Elusive Majority

The second primary—a complicated device used by southern states for insuring nomination by true majorities—has numerous shortcomings; increases both election costs and burden on the voter.

By **JOE PARK**
University of Michigan

IN THE south, where nomination to an office within the Democratic party is tantamount to election, an interesting electoral method, the second or run-off primary, is in rather wide use.

Broadly speaking, the second primary is an election method used to manufacture a majority when the first primary fails to give a majority to any one aspirant for nomination to a particular office. In this primary only the names of the two highest candidates at the first primary are placed on the ballot. The candidate who receives the highest number of votes is declared nominated for the office in question.

This practice is not peculiar to the south or to the United States. The French, for example, have a similar system of *ballotage.* To be elected to the French Chamber of Deputies on the first ballot, the candidate must receive a majority of the votes cast. If no candidate receives a majority of the votes, a second election is held. At this second election, the candidate who polls a plurality is declared elected.

In our own country twelve states employ the second primary. The names of these states together with the date of adoption are set forth in Table I.

TABLE I

STATES EMPLOYING THE SECOND PRIMARY

State[a]	*Year of Adoption*
Mississippi	1902
Texas	1903
North Carolina	1915
South Carolina	1915
Georgia	1917
Louisiana	1922
Florida	1929
Oklahoma	1929
Alabama	1931
Tennessee	1937
Utah	1937
Arkansas	1939

[a] The Extraordinary Session of the General Assembly of Kentucky passed, in 1935, an act providing for the second primary. The act was repealed the following year. (See *Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky,* Extraordinary Session, 1935, chapter I, section 5a, pp. 7-8; also chapter 53, section 5, 1936, p. 151.)

As seen in the table, Mississippi was the first state to adopt the second primary. The law, which has since been amended, provided for a second primary "for those offices, if any, for which no candidate shall receive a majority . . . , the two candidates who receive the highest popular vote for each office shall have their names submitted to a second primary election, and the nomination shall go to the candidate for each office who shall receive the highest popular vote therefor in the second primary."[1]

Except for minor differences the laws for the states of Texas, Alabama, Utah, and Arkansas are similar to that adopted in Mississippi. In 1903—a date on which authorities disagree—Texas adopted the second primary.[2] The law stipulates that "any political party may hold a second primary on the last Saturday in July to nominate candidates where a majority is required to make a nomination."[3]

It is of interest to note that Arkansas adopted the second primary in 1933, abolished it in 1935, and readopted it on April 17, 1939. Utah, which adopted the second primary in 1937, is the only state outside the south to employ this device.[4]

SPECIAL PROVISIONS

Because of certain features peculiar to each, the laws of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, Florida, Oklahoma, and Tennessee will be discussed separately.

The statute of North Carolina states that a second primary shall be held when "the aspirant receiving the second highest number of votes shall, within five days . . . file in writing with the appropriate board of elections a request that a second primary be called and held," provided, of course, no candidate receives a majority of the votes in the first primary.[5]

The statute of South Carolina provides for a third primary in the event the second results in a tie.[6] The second primary in Georgia operates under the "county unit vote." The party candidates for nomination to the offices of United States senator and governor are required to receive a majority of all county unit votes or stand in a second primary election to be conducted by the party.[7]

In Louisiana "in the event the governor is nominated in the first primary election, there shall be no second primary election for state offices who ran in the first primary."[8] Florida provides for the county executive committee or the congressional committee, as the case may be, to nominate, by majority vote, a candidate for the office in question, if the second primary fails to produce a majority.[9]

The statute of Oklahoma excludes from the second primary city and town offices.[10] Tennessee does not hold a second primary unless "there is a tie between the two highest candidates for an office."[11]

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[1] *Laws of the State of Mississippi,* chapter 66, section 5, 1902, pp. 107-108.

[2] See Charles Merriam and Louise Overacker, *Primary Elections.* Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1928, pp. 82-83.

[3] *General Laws of the State of Texas,* chapter 101, section 84, 1903, p. 149.

See also *1932 Supplement to the Alabama Code of 1928,* pp. 26-28; and *Acts of the Fifty-second General Assembly of the State of Arkansas,* act 372, 1939, pp. 979-981.

[4] *Laws of the State of Utah, Twenty-second Legislature,* chapter 29, 1937, p. 57.

[5] *North Carolina Code of 1935,* section 6045, p. 2013.

[6] *Code of Laws of South Carolina,* vol. II, 1932, p. 162.

[7] *Code of Georgia,* book 12, 1936, pp. 97-98.

[8] *General Statutes of the State of Louisiana,* vol. II, 1939, p. 255.

[9] *Permanent Cumulative Supplement to Compiled General Statutes of Florida,* First Division, title IV, chapter I, article 2, 1938, pp. 53-55.

[10] *Session Laws of Oklahoma,* chapter 241, 1929, pp. 306-8.

[11] *Michie's Tennessee Code of 1938,* p. 311, and *Public Acts of the State of Tennessee,* Seventy-first General As-

To summarize, the common provisions of the laws of these twelve states are: (1) a second primary is held when the first primary gives no candidate for nomination to a particular office a majority of the votes cast; (2) only the two candidates who receive the highest number of votes for nomination to an office in the first primary may be candidates for that office in the second;[12] and (3) a third primary is not provided for, except in South Carolina.

RESULTS FREQUENTLY REVERSED

A study of the returns of second primaries leads to a consideration of the question, How often are the results of the first primary reversed by the second? In other words, does the candidate who receives the plurality in the first primary always, frequently, seldom, or never receive the majority in the second? The answer to this question will reveal whether the second primary serves the purpose it was intended to serve and whether it is necessary to conduct second primaries. Table II, showing the results of second primaries, includes enough data to indicate the character of the results.[13]

TABLE II

RESULTS OF SECOND PRIMARY CONTESTS

1920-1938

State	*Candidate receiving plurality in first primary received majority in second primary*	*Candidate receiving second highest vote in first primary received majority in second*
Alabama	22	5
Florida	20	6
Georgia	2	0
North Carolina	5	3
South Carolina	2	0
Oklahoma	73	20
Texas	5	7
Total	129	41

Of 170 second primary contests studied, 129 candidates who received a plurality in the first primary received a majority in the second. Only in 41 of 170 contests were the results of the first primary reversed. Stated otherwise, 76 per cent of the second primary contests merely manufacture a majority for the person who received a plurality in the first. In only one out of four contests was the result reversed. In Oklahoma, the state for which data are most nearly complete, of ninety-three second primaries, twenty reversed the decision of the voters in the first primary. In other words, in 78.5 per cent of the contests the person who received a plurality in the first primary also received a majority at the second.

What benefits are derived from the second primary? There are at least two. The second primary provides an opportunity for the voters to elect a candidate by a real majority and it permits a candidate who ran second in a large field to prove that he has an actual majority behind him when the contest is narrowed down to his

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sembly, chapter 2, section 6, 1939, p. 18.

[12] There are certain exceptions. See *1938 Supplement to the Mississippi Code of 1930,* chapter 151, p. 1351; and *Acts of the Fifty-second General Assembly of the State of Arkansas,* pp. 979-981. The Mississippi law states: "When there is a tie in the first primary of those receiving the next highest vote, these two and the one receiving the highest vote . . . shall go into the second primary."

[13] At the present the Bureau of Government at the University of Michigan has on file the results of 170 second primary contests.

strongest opponent. For example, in Texas in 1924, at the first primary, Mrs. Miriam A. Ferguson received 146,424 votes to 193,508 cast for Felix D. Robertson, for the governorship. However, in the second primary, Mrs. Ferguson defeated Robertson 413,751 to 316,019 votes.

Whatever may be said in favor of the second primary it also has its shortcomings. There can be no doubt that it increases election expenses, that it increases the voting burden of the citizen, and that it complicates the electoral system.

In the light of these facts it seems advisable for states using the second primary to consider one or both of the following: (1) combine the second primary and the general election; or (2) adopt a system of preferential voting (or proportional representation, where elections are for a legislative body), thus eliminating the need for any primary.

POSSIBLE SUBSTITUTES

The second primary could be combined with the general election where one party continuously dominates the political scene. This combination would eliminate one "voting" for the citizen and would reduce the cost of nominating candidates. The difficulty of a divided vote between the two candidates for an office as against one candidate for the opposing party could be overcome by the use of the party column ballot with the understanding that a vote cast for either of the party's two candidates would be a vote for that party. If the party having the two candidates received most votes, that candidate would be elected who received most votes within the party.

The second suggestion, the use of the preferential ballot, undoubtedly would be more desirable.

MAINE A PIONEER

(Continued from Page 653)

member serves without compensation "but shall be reimbursed for his actual and necessary expenses incurred in the performance of his duties." The council meets regularly twice each month.

All administrative functions are performed by the manager, except that the council is authorized to appoint a tax collector and a health officer, and to confirm all of the appointments of the manager. The manager is to be chosen "solely on the basis of his executive and administrative qualifications and his technical knowledge for road construction, preference being given when possible to a qualified engineer." Until recently road construction and maintenance constituted the largest town expense excepting only schools, hence all the towns felt compelled to secure an engineer capable of taking personal charge of the highway program. Engineers, however, have not always succeeded in meeting so efficiently the problems of social engineering in relief and welfare administration.

The manager system in Maine municipalities is emerging from the experimental stage and, today, may be recognized as an accepted and approved form of municipal administration. Attention now may be turned to improving the system by making clearer the relation between the manager and the city council or the town selectmen, and by placing administrative responsibility unquestionably in the manager.

Contributors in Review

FIELD trips to Ireland in 1936-37 and 1939 provided **Arthur W. Bromage** (*Irish Manager Government Extended*) with the material for the article in the present issue of this magazine and for previous articles on proportional representation and city management in Ireland. Dr. Bromage recently fathered a pamphlet, published by the National Municipal League, on *Manager Plan Abandonments.* His interest in county and rural government was also responsible for *American County Government* (1933), *Organization and Cost of County and Township Government* (with Thomas H. Reed, 1933), and there is a later book on *State Government and Administration in the United States.* Mr. Bromage is professor of government at the University of Michigan.

THE first in forty years to declare "nil" as his campaign expenses, **Frank Stewart Gaines** (*A City Goes to Town Meeting*) has been mayor of good-government-minded Berkeley, California, since July 1, 1939. In other respects as well Mr. Gaines does not conform to the "political" stereotype of a mayor. For twenty-six years he was a business man active in the manufacture of iron and steel products. Then for eight years he roamed the world in the interest of American trade development. His civic activities have included chairmanship (for eleven years) of the section on International Relations of the Commonwealth Club of California and active participation in such diverse enterprises as the American Red Cross, University of California International House, Christian Colleges in China, Mills College Institute of International Relations—and many others.

HAVING both worked for the University of Tennessee and for the TVA, Messrs. **Lee S. Greene** and **Lyndon E. Abbott** (*Tennessee Cities a Proving Ground for the Nation*) have looked upon local government in Tennessee from the academic as well as the political point of view. At present Dr. Greene is not only associate professor of political science at the university but also principal supervisor of training in public administration for the Authority. Both he and Mr. Abbott formerly served on the staff of the social and economic division of the TVA. Mr. Abbott is, just now, consultant on Public Administration Projects, Professional and Service Division of the WPA at Washington, D. C. In the past, however, he was with the Bureau of Research in the Social Sciences at the University of Tennessee, as well as the TVA.

AN EXPERT on all things governmental in Maine, **Orren C. Hormell** (*Maine a Pioneer in Town Management*) is a Hoosier by birth and up through the M.A. his education was also Hoosier. Then he moved to New England for his doctorate (Harvard) and became associated in various political science capacities with a series of eastern universities. He has been a professor at Bowdoin College in Maine since 1911 and is director of its Bureau of Research in Municipal Government. Dr. Hormell is famed for his writings on innumerable aspects of Maine town government and government in general.

FORMERLY of the Evansville (Indiana) public school system, **Joe Park** (*That Elusive Majority*) now is a graduate student and teaching fellow at the University

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Better Democracy!

Policy for Americans

By E. J. MEEMAN
Editor, Memphis Press Scimitar

America was profoundly affected by the French Revolution with its teachings of liberty, equality, and fraternity, its destruction of ancient feudalism. The effect was a deepening and broadening of our democracy under Jefferson.

We shall be affected also by the totalitarian revolution which has overrun Europe, and is hammering at the gates of England. What shall this effect be?

Stalin, Mussolini, and Hitler say that democracy is old and rotten, doomed to pass. They say freedom such as Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium, and France enjoyed is weakness, doomed to be overcome by nations under dictators.

There are those in this country—fortunately only a few—who say that maybe the dictators are right, and that America should become a dictatorship.

What treason is this! That Americans should for a moment listen to the words of gangsters and murderers. That Americans should assent to the slandering of our institutions by lying foreigners who hate us!

No, we shall not return to the despotism and tyranny which our ancestors came to this country to escape. We shall not give up the liberty which we have enjoyed and under which we have prospered for the centuries since the English Colonies were established on these shores.

More Democracy the Need

Yet what thoughtful citizen today does not recognize that in the face of pressure from totalitarian states without, we must make changes to make our country stronger?

"The remedy for the evils of democracy is more democracy."

Our need is not to get rid of democracy, but of those things which keep democracy from functioning efficiently.

"Politics," in the bad sense in which we usually use it, is not democracy. We do not need the politics which distorts and exploits issues for the selfish advantage of parties or men. We do not need the politics that makes public jobs the reward of the political hacks rather than the persons competent to fill them.

That you can have democracy, and a better democracy, by getting rid of politics and political machines has been proved by the 500 cities which have adopted nonpolitical city manager government in the United States. The government is centralized in the hands of one man, the city manager. That makes for efficiency, for the people know where to place responsibility. But that man is under the control of a council elected by a free people, so there is no dictatorship.

Waste, confusion, division, delay, bickering—these are not essential to democracy; they hinder it. What is essential to democracy?

Uncover Corruption

Essential to democracy above all is LIGHT—the light of free speech, free assembly and free press.

Is it not obvious that without this light, waste, corruption, and injustice can be covered up, and that there will be more waste, corruption, and injustice?

Is it not obvious that a nation can move faster in the light than in the dark?

Yet there are those who would turn out the light "to get action." What kind of action?

Those who contemplate murder and robbery prefer darkness!

After all the facts have been brought out, after all views of the question have been given, there must be prompt decision, and decisions must be followed by prompt action. But who shall say that it takes longer for the people to consult with each other about their national policies than it takes a dictator to commune with himself?

It is not true that despots and dictators can arrive at wiser decisions or act more decisively than the responsible heads of democracies.

We need not less liberty, but a more responsible liberty. We need not less democracy, but better control by the people of their own destiny.

We shall not go back to the tyranny our forefathers kicked out in 1776.

We shall go forward to a more secure liberty.

From *New York World-Telegram*

TENNESSEE CITIES A PROVING GROUND

(Continued from Page 671)

should be extended in the near future. During the 1939 session of the legislature, five statutes were enacted dealing with city-county functional and with intercounty territorial and functional consolidation.[10]

As the status of municipal administration in Tennessee is surveyed, it becomes increasingly evident that additional aid, guidance, and control by state administrative agencies is urgently needed. So far Tennessee is singularly lacking in this type of activity, especially in certain fields. The state requires no financial reports or statistics, although the recent appointment of a director for the state division of local finance possibly forecasts some progress along these lines. The record of educational supervision is better. The state offers assistance in the fields of health and planning. Provision for state substitute administration is confined to health. No aid appears to be given with respect to personnel administration, even in fields, such as retirement management, where aid seems particularly essential, although state law permits some assistance.

There exists in Tennessee a strong feeling for local independence. Up to the present time a lively need for a state league of municipalities has not existed, but at the moment an apparently strong momentum has developed for the establishment of an effective organization.

The relation of Tennessee cities to the national government is such that, in certain fields, the area may become a proving ground for the nation. Abundant instances of the effect of national agencies in stimulating local administrative progress can be found. The real test of this connection lies in the future and the permanence or impermanence of the changes made.

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[10] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, April 1939, p. 312; *Public Management*, July 1939, pp. 213, 214.

The Researcher's Digest: October

Governmental research in action; GRA tells citizens what a research bureau can do for them; research bureau-WPA ordinance codification in Arkansas; Newark's school population decreasing; Governmental Institute in state of Washington.

WITH Governmental Research in Action as the central theme, the **Governmental Research Association** held its annual meeting at Princeton, New Jersey, September 4-7, 1940. In attendance were about 150 staff members of research bureaus, taxpayers associations, other citizens organizations, governmental agencies, and universities.

Because of the reorganization of the GRA which has been taking place for the last year, the conference was planned to aid in the process of orientation. Each of the four days of the conference was devoted to a major topic related to this general purpose.

From "A" to "Z"

A cross-section of governmental research was provided by the first day's meetings, which revealed the broad scope of problems in which citizen-supported research agencies are interested —running from airports to zoning, and including such matters as budgetary procedure, accounting, civil service, sewage treatment, building code revision, traffic, parking, and welfare. A variety of techniques for meeting such problems was disclosed by brief reports in an opening roll call session, a meeting devoted to more detailed case studies in governmental research, and a third group of reports by junior staff members.

The similarities and differences of taxpayers organizations and citizens research agencies provided the focal point of the second day's discussions, which indicated that the differences were in name rather than in substance.

An attempt to "reform the reforms" occupied a third day of the conference, which was devoted to possible improvements in civil service and budgeting, and an analysis of proposed reforms in the real property tax.

Present personnel and budgetary practices were charged with a number of shortcomings and weaknesses, particularly on the ground that they do not contribute as effectively as they might to better government in the interest of the citizens as a whole. In reply, reasons were advanced for continuing some of the indicted practices, and evidence was submitted of improvements in some jurisdictions which might meet the criticisms.

Means by which various programs of the federal government might be utilized more effectively by citizens agencies and by state and local governments were suggested in another meeting. In particular, the potentialities of WPA as an aid to research, the services of the U. S. Census Bureau, and the opportunity for public service training under the George-Deen act were explored.

Strengthen Democracy

Crystallizing a sentiment that seemed to run through the conference, DeWitt C. Poole, formerly of the U. S. State Department, and more recently director of the School of Public and International Affairs of Princeton University, provided a high light of the conference with an address on "The Need for Strengthening Democratic Government." Stressing the urgent need for making citizens acutely aware of governmental problems and of aiding them in a more active, intelligent participation in the governmental process, Mr. Poole presented the outlines of a program which he felt would help accomplish this end.

In his address as retiring chairman of the GRA Executive Committee, Dean William E. Mosher of the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, similarly urged that Americans should develop an intense loyalty for their democratic government. He proposed that the GRA should develop an aggressive program which would help improve public administration, and aid citizens in appraising and directing their governmental units.

Succeeding Dean Mosher as chairman of the Executive Committee will be Philip Cornick of the Institute of Public Administration, New York City. New members of the committee include Charlton F. Chute, director of the Governmental Research Institute, St. Louis; J. M. Leonard, research director, Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research; and W. Earl Weller, director of the Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research. Two other members of the committee whose terms continue until next year are William C. Beyer, director of the Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia, and Norman MacDonald, director of the Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations.

GRA awards for 1939-1940 were presented at the meeting. Judged "the most noteworthy piece of research," a report on *Police and Fire Pension Systems of the City of Schenectady, New York,* won an award for E. E. Mariner and Edward C. Stone of the Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research. An award for "the most effective presentation of research studies" was made to the Boston Municipal Research Bureau, H. C. Loeffler, secretary.

LAURENCE MICHELMORE
Detroit Bureau of Governmental
Research

Cities Need Research

To the recurrent question, "Why a local governmental research bureau?" the **Governmental Research Association** brings a new, straight-from-headquarters reply in *Citizens in the Dark—Cities in the Red,* a seventeen-page publication.

Any bewildered citizen could profit from the succinct, intelligent explanation of the need for citizen research as expounded by Sherman S. Sheppard in the first half of this pamphlet. The address of the executive secretary of the Bureau of Governmental Research of New Orleans at the 1939 annual meeting of the Tampa Chamber of Commerce, as reproduced here, traces the natural history of the American city, summarizes the troubles that beset our cities in recent years, lists the six great problems that must be faced by government and citizen alike, and shows in simple language how the research bureau can help solve such problems.

Particularly pointed is Mr. Sheppard's analysis of those chief six problems: economic insecurity and public relief, planning the unplanned city, the struggle against crime, education, public personnel, and paying the cost. And a backstage fanfare would not be an extravagant accompaniment for his restrained, simple explanation of what the research bureau can do for citizen and government in this trying situation.

The rest of the pamphlet lists some of the representative governmental research agencies and the dates of their establishment, notes some of the research bureau publications which have listed bureau accomplishments in the past, and quotes a dozen agencies' own statements on their aims. Finally, there is reproduced a letter from the secretary of the Governmental Research Association which gives some practical advice on the financial support necessary to establish a research bureau in cities of various sizes. According to Lent

Upson: "The absolute minimum for a city, however small, would be a director, a stenographer, office, and facilities for publicity." With a junior staff member as well, the yearly minimum budget for such an agency comes to $10,000, he estimates.

Per capita computation is also a convenient method of determining the cost of running a bureau, advises Dr. Upson: "For cities of 50,000 population probably there should be a budget of twenty-five cents per capita or $12,500. For cities of over one million population an adequate program could be financed at five cents per capita or $50,000 or more." And he sadly adds: "Few bureaus have this amount, but always their programs must be held to only the most pressing problems."

To add point to this remark, Dr. Upson presents figures on the average actual budgets for bureaus in cities of various sizes. The average budget for a bureau in a city over one million in population (on the basis of actual budgets in three cities) is $31,500; an average for cities of 500,000 to 1,000,000 is, on the basis of the budgets of five bureaus, $20,500; in nine cities between 100,000 and 500,000, the average budget is $14,000; two cities under 100,000 have an average budget of $8,500.

Legal Humor

In Arkansas the **Bureau of Municipal Research of the University of Arkansas** and the **Arkansas Municipal League** are sponsoring WPA Project No. 6447-9. What the project is trying to do is explained to the mayors of Arkansas with considerable humor in a mimeographed pamphlet soberly titled *Codification and Indexing of City Ordinances.*

Since February 1940 WPA workers have been engaged in indexing and codifying the ordinances of Arkansas cities and towns. "Already the staff is working on the ordinances of eight cities. Contracts have been completed with six additional municipalities to codify their laws. Nine other cities are now in the process of making arrangements to contract for the codification of their ordinances."

Apparently, this pamphlet is intended as a method of making the rest of the busy mayors of the state sit up and take notice, for it is piquantly illustrated by drawings of Mr. Mayor (complete with clip-on spectacles, black shirt, and black pocket handkerchief) in the process of wondering about the project and of finding out. And to give point to the need for the codification job, the authors list choice samples of obsolete laws which they found in their excavations into local law. To quote a few:

> Yes sir, one town had an ordinance which required that "all sidewalks on Front Street shall be built eight and one half feet high and ten feet wide."
>
> Here is an 1875 speed law. "Any person who shall furiously or unnecessarily ride, drive, or run any horse or other animal on any street or alley of this town, or who shall cause same to be done at a gait or pace greater than six miles per hour, or aid in so doing, shall be fined in any sum not less than one nor more than twenty-five dollars for each such offense."
>
> In another city, the following was found in one of the ordinance books: "Any person using the town pump to wash any buggy, hack, wagon, or other vehicle will be charged a fee of twenty-five cents."

The illustrations provided by the WPA are similarly choice.

Statistics on Schools

Because the number of children in school determines so many vital questions of school finance, construction, administration, and personnel, the **Newark Bureau of Municipal Research** made a statistical study of past experience with grade enrollment and yearly births in order to find out what Newark is to expect in the way of school enrollment during the next six or seven years.

Some significant findings of the bureau, as presented in *Notes on Newark*, (No. 4):

> Decreased numbers entering the schools have progressed as a steady wave, year by year, to higher grades.
>
> Elementary enrollment continues to decrease . . . appears to be reaching its bottom, will level out in the next three to four years.
>
> Intermediate enrollment reached its peak two years ago . . . has started declining . . . will drop more in the next five years, and continue to decline thereafter.
>
> The peak of increasingly larger waves entering high school is past. . . . The drop should be particularly rapid in two more years.
>
> Total school population five years ago of 75,000 . . . can be expected to drop to 62,000 in the next five years.

"Wise planning," advocates the bureau, "would indicate adjustment of policy to these facts."

West Coast Conference

Law enforcement and traffic control and safety, personnel administration, public library administration, planning, school finance, public health and taxation were the discussion topics which drew over seven hundred officials, civic leaders, and professional men and women to the annual Institute of Government sponsored by the **Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of Washington** in July on the university campus. A report in the August, 1940, issue of *Western City* covers the highlights of the three-day conference.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Budgets

Budget Improvements in Boston. Boston Municipal Research Bureau, *Bulletin*, August 9, 1940. 4 pp.

Codification of Ordinances

Codification and Indexing of City Ordinances. Little Rock, University of Arkansas Bureau of Municipal Research and Arkansas Municipal League, 1940. 4 pp. mimeo.

Cost of Government

Cost Comparison of Police Departments in Six Representative Cities, State Tax Collections, Per Capita Cost of Various Departments of County Government Refigured on Basis of 1940 Census, Governmental Expenditures for 1939-40. Oklahoma City Research Institute, Inc., July 29, 1940. 4 pp. mimeo.

Gasoline Tax

Gasoline and Liquid Fuel Tax Collections in Ohio. Dayton Research Association, *Facts*, August 26, 1940. 2 pp. mimeo.

Governmental Research

Citizens in the Dark—Cities in the Red. Detroit, Governmental Research Association, August 1940. 17 pp. mimeo.

Schools

About an Ebb Tide. Newark, New Jersey, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Notes on Newark*, June 1940. 3 pp.

News in Review

(Continued from Page 639)

the referendum will have to wait until 1942, to which year **Springfield** has postponed its proposed Plan E referendum. A petition of the Lynn, Massachusetts, Taxpayers' Association for a writ of mandamus to compel the **Lynn** election commission to certify Plan E petitions previously declared invalid because of faulty signatures was denied by the Superior Court on September 11. The association's attorney contended that the law did not require signatures to be identical with the voters' names as they appeared on the polling lists, but was overruled. An appeal was filed with the state ballot law commission. The *Lynn Item,* commenting on the obvious and vigorous opposition of the incumbent city government, said that the sponsors of Plan E had already "made those in office sit up and not only take notice, but act more in accordance with the needs of the times."

The board of supervisors of **Onondaga County, New York,** has voted twenty-nine to three to submit a county manager proposal to popular vote at the November election.

In **Ayden, North Carolina,** a manager plan ordinance is in process of preparation.

In **Newport, Rhode Island,** Rear Admiral H. E. Yarnell is heading a campaign for the manager plan.

In **Marianna, Florida,** which is operating under a new charter which permits the city commission of five (four elected by wards and one at large) to employ a city manager if it so desires, the *Times* is urging commission candidates to declare their stand and mentions advantages of the manager plan.

A first step in a proposed consolidation of **Weirton, Hollidays Cove, Marland Heights,** and **Weirton Heights,** failed on October 1, when Weirton defeated a proposal for consolidation with Hollidays Cove, although the latter voted in favor of the merger. The Greater Weirton Association has recently issued a pamphlet on the subject, which also proposes the city manager form of government for the consolidated community.

An informal group of citizens in **University Heights, Ohio,** is working for the manager plan.

In **Little Rock, Arkansas,** circulators of a petition, asking for a preliminary vote on the manager plan, have obtained more than sufficient signatures to place the matter on the ballot.

A charter providing the council-manager plan for **Durant, Oklahoma,** was submitted to the voters on October 8.

In **Salem, Oregon,** recommendations of the council's city government revision committee as to amendments to provide the manager plan will be submitted to the voters on November 5. The proposal provides for election of seven aldermen by wards and of a mayor who, however, would have no executive duties inasmuch as the council would appoint a manager for those functions. The present fourteen-member council would hold over for two years.

Bayonne, New Jersey, will vote October 15 on a manager charter.

In **Santa Monica, California,** petitions have been circulated calling for a special election on a proposed manager charter which provides for a council of seven elected from districts; they are to choose one of their number as mayor, and to appoint a city manager.

In **Columbus, Ohio,** a committee of five, headed by W. E. Byers, was chosen September 13 at a meeting of the City Manager League to undertake the task of forming a permanent organization to bring about a referendum on a city manager charter amendment at the November 1941 election.

The city commission of **Traverse City, Michigan,** on September 16 voted unanimously to re-submit in November of this year the manager charter which failed of adoption by a small margin a year ago. A petition of more than three hundred names requested this action.

Council Disapproves Kansas City Amendments

The city council of Kansas City, Missouri, on September 3 decided against submitting to the voters at the November election thirteen proposed charter amendments that had been endorsed by the Civic Research Institute, the Chamber of Commerce and—as to those dealing with personnel—by the League of Women Voters. The amendments had been under consideration by the council for the preceding month. They included a prohibition of political activity by city employees in the classified service; the requirement for certification of the highest ranking candidates from eligible lists when a vacancy is to be filled, instead of the entire list; creation of a review board to grant public hearings to discharged employees; the requirements of annual city audits by independent auditors; and various bond provisions—serial bonds, twenty-year maximum, public sale, etc.

New Rochelle to Vote on Nonpartisan Elections

Voters of the city of New Rochelle, New York, will have the opportunity of restoring nonpartisan elections, which had been superseded by party elections, on a 3-to-2 vote of the city council. A public hearing was conducted on August 29, at which twenty-four speakers favored a referendum this November on a charter amendment providing nonpartisan elections, and only three opposed it—declaring that the importance of the national election transcended any local issue. The council on the same evening ordered that the referendum be held on November 5.

Large Cities Grow More Slowly

Preliminary figures of the Bureau of the Census for cities of 100,000 population or over show ninety-two in that group, with a population of 37,837,296, an increase of 1,642,125 or 4.5 per cent over the same cities in 1930, and an increase of 1,511,560 or 4.2 per cent over the ninety-three cities which in 1930 had 100,000 or more. These latter ninety-three cities had increased 23.5 per cent in population in the decade from 1920 to 1930. Twenty-nine of the ninety-two cities of 100,000 or more in 1940 lost population between 1930 and 1940; only four of these twenty-nine lost between 1920 and 1930.

Jersey City to Have Voting Machines

The New Jersey legislature on September 24 repassed over Governor Moore's veto two measures designed to reform election processes, particularly in Hudson County wherein Jersey City is situated. One law requires that voting machines shall be installed in Hudson County with the State House Commission (Republican - controlled) having the right to purchase the machines and write the cost against future state subsidies to the county. The other measure allows the superintendent of elections (a Republican) to call upon state troopers to enforce election laws on election day.

Three other bills were passed by the legislature and vetoed by the Governor, but further action by the legislature was deferred. Two provided for creation of special district criminal courts with jurisdiction over election law violations; in Hudson and Essex Counties (the latter including Newark) the third would class violators of the voting act as disorderly persons and thus provide for their trial in lower criminal courts instead of by common pleas courts on misdemeanor charges.

In vetoing the bills Governor Moore said that he objected to the cost of the voting machines, that home rule was violated, that the greatest bar to clean elections in New Jersey is the permanent registration law, and that voting is permitted in southern counties of the state without any safeguards at all.

Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City is reported as declaring that the use of voting machines in Hudson County will so confuse the voters as to cut the Democratic vote by 40,000. He has threatened reprisals against leading opponents who have sponsored efforts to install voting machines in Hudson County despite obstacles and delay.

Granite City-Nameoki Merger Fails

The effort to unite the Illinois municipalities of Granite City (23,000 population) and Nameoki (2,700) was defeated on September 10 when the two communities voted on the proposition of a merger. Granite City voted in favor, but its smaller neighbor refused. As approval by both was necessary the attempted merger failed.

Chicago Suburbs Cooperate for Municipal Services

Certain municipal activities of Winnetka and other northern suburbs of Chicago, Illinois, are being rendered better and at less cost than would otherwise be possible through a pooling of resources, the International City Managers' Association reports. The coöperative plan, which at present includes such services as fire protection, refuse disposal, milk inspection, purchasing, and radio, has been effected by contract, informal agreement, the joint use of personnel, or the establishment of special agencies. From two to seven of the suburbs are included in the various arrangements.

Winnetka, for example, handles fire protection for Kenilworth on contract, and under another contract uses the incinerator built and operated by Glencoe. Most important of the informal arrangements is the coördinated buying agreement between Winnetka and other public and semi-public bodies in the vicinity. An example of the hiring of joint personnel is the Winnetka public health officer, who is in charge of the township, the village of Kenilworth, and the Winnetka and Kenilworth schools. Police radio is coordinated by having Glencoe, Highland Park, Kenilworth, and Winnetka operate their radio transmitters on the same frequency.

Recent News from New Hampshire

Towns Lose Representation. Representation in the lower chamber of New Hampshire's General Court is allocated to each town or city on the basis of population. A town must have a population of 600 in order to be entitled to one representative, extra representation being given for each 1,800 in excess. Fifty-four towns will be denied representation in the legislature in January as the result of the 1940 census. Towns under 600 will be granted occasional representation, dependent on size, which means that some will hold seats intermittently during the next decade, although some may not have the privilege at all before 1950.

Summer Residents Urge Zoning. The summer residents have gathered to voice their resentment to local governmental expenditure and the lack of zoning. An association of summer taxpayers was formed recently at Newbury. They insist they should have better protection and better roads and resent having unsightly buildings constructed near their property. The New Hampshire Federation of Taxpayers Associations recommends that the "paying guests" be taken into confidence.

Non-Governmental Aid for Municipal Improvements. It was recently discovered that "Nugget," a moving-picture theatre in Hanover, was owned by the Hanover Improvement Association. Although this organization is not connected with the city government, from its proceeds in the past it has purchased several fire trucks, street equipment, ornamental street signs, and has built sidewalks. It has also developed a pond into a swimming pool and a park for winter sports. At Lebanon, a nearby town, a similar association shows motion pictures at a privately owned theatre and uses the proceeds for municipal improvements.

LASHLEY G. HARVEY
University of New Hampshire

States and Local Units Cooperate on Defense

The Division of State and Local Coöperation of the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense is now organized with Frank Bane, formerly executive director of the Council of State Governments, as director, and Daniel W. Hoan as associate director—the latter appointment having become effective September 9. Mr. Hoan, Milwaukee's eminent ex-mayor, will be in direct charge of the local government phases of the division's work, in addition to assisting in general planning and administration.

The functions of the Division of State and Local Coöperation will include: acting as a channel of communication between the Council of National Defense and its advisory commission and the state councils, and through the state councils keeping in touch with local councils; keeping state and local councils informed on the national defense program as it develops; receiving reports from state defense councils on problems of coördination requiring federal attention, recommendations for necessary adjustments in programs, and suggestions on new activities and proffers of services or facilities; and acting as a clearing house of information between councils in the various states on matters of council organization, administration, and activity.

Uniform State Laws Now Number Six Hundred

Approximately six hundred acts designed to reduce conflicts in legislation are on the statute books of the forty-eight states as a result of half a century of activity by the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws, according to a recent survey. The conference, which is an official body created by state statutes, drafts model bills, checks them with state and national bar associations, and finally attempts to secure their introduction into state legislatures.

The uniform laws relate to about fifty subjects. Every law has been adopted by at least one state, while some of the laws have been enacted by thirty or more—one outstanding example, the uniform negotiable instruments act, being in force in all states and in some South American countries. Many of the laws are for the purpose of facilitating business and trade, in current times frequently hampered by statutory differences from one state to another. Others pertain to social questions.

Other uniform laws that have been widely adopted include the warehouse receipts act, which makes warehouse receipts generally acceptable in business transactions, by forty-five states, and the sales act, which concerns the transfer of title to personal property, by thirty-two states.

Fifty-three model acts are currently being recommended to state legislatures, forty-three of which meet in regular session in 1941.

The conference has just announced a new coöperative relationship with the Council of State Governments, to further uniformity of state legislation. The council, as a joint governmental agency concerned with reducing interstate frictions, will aid in the preparation and distribution of the uniform bills.

United States and Canadian Mayors Meet

The United States Conference of Mayors held its annual meeting in New York City September 19-21, with an attendance of about two hundred, including eight Canadian mayors outstanding among whom was Mayor Stanley Lewis of Ottawa, president of the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities. Mayor Edward J. Jeffries, Jr., of Detroit emphasized that municipal government is the keystone of democracy and that it must be kept at a high level, and a message from President Roosevelt said, "The responsibility of building a defense for the protection of our democracy is the joint responsibility of all our governments—federal, state, and local."

Mayor F. H. LaGuardia of New York City was elected president of the conference for the fourth consecutive year.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

This month the REVIEW launches a new column by staff member Ruth M. Williams who comes by this sort of thing naturally. Her father is an active editor and her mother is a former newspaper woman.

Miss Williams will scan the field each month for brief items which can be tossed into a "Roundup"—the name of her column—of citizens in action.

More detailed stories of citizen projects will continue to appear, as always, in this section. This is an invitation to contribute to either the column or the section.—EDITOR.

Roundup—

As election time rolls around a number of citizens' organizations are issuing reports on candidates for office. . . . The **Detroit Citizens League** devotes *The Civic Searchlight* for September to an analysis of all candidates for nomination for public offices in the Michigan primaries. At the local level the league includes an evaluation of the candidates indicating those who are deemed by its committee to be "preferred" or "qualified." . . . The **Oakland County (Michigan) Citizens League** has included similar material in its September *Bulletin*, with recommendations based on a questionnaire sent to all candidates. . . . The **Municipal League of Seattle** has also issued a report on primary candidates for that city and King County, with "personal data," "experience in business and public office," and "comments" about each.

The National Association of Civic Secretaries, following its usual custom, will hold its annual meeting this year in conjunction with the National Conference on Government in Springfield, Massachusetts, November 18, 19, and 20.

Massachusetts citizens in at least five cities have decided this year not only that "something ought to be done" to improve local government, but that they are the ones to do it. . . . In Cambridge and Chicopee the citizens' organizations which led manager campaigns in 1938 have been revived to carry on this year's efforts for the manager plan and proportional representation (Plan E). . . . A new **Citizens' Charter Committee** has been organized in Haverhill for a referendum on the manager plan (Plan D). It is sponsoring an essay contest on the manager plan for high school juniors and seniors. . . . In North Adams the campaign is in the hands of a nonpartisan Plan E committee. . . . And in Quincy plans are going forward for organization of an educational campaign on Plan E. . . . In the neighboring state of New Hampshire, the staff of the **State Federation of Taxpayers Associations** is at work drafting enabling legislation, to be submitted to the legislature in January, to give cities a choice between a strong mayor plan and a council-manager plan.

The September 14 *Bulletin* of the **Committee of 100 of Yonkers** is devoted to news of the organization and the city administration. . . . Items cover the committee's support of a city "Hatch bill," an announcement of the questionnaire being sent to candidates for state office, a discussion of the proper attitude to be taken by the city toward absences of city employees.

Under the sponsorship of the **North Carolina Institute of Government** the second annual American Legion Boys' State was held in Chapel Hill the last week in August. . . . Albert Coates, director of the institute, served as director of the Boys' State which was attended by over 125 high school leaders. . . . The idea of the Boys' State originated in Illinois in 1935 and has been used successfully in many other states. . . . Through actual participation in governmental functions, an effort is made to give the boys an idea of the duties, rights, and privileges of citizenship.

In an increasing number of cities, citizens are being afforded opportunities to learn about their local governments by radio. . . . New York, Camden, New Jersey, St. Petersburg and Jacksonville, Florida, and Dallas, Texas, have their own stations, and at least forty others use the regular commercial broadcasting stations. . . . City officials usually have been responsible for inaugurating the programs, but in a number of communities local citizen organizations or the station itself have taken the initiative.

The public forum idea which has been so successful in a number of communities (see Citizen Action section, July 1940 REVIEW) seems to have worked particularly well in Talladega, Alabama. . . . A permanent **Town Forum Council** composed of presidents and secretaries of all existing civic, service, and religious organizations and eighteen citizens at large has been established to direct the program which consists of committee work, small neighborhood discussion groups and larger town hall gatherings. . . . A number of social and civic improvements are credited to the organization's activities.

Taxpayers groups continue to be active in every governmental sphere. . . . The August issue of the *Research Bulletin* of the **Fort Wayne (Indiana) Taxpayers Research Association** is devoted to a discussion of the expected decrease of 3½ cents in the tax rate for Fort Wayne citizens. . . . In summary form the proposed rate for each of the six taxing units (state, county, township, civil city, school city, and library) is compared with the existing rate. And there is also a comparison of the cost of Fort Wayne's government with that of other Indiana cities of 100,000, based on the United States Bureau of the Census report, *Financial Statistics of Cities*. . . . The *Indiana Tax Digest,* from the **South Bend Taxpayers' Federation,** prints in a recent issue a detailed outline of how a tax rate is computed and suggestions as to how citizens may investigate and analyze any tax rate.

The **Connecticut Merit System Association** announces that over 125 men from twenty-four states have applied for the position of field secretary of the association. . . . The candidates will be given a competitive examination and an eligible list will be established. . . . The association is considering making this list available to other citizens' organizations in the country seeking to fill similar positions.

The **Seattle Traffic and Safety Council** has launched a county-wide drive for safety education to combat a mounting list of traffic fatalities. . . . This follows the highly successful "100 Deathless Days Campaign" instituted last year.

RUTH M. WILLIAMS

Washington Civic Groups Cooperate to Educate

An estimated radio audience of 250,000 people in the state of Washington will hear a public discussion in "town hall" style on six proposals, to be voted upon at the November general election, in a program sponsored jointly by the **Municipal League of Seattle** and **Kiwanis, Rotary** and **Lions** service organizations on October 11.

Approximately 1,500 members of the service groups will gather in a Seattle high school auditorium that evening to hear a discussion of the proposals by Municipal League "town criers." Leading proponents and opponents of each measure seated on the platform will answer questions from the audience. The program will be broadcast over a state-wide radio network by stations KJR in Seattle and KGA in Spokane.

"Town Criers"

The Municipal League's town criers were organized several months ago to analyze the six proposals to appear on the ballot and to discuss them before community and service organizations in a series of educational programs during

Model Job

A citizen committee of **Attleboro, Massachusetts,** has done about as fine a lay job of analyzing city government as we've seen recently.

In ten mimeographed pages the committee presents a dispassionate analysis of the city's present mayor-council charter (granted in 1914), recommends specific improvements if the citizens prefer to keep that form, and advocates the council-manager plan as a more far-reaching remedy.

The report is now ready for public discussion on the merit of proposals it contains. The committee specifically states that "nothing contained in this report should be construed as a personal reflection on any individual in the city." And the tone of the report reflects that attitude.

The committee grew out of widespread comment that few in the city knew what was in the charter and that new consideration should be given to the type of government the city needs. Attorney Royal P. Baker headed the committee appointed by the Chamber of Commerce to prepare the report.

September and October. The league's speakers neither support nor oppose any of the proposals, but give an analysis of what each involves, what organizations and interests are supporting them, and who is opposed to them. Town criers will appear before as many organizations as can be booked between now and election day.

People of the state will vote on the following proposals: Initiative 139, a measure providing that public utility district bond issues must be approved by a majority vote in an election at which 50 per cent of the people voting in the last previous general election take part; Initiative 141, an old-age pension measure providing $40 for persons over sixty-five with certain limitations of income; Referendum No. 5, re-enacting the state's forty-mill limitation on property taxes; and three proposals placed on the ballot by the state legislature providing the removal of a two-term limitation on county officials, relieving stockholders of state banks from double liability, and enabling the legislature or the people by initiative to raise the salaries of state legislators.

EWEN C. DINGWALL
Municipal League of Seattle

Madison Citizens Advise Officials

Mayor James R. Law of Madison, Wisconsin, has called upon the citizens of this city to take a greater interest in their municipal government, and to serve as advisors to the city administration by participation in a newly organized **Civic Council.**

Representatives of many organizations interested in city affairs make up the council's membership.

The first meeting, in September, was devoted to organization and the appointment of committees. Under the present plan, the Civic Council will meet once each month to discuss some problem of vital civic interest.

Four committees have been appointed: a committee on committees, program committee, publicity committee, and membership committee. The duty of the program committee is to set the dates for all meetings, determine the subject to be presented, arrange for speakers and other participants in the program. The publicity committee is charged not only with the duty of acquainting Madison citizens with the work of the Civic Council, but to act as a spearhead of information between the council and the various city groups which its members represent.

Mayor Asks Action

Mayor Law insists that the Civic Council be a militant body, not a mere debating society, and that after a question has been thoroughly studied and discussed, the Civic Council make definite constructive recommendations to the city council and city administration.

The topic for debate at the October meeting will be the belt line highway, a particularly moot question in Madison at the present time which involves a proposal to route through traffic around the city by means of a proposed system of belt highways.

A future meeting of the council will debate the Segoe plan and zoning ordinance, a plan which represents the recommendations of city planning engineers engaged by the city some time ago. Other topics to be discussed include increases in the number of liquor licenses, boating and bathing facilities and lake treatment, parking meters, the city budget, snow and ice removal, delinquent tax land, and relief.

Credit for initiating the plan goes largely to Mayor Law, who last August 7 sent a letter to prominent citizens asking their opinion of the plan and whether they would be willing to participate. The response was so enthusiastic that the council was quickly organized.

City-Wide Membership

A review of representatives which attended the first meeting shows the following organizations officially represented:

Service Clubs: Rotary, Kiwanis, Optimists, American Business Club, Gyro, Rounders, and Lions.

Women's Clubs: Madison Women's Club, Catholic Women's Club, League of Women Voters, Business and Professional Women's Club, Civics Club, Parent-Teachers Association, Housemothers' Association (university rooming houses).

Business Clubs: Madison Business Association, Madison and Wisconsin Foundation (Chamber of Commerce), East Side Business Men's Association, Apartment House Owners Association, Real Estate Board, and Insurance Board.

Labor Groups: Building Trades Council, Federation of Labor.

Miscellaneous Groups: Young Men's Division of the Madison and Wisconsin Foundation, Technical Club, Community Union, Italian-American Civic League, and the Veterans' Council.

There are about 210 organizations in Madison which should be interested in the plan, and the council membership committee is working to this end. Mayor Law and leaders of the council are particularly anxious that small home owners be represented. It is hoped that by this method of representation all Madison citizens, through organizations of which they are members, will be represented on the council and thus have an active and direct voice in municipal affairs.

C. K. ALEXANDER, *Editor*
The Wisconsin Taxpayer
Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

North Dakota Plans County Reform

Manager charter to be one of optional forms presented to legislature next year

As previously reported in the REVIEW[1] the citizens of North Dakota have achieved the opportunity of modernizing their county and township governments. The constitutional amendment approved by popular referendum last June imposes a mandate upon the state legislature to prepare optional forms of county government of which at least one must provide for a county manager. The state legislature is expected to take action on the matter when it meets early next year for the regular sixty-day biennial session.

The North Dakota Taxpayers Association is urging that, in view of the pressure on the time of the state legislature, citizen groups should begin immediately to study county governmental structure, consider possible improvements, and prepare proposals for legislative consideration. The following are some of the problems that the association suggests should be studied by such groups:

1. The county commissioners were created originally as a legislative body, but after some years of successful operation, they began to encroach on administrative functions such as inspection of roads and the administration of relief. Should not their duties be narrowed to adoption of the budget, making the annual levy, auditing the bills against the county, and similar functions?

2. The constitutional amendment states

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[1] See August 1940, p. 559.

that at least one plan must provide for the manager form. Perhaps there should be several optional manager forms, or perhaps this feature could be segregated and made applicable to all forms of county government.

3. The possibility of consolidating the offices of auditor and treasurer should be considered since at present much work is duplicated in the two offices.

4. There is at present no adequate audit. The county commissioners are charged with auditing the books of the various county offices, but they are untrained and have too little time to perform this task satisfactorily. The state examiner's annual examination is restricted primarily to securing a balance in the accounts. The solution appears to lie in the appointment of an independent private auditor.

5. At present county budgets are drafted in a haphazard fashion and then largely disregarded when making actual appropriations. A good budget law is sorely needed.

6. A number of county offices that are not policy-forming in nature should probably be shifted from their independent elective status to appointment by the commissioners or manager. The reduction in the size of the ballot would make such ballot a more effective instrument in the hands of the voter, and better qualified clerical and administrative personnel could be secured by the appointive method. With the advent of the automobile and good highways, the elected county surveyor has become an anachronism and should be replaced by an appointive trained engineer. The register of deeds requires certain qualifications that cannot best be measured by the elective process. The office of clerk of the district court, instead of being elective, probably should follow the example of the federal courts where judges make the appointments.

7. Personnel problems should be studied further with a view to installing the merit system. An arrangement to permit interdepartmental loans of personnel to meet seasonal fluctuations is sorely needed.

8. Relief and welfare will constitute a major county problem, but the solution will depend on federal and state activity in this field. The trend toward centralization and the changed concepts regarding the proper extent of welfare activities would justify intensive study before determining the nature of county welfare organization.

9. Since some states permit the counties to draft their charters with subsequent legislative approval, this method should be studied as an alternative to charters drafted by the state legislature.

10. Methods of procedure regarding dissolution and consolidation of counties in accordance with the new constitutional provisions should be studied by such citizen groups.

11. The purchase of supplies, equipment, and machinery in many counties is woefully inefficient. Possible solutions lie in the creation of a purchasing commission or agent or in utilizing a state purchasing agency.

12. In view of the increasing popularity of proportional representation, this method of election should be studied as a possible alternative method of electing county legislators.

13. Because consolidation of counties does not appear to appeal to the people in many areas, coöperative activities in specific fields are more readily adopted. Probably, the counties of North Dakota should be empowered to enter into such coöperative agreements.

County Salaries in New York Found Too High

The Municipal Civil Service Commission of New York City has found that the five counties within the city's limits pay proportionately much more than does the city for the same type and amount of work. According to the *Civil Service Bulletin,* published by the commission, a study of comparative salaries shows "the costly and wasteful nature of the county offices. Though generally operating under less pressure than the city offices, these political strongholds continue to pay their clerical staffs at a rate high above that of the city government as a whole. Such excess payment can only be accounted as a corollary to the political nature of these offices, now considered archaic by many and certainly exposed as excessively expensive. . . .

"The high average clerical salaries of the state and county courts and the county offices and other inequities represent favoritism that cannot help but provoke resentment and discontent among employees of equal responsibility and less pay elsewhere. The system encourages political bargaining by city employees for transfer or appointment to 'favored' departments. These conditions effectively menace the further development of a genuine career system in New York City."

Tennessee County Coordinates Relief Efforts

In Grundy County, Tennessee, a number of public and private organizations are embarking on a coöperative program, incidentally to reduce the amount of relief, but primarily to rehabilitate its recipients. The coöperative efforts of federal, state, local, and private agencies are being enlisted to solve the problem in this distressed county where 60 to 70 per cent of the population receive such aid. The program will be directed by a coordinating committee composed of the state director of farm extension service, the state commissioner of public welfare, and the state commissioner of conservation. The committee will hire a coordinator to assume immediate supervision over the program.

The extent of the relief problem results largely from the fact that the community has had to change its activities from mining to agriculture, although a study revealed that the problem was not wholly of local origin. The program will attack not only the usual problems of public welfare and health administration, but will consider also problems of financial management, levy of taxes, tax delinquency, agricultural programs, and the use and conservation of natural resources such as forests, wild life, grazing, minerals, and recreation resources. The committee will seek to coördinate existing health services such as school-feeding, clinical programs, and maternal and child health. It will seek to secure the coöperation of schools, NYA, WPA, employment offices, 4-H clubs, national defense units, and other agencies. It is hoped that the experiment will be of value to other counties in Tennessee in helping them to solve their problems of relief.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Government Bond Tax Killed in Senate

Amendment to excess profits tax bill meets strenuous opposition

By a vote of forty-four to thirty on September 19, the Senate killed an amendment to the excess profits tax bill providing for so-called reciprocal taxation by the federal and state governments of the income from government bonds. The amendment, an eleventh hour attempt of proponents of government bond taxation to revive the proposal voted down in committee earlier in the year, was strenuously opposed by organizations of state and local governments and by members of the investment banking fraternity.

An interesting aspect of the proposal was that it would have exempted from the tax, in addition to outstanding obligations which are at present tax-exempt, obligations issued to refund such bonds when the term of the refunding bonds did not run beyond the term of the original obligation. Assuming taxation would increase local interest costs, this feature would have been of benefit to local units undertaking refunding operations to reduce interest costs; but it was held by opponents of the measure to penalize those governments which may find it necessary to refund maturing bonds. A very sizeable amount of refunding of this latter type is prospective over the next several years, typified by such cases as Kansas City, Missouri, water debt for which virtually no sinking funds have been accumulated, and several state road refunding programs which are still hanging fire. Opposition on this score, therefore, may have had considerable weight.

According to a survey made of the vote by the *Daily Bond Buyer,* rejection of the amendment was obviously on its merits, party and sectional lines being completely broken in the balloting.

Tax Revenue Sources Increase Greatly

Forty-two per cent of the revenues of all governmental units in 1939 were collected from taxes completely absent in the tax system of forty years ago, a recent analysis by the Federation of Tax Administrators shows. These taxes were on income, payrolls, motor fuel, motor vehicles, and gifts and inheritances.

A comparative analysis is shown below.

The tax system of the early 1900's was a relatively simple affair as compared with today's revenue structure. Property taxes accounted for little more than half the total revenues of that day, and met the major part of state and local government requirements. Today, the property tax makes up about a third of the total.

Sales and occupational taxes have contributed about the same proportion of revenue—11 per cent—throughout the forty-year period, but their contribution in recent years has been due to the enactment of such new levies as the sales tax and miscellaneous federal excises. Customs duties have dropped from second to last place among the major revenue sources.

The influence of the automobile on government finance is shown by the position which the road levies occupy for recent years. In 1939 motor vehicle

	Percentage of Total Tax Revenues				
Type of Tax	*1902*	*1912*	*1922*	*1932*	*1939*
Property	51.1	59.8	44.9	57.0	33.2
Sales and Occupational	11.3	8.1	11.1	7.7	11.2
Motor Fuel	a	a	0.2	6.2	7.1
Liquor	14.0	13.3	0.6	a	5.8
Tobacco	3.8	3.2	3.6	4.8	4.5
Death and Gift	a	a	2.8	2.4	3.5
Motor Vehicle	a	a	2.0	3.6	2.7
Customs	18.4	13.8	4.8	4.0	2.2
Payroll	a	a	a	a	10.8
Income	a	1.3	28.6	14.1	17.6
Miscellaneous	1.4	0.5	1.4	0.2	1.4

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[a] Tax not levied.

and motor fuel collections accounted for 10 per cent of all tax revenue.

Data for the analysis were obtained from the annual reports of the United States Secretary of the Treasury and from the decennial publications of the Census Bureau on state and local finance.

Tax Liens Come First Says Pennsylvania Court

A recent decision by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, in *City of Erie* v. *A Certain Piece of Land,* has given an unexpected stimulant to tax collections in Pennsylvania. The court has ruled that general tax liens have a priority over all other property liens regardless of when they became effective. Specifically the court determined, says *Citizens' Business* (organ of the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research) "that under the provisions of the second paragraph of section 31 of the act of May 16, 1923, P.L. 207, real estate can be sold for unpaid taxes at a sheriff's sale free and clear of all mortgages and other liens on the property, even though such mortgages and liens were prior to the lien of the taxes or were prior to the date of the 1923 act. . .

"The real significance of the court's decision, so far as concerns the collection of delinquent taxes, is this—holders of mortgages, ground rents (some at least), and other liens on real estate can no longer sit back and let taxes pile up, counting upon their liens being secure and immovable; upon taking over the property or paying the taxes when it suits them to do so; and, perhaps, upon ultimately securing an abatement of the penalties and interest on the taxes, or even an abatement, or compromise, of the taxes themselves. Now these holders face the alternative of paying the delinquent taxes rather promptly, or losing their liens on the property. Furthermore, since the mortgages and other liens can no longer stand between the property and the city's taxes, the city will take earlier steps than before to enforce payment of delinquent taxes. . .

"Not only will the Supreme Court's decision speed up collections of delinquent taxes, but it apparently takes the props from under a number of plans being made for compromising overdue taxes under the act of June 26, 1939, P.L. 1100. That act was drawn under the view that prior mortgage liens could not be divested by tax sales, and that, therefore, taxes could not be collected in excess of the equity over such liens. It now appears that any compromise of taxes must be based upon the full value of the delinquent real estate, rather than upon an equity over outstanding bonds or mortgages. Bondholders and mortgage holders must pay the taxes or lose their liens, and therefore their interest in the property, unless they directly or indirectly buy it in."

Assessors' Qualifications Surveyed

Citizenship, a minimum age of twenty-one, residence, literacy, sanity, and freedom from conviction for a felony—the usual legal qualifications for voting—appear to be the chief prerequisites to becoming a property assessor in almost any state, according to a recent survey by the National Association of Assessing Officers.

Additional qualifications, where they exist, usually involve additional residence and property ownership requirements. Assessors of Indiana counties, certain Kansas counties, and some Kentucky cities, for example, must be residents for four years. Assessors of most cities in Pennsylvania and those of San Francisco and St. Louis must have been in residence for five years, while members of the board of property assessment in Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, are required to show ten years' residence. County assessors in Georgia, Indiana, and Kent County, Delaware, must be real property owners, and assessors of most Pennsylvania cities must own at least $500 worth of real estate.

Educational or experience qualifications for assessors are specified in few places. Kentucky county tax commissioners, who are elected, must pass an examination prepared by the State Department of Revenue before filing as candidates. Among the few local governments requiring experience is Syracuse, New York, which specifies that the head of the assessment department must be a licensed engineer or architect, or must have a certain number of years of practical experience in one of these professions, or in appraising or assessing. The Allegheny County board members must show at least five years' experience in certain specified work, including real estate brokerage, appraising or assessing, security transactions, engineering, and law.

A formal merit system for employees is applied in only 360 of the 29,000 primary and overlapping assessment districts and only about a dozen of these include the assessor, or department head, in the classified civil service.

The association's Committee on Assessment Organization and Personnel, making the survey, recommended that requirements of residence and property ownership be abolished, and that standards of experience and training be set up.

The committee recommended that some administrative agency—the state tax department or a state or local personnel agency—be given responsibility for determining the fitness of assessor candidates. Candidates meeting such minimum qualifications for eligibility as a high school education or certain experience might be subjected to written or oral tests set by this agency. The success of such a program would depend, the committee pointed out, "upon its flexibility and a sensible adaptation of testing methods to local conditions."

Denver Sells Tax Delinquent Properties

In the first six months of 1940 the city of Denver, Colorado, sold 2,101 building lots which it had acquired for delinquent taxes. The city received a total of $158,420 in 569 transactions, according to the *Municipal Finance News Letter.* Some buyers took one or two lots, while others acquired an entire block. Frank Wilson, Manager of Revenue of the city and county of Denver, estimates that 90 per cent of the lots were acquired as home sites by persons planning to build immediately.

Proportional Representation

By George H. Hallett, Jr.

Tammany Attacks in New York

P.R. repealer to be decided at the polls

On September 5 a petition bearing 278,059 names was filed in the office of the New York City clerk requesting a vote on election day on the repeal of proportional representation for the New York City council and the substitution of plurality election by state senate districts with four members at large from Queens, three from Brooklyn, and three from the Bronx. The borough of Richmond (Staten Island), which forms part of a senate district, would elect one.

The result of this proposal would be almost surely the election of thirty-two organization Democrats, at most one Republican, and no others, year in and year out. The Democrats regularly elect all the city's state senators but one (sometimes that one also), and they always win borough-wide plurality elections such as those for judges and county officers except in rare instances where there is a dramatic personal element, not likely to apply to groups of councilmen, as in the election of District Attorney Dewey.

The present city council elected by P.R., on the other hand, contains seven opponents of Tammany out of a total of twenty-one, and its predecessor, elected by P.R. when there was a larger independent turnout in the last mayoralty year, was evenly divided.

Democratic Machines Help

The petition for the repealing charter amendment was filed by the president of the Bronx Chamber of Commerce, but it is no secret that something like 275,000 of its signatures were collected by the Democratic organizations of the five boroughs. These efficient machines had no difficulty in collecting without fanfare five times the required 50,000 names to put their amendment on the ballot, while independent forces had to resort to a campaign of solicitation at tables on the streets with the practically united support of the city's press to file 58,400 signatures for another amendment to reorganize the archaic and wasteful sheriffs' and registers' offices in the five counties of the city.

When it comes to election day there may be another story. Civic leaders are counting heavily on the large independent vote at the presidential election to carry the county reform amendment, if they can keep it on the ballot in the face of the machine's technical attack in the courts, and to defend the principle of minority representation against the threat of a totalitarian regime for the forces of Tammany and Bosses Kelly and Flynn.

The anti-machine fight on both issues is being led by the Citizens' Non-Partisan Committee, of which the chairman is Thomas D. Thacher, former solicitor general of the United States and chairman of the charter revision commission which presented the new charter and P.R. proposals to the people when they were adopted in 1936. Another member of the committee is Samuel Seabury, whose advocacy of P.R. in his final report to the Hofstadter legislative investigating committee in 1932 set the stage for its adoption. The campaign is being conducted through the offices and staff of the New York Citizens Union and most of the other prominent civic groups, such as the League of Women Voters, the Merchants' Association, the City Club, the Women's City Club, the City Affairs Committee, the United Neighborhood Houses, and the Brooklyn Civic Council, are cooperating.

Newspapers Back P.R.

Some of the city's leading newspapers have already taken up the cudgels in defense of P.R.

"It was the proportional representation system," said the *Herald-Tribune* editorially on September 6, "which saved the new city council from the blight under which the old board of aldermen had sunk into ignominy. It was 'P.R.' which for the first time gave each of the several parties in the city an approach to fair representation in the city's legislature. It was 'P.R.' which raised the standards of that body to respectability and gave it some life and meaning. 'P.R.' has not prevented the Democrats from controlling it, as they do now, in accordance with their voting strength; but it has prevented them from making the council, like the board of aldermen, the perpetual possession of whatever hack politicians the Democratic machine chose, in effect, to appoint to its seats. And this, apparently, was too much for the machine. Its referendum proposal would, if adopted, virtually make the council again overwhelmingly Democratic by law, and again disfranchise all other voters."

The *World-Telegram* said on September 7: "Tammany's repeated stubborn attacks have become the highest tribute to P.R. as a system that promotes fairer representation of minorities, diminishes machine power, and threatens to weaken political control over jobs and payrolls.

"And all this before P.R. has got into anything like its full stride and purpose! Tammany feels and fears the trend.

"Voters who appreciate P.R. and the potentialities thereof should stand ready to pay it their tribute—by voting to continue it and develop its possibilities against all Tammany assaults."

The *Jamaica Press,* usually friendly to the Queens Democratic organization, raises another issue which will loom large in the fast-growing boroughs of Queens, Brooklyn, and the Bronx. On July 25 it said editorially: "P.R. has its faults, but it does give Queens automatic reapportionment. Any new system must provide for that to be fair to the citizens of Queens who have long suffered from under-representation both in the state legislature as well as in Congress."

CONTRIBUTORS IN REVIEW

(Continued from Page 679)

of Michigan. In 1939 he was the recipient of the William H. Payne Scholar Award from the university's School of Education. His master's degree comes from the same institution, while his B.S. is from Evansville College. Mr. Park is the author of several articles in the field of social studies.

IN THE days when the Juvenile Court of Berlin (Germany) earned considerable reputation for its probation and other work with youthful delinquents, **Dr. J. O. Reinemann** (*Pennsylvania Experiments with Public Service Training*) held an important position with it. The former municipal councillor of Berlin's city welfare administration is now a naturalized American citizen. His present position is district supervisor of the Probation Department, Juvenile Division of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia. Dr. Reinemann's law degree is from the University of Frankfort-on-Main.

A FELLOW of the Institute of Politics, which is jointly sponsored by the National Municipal League and Indiana University, **Lawrence H. Wendrich** (*Greater Newark: A Quarter Century Vision*) is working now toward a doctorate at Indiana University. In 1939 he received a master's degree from New York University and his thesis on "The Problem of Consolidation of the Governments in Essex County" is the genesis of the article in this magazine.

Books in Review

EDITED BY ELSIE S. PARKER

National Welfare and Business Stability. By John Bauer. New York City, Harper & Brothers, 1940. xi, 182 pp. $2.00.

The preface to this book tempts its readers with the promise, which it keeps, that it is "short, cleaves to the central issue, and can be read in an evening." The issue to which it cleaves is simply stated: Is it possible to so arrange our economic life as to provide for a continuously increasing consumption of goods and services for all until all are surfeited, this goal to be obtained without any regressions and depressions, and without abandonment of either political democracy or economic private enterprise? Dr. Bauer believes it is possible and proves it once more to this reviewer's satisfaction, for he has held similar economic views for many years. The federal government is to be the primary agency employed, not to engage directly in economic activity but first, to keep the necessary pointer-readings on private industry, and second, to see that purchasing power comes into the hands of those who, for any reason, cannot be useful to private industry.

It is for this reason that the book is important to those concerned with local government for it is to local government that those who have no incomes first turn for help. Also, it is in urban centers that the planned federal spending proposed by Dr. Bauer would bring the greatest good.

The reason for the instability of private business as a whole is not because it is inherently wrong, thinks Dr. Bauer, but because, in the nature of the case, it cannot overcome three things: (1) technological changes which must continue to occur will as in the past change the currents of purchasing power; (2) industry cannot impose upon itself the self-control which is necessary to balance demand and supply; (3) private banking cannot at the same time leave that freedom of action to the individual banker which is so often valuable and also assume responsibility for national monetary and credit policies.

Though local administrators may welcome the idea that the federal government will always stand ready with some project which will absorb what otherwise would be a relief burden, the local taxpayer may raise the cry, "Where will the money come from if not from us?" To this, Dr. Bauer's answer is that some will be raised by borrowing, particularly when the number of otherwise unemployed would be heavy, and the rest by taxes; but the reliance here would be on such taxes as the progressive income tax and the inheritance tax and not on such economic monstrosities as the sales tax.

It would be well to read this book every six months during the next few years. Some people think we are about to make the choice between guns or butter. This book tends to show that when we begin making more guns we shall also have more butter. This magical effect will not be because of the intrinsic quality of guns, but simply because when you give a man who previously got nothing seven dollars a day to make guns, he is such a strange creature he will spend that seven dollars for bread and butter. Then another man who also was getting nothing will be hired to help fill the increased demand for butter, and so on.

W. J. M.

Municipal and Governmental Accounting. By Carl H. Chatters and Irving Tenner. New York City, Prentice-Hall Co., 1940. xviii, 794 pp. $6.00.

This volume is designed primarily as a textbook in governmental accounting for college students. The text proper extends over 515 pages, and is followed by some 260 pages of appendices which contain questions and problems for students, accounting terms and definitions, and extended bibliographical references.

The general approach to the subject in the main text is largely from the standpoint of the mechanics of accounting. Forms and sample entries are interspersed throughout the text. The basic ideas which serve as the groundwork for the essential practices of governmental accounting are often casually treated. The student, as a result, may learn to make correct entries in the accounts and summarize the results in accounting statements without knowing, or at least recognizing, the primary reasons for this work. In short, the whole treatment of the book is designed to instruct the student in the technique of account keeping rather than to provoke him to do a little thinking on his own part about the essentials of governmental accounting. For this reason the book, it seems, loses much of its value from the standpoint of the financial officer or the practicing accountant who wants to take a look at the broader aspects of governmental accounting. This is to be regretted when the book promised so much from the standpoint of its authors' equipment and experience.

As the title indicates, the book is mainly about municipal accounting, although some references are made to state accounting problems. A chapter is added at the end—apparently an afterthought—on federal government accounting. This chapter is a very inadequate treatment of the subject, and should have been omitted. The accounting technique and practice of the federal government are so unlike those of municipalities and states that such a chapter really has no place in the text.

The book opens with a chapter on the nature of state and local governments from the accounting standpoint and another on the essentials of governmental accounting. Seven chapters are then devoted to a discussion of funds and their accounting problems, which is by all odds the most satisfactory and comprehensive treatment in the book. Revenue and expenditure classification and accounting are treated in six chapters, one of which is allotted to budgeting and another to cost accounting. Assets and liabilities, as elements of the balance sheet, are discussed in another six chapters. Finally, a single chapter is given to the important matter of reporting, which is perhaps one of the two or three most significant features of modern governmental accounting.

Despite the unmistakable earmarks which show that it was born in a classroom, the book does contain practical and useful materials which will repay the public accountant and the finance officer for the time required for its perusal.

A. E. Buck
Institute of Public Administration

Public Opinion. By William Albig. New York City, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1939. xiii, 486 pp. $4.00.

Because public opinion determines the fate of governments, of individuals, even of businesses, any work on the subject must perforce attain a uniquely comprehensive importance, a universality. By the same token, it must restate a good many widely appreciated truths. This volume defines the nature of public opinion, discusses the methods by which it is manifested, explores the thought and emotion habits of individuals which help form public opinion, describes the institutions, agencies, and interests which manipulate and feed public opinion. The book is thoroughly documented, which should be helpful to those interested in particular phases of public opinion.

M. R.

Symposium on the Totalitarian State from the Standpoints of History, Political Science, Economics and Sociology. By Fritz Morstein Marx, etc. Philadelphia, Philosophical Society, 1940. 102 pp. Seventy-five cents.

This attempt to unmask totalitarianism in Germany, Russia, and Italy is one of the most successful we've seen—probably because the approach is cool and reasonable, yet bitter enough in its overtones to leave the reader in no doubt as to where the writers stand.

From historical perspective Carlton J. H. Hayes (Columbia University) cannot grant the totalitarian philosophy even so much as the respectability of age. He makes the too unfamiliar distinction between dictatorship which the Greeks knew twenty-five centuries ago and the philosophy of totalitarianism which is something entirely new. He points out that the centuries-old practice of dividing powers of government between the central and local authorities has only recently broken down, so that all power stems from headquarters.

Mr. Hayes believes that upstart totalitarianism still has to make a place for itself in history.

More familiar but none the less important are the analyses of totalitarianism from the viewpoints of political science by Associate Professor Fritz Morstein Marx, Queens Colleges; education by Professor Thomas Woody, University of Pennsylvania; philosophy of war by Professor Hans Kohn, Smith College; international trade and finance by Associate Professor C. R. Whittlesey, Princeton; economics by Moritz J. Bonn, lecturer, London School of Economics; and a general discussion by Visiting Professor Herbert Heaton, Princeton.

Unfortunately the styles of some of the authors will make too heavy going for popular consumption. And there are few places the general reader can go for a many-side discussion of this new chapter in world history.

E. N. T.

State and Local Government in Texas. by Caleb P. Patterson, Sam B. McAlister, and George C. Hester. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1940. 586 pp. $2.50.

The authors have made a definite contribution to the growing library on individual state governments. Studying the states individually has the advantage of eliminating the vagueness and confusion of the usual generalized texts. After reading this book one knows how the government operates in one state instead of having recollections of the myriad possibilities of forms and methods in all.

The form, functions, and institutions of the government of the state of Texas are amply covered; only two chapters, however, are devoted to county and municipal governments. The authors have thoughtfully provided a luxury by including at the end of each chapter those portions of the Texas constitution which are pertinent to that chapter.

It is not clear whether the book is written for high school or college students. A statement of this might decide whether certain features of the book are virtues or vices. The encyclopedic nature of the work would be a boon to the college student but a prolonged trial to the high school student.

Conversely, the detailed explanation of certain simple fundamentals of government would make comprehension easy for the latter but would appear to be wasted space for the former. Judicious editing by the instructor can make this volume an asset to either group of students.

LAWRENCE H. WENDRICH
Institute of Politics
Indiana University

Additional Books and Reports Received

Accounting

Accounting for Governmental Supplies; Accounting for Government-owned Motor Equipment; Governmental Timekeeping and Payroll Procedure. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1940. 67, 66, 68 pp. respectively. 50 cents each.

Assessment

Assessment Supervision; Internal Organization of Local Assessment Offices; Personnel Administration in Local Assessment Offices; Selection, Tenure and Compensation of Assessors. Chicago, National Association of Assessing Officers, 1940. 50, 47, 53, and 64 pages respectively, mimeo. $1.00 each.

County Government

A Report with Recommendations Covering a Survey of the Finances and Administrative Methods of the Government of Tipton County, Tennessee; A Report with Recommendations Covering a Survey of the Finances and Administrative Methods of the City of Elizabethton, Tennessee. By Tennessee Taxpayers Association. Nashville, 1940. 195 and 164 pp. mimeo.

Defense

Civil Expenditures During and After War Periods. Discussion of the possible effect of preparedness on civil government expenditures. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Economy League, Inc., 1940. 12 pp.

Emergency Personnel Policies. A check list of items which might be considered by state and local governments. Chicago, The American Municipal Association and the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, 1940. 10 pp. mimeo. 25 cents.

The Amortization of Cost of Defense Facilities. An informational pamphlet on tax phases. Washington, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1940. 16 pp.

The British Defense Program and Local Government. Compiled from British documents and periodicals for The American Municipal Association. By Don K. Price and James L. Sundquist. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1940. v, 55 pp. 75 cents.

Municipal Government

Municipal Government and Administration in Mississippi. By M. H. Satterfield and Hugh W. Urban. Jackson, Mississippi State Planning Commission, 1940. 134 pp.

Municipal Legislation in Maryland. By Howard M. Kline. Baltimore, Maryland Legislative Council, 1940. 65 pp. mimeo.

Municipal Problems 1940. Thirty-first annual meeting of the Conference of Mayors and Other Municipal Officials of the State of New York. Albany, Conference of Mayors and Other Municipal Officials, 1940. 126 pp. $1.25.

Requirements for Publication of Municipal Ordinances and Adoption of Codes by Reference. Chicago, American Municipal Association, 1940. 26 pp. mimeo. 50 cents.

Symposium on Municipal Tort Liabil-

ity. By Edward M. Borchard, etc. (August 1940 issue of *Legal Notes on Local Government*) New York, Section of Municipal Law, American Bar Association, 1940. 36 pp. $1.00.

Yeadon—a Civic Picture. By The Institute of Local and State Government, University of Pennsylvania. Yeadon, Penna., The Borough Council, 1940. 40 pp.

Personnel

Civil Service Agencies in the United States—A 1940 Census. Chicago, Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, 1940. 59 pp. 50 cents.

How to Train Supervisors. Manual and outlines for determinate discussion. By R. O. Beckman. New York City, Harper & Brothers, 1940. xiii, 305 pp. $3.00.

Research in Employer-Employee Relations in the Public Service. An outline of suggested research topics. New York City, Committee on Public Administration, Social Science Research Council, 1940. 39 pp. 50 cents.

Your Federal Civil Service. By James C. O'Brien and Philip P. Marenberg. New York City, Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1940. xvi, 501 pp. $2.50.

Real Estate

Real Property Survey and Low Income Housing Area Survey Greater Little Rock, Arkansas. Little Rock, Pulaski County Planning Board, 1940. 134 pp. charts, illus.

Residential Construction in New Jersey 1933-1939. By G. G. Tegnell. Newark, New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce, 1940. 9 pp. mimeo.

PENNSYLVANIA EXPERIMENTS

(Continued from Page 674)

the end of the course the students expressed the hope that the program would be continued next year.

New courses are scheduled to begin this fall as a large number of applicants could not be accommodated because of the limitation on the number of students for one class. It is planned to organize these courses not only in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, but in several other counties as well.

Not only from Pennsylvania, but from other parts of the country numerous inquiries have come from interested municipal and other governmental agencies as to the program, the technical set-up, and the text material of this Correctional Workers' School. The Regional Conference of the National Jail Association, held in Philadelphia in June 1940, endorsed the general idea of such in-service instruction.

The spreading idea of in-service training is based upon a deeper understanding and a new appreciation of the meaning of public service. Public servants in a democracy are not just employees or hired hands of an isolated entity called "The State." The state, according to our philosophy of life, is not an overlord, but the freely organized community of citizens. Therefore, serving the state, being officials of the state and its political subdivisions, means serving the citizens both as individuals and as established society. In the case of correctional workers, it means treating the offender as a human being and applying modern methods of social and medical sciences to the diagnosis and treatment of his case; it means striving for the rehabilitation of the offender and thus concomitantly for the protection of society.

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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

News in Review

City, State, Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

City Manager Plan in Cuban Constitution

One of three prescribed forms for autonomous municipal government

The new constitution of Cuba provides for local autonomy in various respects, including the choice of three governmental forms: commission, council-manager, and mayor-council. Title fifteen of the document deals with the municipal regime; its third section, including articles 222-232, has to do with municipal government. Of special interest are the following:

"223. Municipalities can adopt their own municipal constitution in accordance with the following procedure, which shall be regulated by law. The municipal council or the commission, on petition of 10 per cent of the voters of the municipality and with the favorable vote of two-thirds of its members, shall consult the electorate of the municipality, through the medium of the corresponding electoral bodies, as to whether it desires to elect a commission of fifteen members to prepare a municipal constitution.

P.R. Prescribed

"The names of the candidates to form part of the commission shall be placed on the respective ballots, and if the majority of the voters vote favorably on the question raised, the fifteen candidates who receive the highest vote, in accordance with the system of proportional representation [not described], shall be elected to form the commission. The latter shall draw up the municipal constitution and submit it for the approval of the voters of the municipality not less than thirty days after it has been completed and distributed, and not more than a year after the commission is elected.

"Municipalities shall adopt one of these systems of government: that of a commission, that of a municipal council and manager, and that of a mayor and municipal council. . . .

"225. In the system of municipal council and manager there shall also be a mayor who shall preside over the municipal council and shall be the representative of the people in all acts of an official or social character.

The Manager

"The manager shall be a technician or person of recognized capacity in municipal matters, and shall act as the head of the municipal administration, with faculties to appoint and remove the officers and employees of the municipality in accordance with what is established in this constitution.

"The position shall be filled by the municipal council, for a period of six years through the medium of competitive examination, before a board composed of the following members: A professor of municipal government, a professor of administrative law, a public accountant, and two representatives of the municipality. The professor of administrative law and the professor of municipal government shall be named by a university faculty of social sciences; the public accountant, by the school of commerce of the province to which the municipality pertains, and the representatives of the municipality by the municipal council of the municipal district in question.

"When the manager has been named

by the municipal council, on proposal of the examining board, he cannot be removed except by a decision of the competent judicial authority or by popular will, always for the reasons and with the formalities to be established by law.

"The municipal council, in this form of government, shall be composed of six councilmen when the population of the municipality does not exceed 20,000 inhabitants; of fourteen when it is more than 20,000 but does not exceed 100,000; and of twenty-eight when it exceeds 100,000 inhabitants; all directly elected by the people for a term of four years."

Council-Manager Plan News

The Town Plan Commission of **Thompsonville, Connecticut,** in accordance with its duty to recommend programs for public improvements, has this year urged a change to council-manager government. The *Thompsonville Press* recounts the advantages of a trained manager to administer the recently adopted annual budget, exceeding $600,000.

In **Richmond, Virginia,** T. Coleman Andrews, former city comptroller, addressing the Civic Forum on October 7, urged the adoption of the council-manager plan. The *Richmond Times-Dispatch,* which is on record as favoring the manager plan, doubts that the present time is opportune, commends the recent election of Mayor Ambler as a victory for administrative reform, and suggests waiting for a referendum on a single-chamber council to replace the present bicameral body, which now has such a measure before it, and until central purchasing and other proposed changes have been made.

A recent decision of the New York Court of Appeals has blocked the November 5 vote in **Johnstown, New York,** on an amendment to its charter providing the manager plan and P.R. The courts decided that the proposals constituted a new charter and should have been submitted as such and not as an amendment.[1]

The cities of **Lachine** and **Malartic, Quebec,** are now operating under the council-manager plan.

A governmental survey of the town of **Brookline, Massachusetts,** made over a period of nine months, has resulted in recommendations of the town manager plan, elimination of eleven elective boards and administrative officers, and reduction of the size of the present representative town meeting from 243 members elected from precincts (plus ex-officio members, making a total of 265) to one hundred or less (minimum thirty) elected at large; the town meeting would make appropriations but the elective board of selectmen would be the legislative and governmental body of continuous activity and responsibility, and would appoint the manager, town clerk, town counsel, and five advisory boards. A town moderator would also be elected by the people.

The present administrative functions of selectmen would be centralized in the manager or "chief administrative officer," in charge of eight departments: finance, taxation, public welfare, public health, police, fire, public works, and education. The revamped town meeting would take over investigating activities of its present advisory committee of thirty-seven members, which would be abolished.

The report, prepared by Public Administration Service, was released September 25 and has aroused much discussion.

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[1] See also page 760.

The League's Business

National Conference at Springfield

The League's forty-sixth annual National Conference on Government to be held November 18, 19, and 20 at Springfield, Massachusetts, will include several departures from past practices.

After the opening luncheon and general session on Monday, there will be a mass meeting at the municipal auditorium which will be addressed by President C. A. Dykstra and by Newbold Morris, president of the council of New York City. Students of Mount Holyoke College, under the direction of the departments of political science and English speech, will present a dramatic demonstration, "Proportional Representation—The Key to Democracy." The mass meeting will be a citizens' rally sponsored by the Springfield Taxpayers' Association, the organization which is host to the conference.

Governor Harold E. Stassen of Minnesota and Former Governor John G. Winant of New Hampshire, director of the International Labor Office, will speak at the annual League banquet Tuesday evening at the Hotel Kimball, where all sessions except the rally will be held. Governor Stassen's address will be broadcast over a national hook-up of the Columbia Broadcasting System.

In recognition of the frequently expressed objections to having many group sessions in progress simultaneously, these have been limited so that there will be only four meeting at a time on Tuesday and Wednesday mornings.

The contribution of women to progress in civic affairs will be emphasized at a luncheon Tuesday noon at which Miss Dorothy Crook, director of legislative program, National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs; Mrs. LaFell Dickinson, vice-president, National Federation of Women's Clubs, and Miss Florence L. Harrison, vice-president, Connecticut League of Women Voters, will represent their organizations as speakers.

Among other persons who will speak or participate in round table sessions are Mayor R. L. Putnam of Springfield, G. Lyle Belsley, Advisory Commission to Council of National Defense; Mark Matthews, president, United States Junior Chamber of Commerce; Herman B. Wells, president, Indiana University; Alonzo G. Grace, commissioner of education, Connecticut; Norman MacDonald, executive director, Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers' Associations; Allen H. Seed, Jr., president, National Association of Civic Secretaries; Thomas H. Reed, municipal consultant; Karl Detzer, roving editor, *Reader's Digest;* Daniel D. Mich, New York editor, *Look;* C. D. Jackson, president, Council for Democracy, and a hundred or more others.

General sessions will be held on the two afternoons of the conference, one on "The Fight for Good Government," Monday; the other on "The Reawakening of American Citizenship," Tuesday. Group sessions and round tables will include "The Merit System Advances," "Clinic on American Self-Government," "Proportional Representation," "New Developments in Municipal Finance," "State-Local Relations in Personnel," "The Press and Democracy's Crisis," and "Urban Decentralization."

A "Civic Clinic" will be conducted Monday morning, prior to the opening of the conference, by the National Association of Civic Secretaries. A number of civic organization officials will speak and Allen H. Seed, Jr., president, will preside.

League's President Honored

The League's president, C. A. Dykstra, president of the University of Wisconsin, has recently been appointed Director of the Selective Service by President Roosevelt. Mr. Dykstra has been granted leave of absence by the university to take up his new duties at Washington.

1940 Baldwin Prize Awarded

Ruth Ittner of the University of Washington is winner of the $100 Baldwin Prize Essay Contest. Miss Ittner's subject was "The Seattle Budget."

Honorable mention has been given to Jack I. Stone, University of Chicago, writing on "Recent Political Trends in Kansas City, Missouri"; John L. Perentesis, Wayne University, "Control and Administration of Low Cost Housing in Detroit"; and Nellie Edwards, Vanderbilt University, "Planning Municipal Services for a Shifting Population in Metropolitan Nashville."

Judges in the contest included Carter W. Atkins, director of the Hartford Governmental Research Institute; James K. Pollock, University of Michigan; and Paul A. Volcker, Town Manager of Teaneck, New Jersey.

President Dykstra Announces Citizenship Program

On behalf of the League President Dykstra recently announced a nation-wide program of coöperation between educational institutions and citizen organizations to increase the effectiveness of American self-government.

"I believe it is an outstanding contribution to the improvement of American self-government," he said. "It provides for the mobilization of vast resources of educational institutions and civic organizations, which is just as important as military preparedness in the defense of the democratic process."

The program has developed out of the national conference of more than thirty national citizens organizations and two hundred educational institutions held at Indiana University in May 1940,[1] which asked the National Municipal League to take responsibility for assembling a program as a basis for coöperative effort by colleges and citizen groups.

By bringing together citizens organizations and colleges, Mr. Dykstra explained, the program will:

1. Make possible more intelligent action at the polls in local, state, and national elections, and increase public knowledge of improved processes of democratic government;
2. Put the colleges at the disposal of citizen groups in each local area to furnish unbiased information, which many such groups now lack, on important public problems;

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[1] See National Municipal Review, June 1940, p. 356-358.

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

One Way to Pay for Defense

HOW ARE we going to pay for the national defense program? Borrowed money? New taxes? Cutting out existing waste and extravagance?

It will probably be a combination of all or at least of the first two. The third, cutting out needless expense, as a family or a business does when faced with emergency needs, seems logical but none the less most difficult of attainment.

Still, it could be done. Slowly and painfully, it is being done—in spots. Those bright spots have set a pattern which proves conclusively the possibility of saving, by this means, enough to pay the defense bill.

How much would we have to save? We are led to believe the defense program will cost about twenty-five billion dollars. By issuing 2½ per cent bonds on a serial annuity basis, it would cost the government $881,451,000 a year to finance a debt of this size and retire it in fifty years. This should be a logical, probable cost even without considering that part of this defense bill may represent normal army and navy operating costs and part of it may be paid for in special taxes.

Could we eliminate enough waste and unnecessary existing expense to make up this financing cost of less than a billion a year?

We could—in local, county, and state governments alone.

It isn't solely a matter of big city politicians who wax wealthy on moderate public incomes. Bad as that is, it represents only a small part of the leakage from the public purse.

Many cities, big and little, a few counties, and several states have succeeded in organizing and operating along lines which are comparatively non-political and outstandingly resultful. They have wrought no magic; they have simply made it possible for the fundamental wishes of their people to be carried out without the usual interference by special interests.

Efficient organization, centralized responsibility, purchasing systems which assure the payment of fair prices and which frustrate the high-pressure selling of unneeded or too costly equipment, hiring of competent public employees on the basis of merit rather than as rewards for political service—these are all well known and universally accepted elements of good government.

While their installation is most important because they abate cynical indifference and restore popular faith in self-government, it is especially important now because they save money and lots of it.

One city of half a million saved about a million dollars a year. A smaller city cut operating expenses three-quarters of a million dollars a year. Scores of others, big and little, have cut from 5 to 20 per cent out of annual costs.

It is remarkable and encouraging to find that, in nearly every case, these economies have brought progress and improvement of services, not injury.

Multiply these savings by the number of communities and counties and states where such progressive measures are ignored or prevented by self-seeking individuals and groups, and there would be more than enough to meet the present emergency.

In principle, the vast majority of the people favor these improvements. The confusion of the average voter, lack of adequate leadership, and failure to recognize the comparative importance of local affairs are the chief reasons why the majority has so frequently been frustrated by entrenched but well organized minorities which always know what they want and are very certain what they don't want.

This is a peculiarly appropriate time to realize that our local communities are the fountain springs of everything we are and have as a nation. They are the roots and the heart of our entire system—tax revenue, political organization, leadership; indeed, everything goes from the bottom up, not from the top down. Or if it doesn't, it should.

This is the time to discard attitudes such as are expressed, with an indifferent shrug, by such reactions as "Well, that's politics for you," or "You have to expect a certain amount of deviltry in a democracy."

That's what they used to say in France, too.

LEAGUE'S BUSINESS

(Continued from Page 711)

3. Provide a pattern of attack, which can be applied locally in the democratic manner, to deal with the pressing problems democracy faces.

Under the program it is suggested that communities may want to establish citizens' councils as coördinating agencies of citizen groups in each area. This step leads to concentration of citizen efforts on specific public questions, including defense. And it provides unified citizen leadership in each community, which can coöperate effectively with the colleges.

Each community, it was suggested, can undertake projects of its own selection and such projects suggested for national emphasis as:

1. Application within school systems of best practices in civic education which will lead to a better understanding of American democracy;
2. Poll of youth opinion to show the needs of young people in each locality and their reactions to important public questions;
3. Citizenship training program for new voters and the induction of twenty-one-year-olds into the privilege and duties of citizenship.[2]
4. Adoption of improved techniques of local, state, and national government which have proved in operation that they increase the efficiency and effectiveness of democratic self-government.

Howard P. Jones, *Secretary*

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[2] See "Citizenship Day in Manitowoc," by S. V. Norton, National Municipal Review, July 1939, pp. 499-508.

Business Women in a Democracy

National woman's organization wholeheartedly accepts "Making Democracy Work" as 1940's keynote for study program of local clubs.

By JOSEPHINE NELSON

The National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc.

NONE could have been more surprised than officials of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs and the staff workers in the New York headquarters (who together evolved it with advice from hundreds of state leaders over the country) when the organization's program book for 1940-1941, *Making Democracy Work,*[1] seemed to be making a real impression outside the 73,000 membership.

Trying to translate the stuff of which American life is made into words is a humbling experience. Trying to make those words so vivid that they will stir 1,600 groups of business and professional women to improve democratic processes in their several communities is apt to deflate the ego entirely. When the little red, white, and blue "digest-size" booklet came from the printer, nobody knew whether or not it was good.

And, besides, it was then almost that terrifying time to set going the laborious democratic machinery by which the 1941-42 focus for federation endeavors is to be chosen. I suppose the stoutest heart would quail before the task of deciding now, in our chaotic world, the logical next step for business and professional women who are this year striving to "make democracy work"!

Then encouragement commenced to be offered. A Harvard professor, for example, was asked to write an article for the federation magazine, *Independent Woman,* on propaganda that would help the clubs in their October programs on "Voting Intelligently."

He replied: "Until I read your booklet, I was inclined to turn down your request. [The magazine's budget permits only very modest honoraria.] But I became so enthusiastic about your work after reading your booklet that I decided I should help you. As a student of public relations work I must compliment you. I have seen few, if any, superior jobs. . . . "

And, for a second example, came the invitation to write this description of the program for the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

First, it is probably important to point out that the booklet in patriotic hues is one of a series of "program books," and that a focus for study and programs of all business and professional women's clubs in the country has been recommended each year since 1934.

For some years after the federation was launched in St. Louis in 1919 it concerned itself with increasing opportunities for the earning woman. Then it became evident to these women, who had gone out in the business and professional world in such numbers during the war years, that their status and opportunities were inevitably linked with general economic, political, and social conditions.

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[1] See also "Citizen Groups Organize Schools for Voters," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, September 1940, p. 617.

A majority of the federation's policy makers had adopted this broader gauge view by 1931. That year the biennial convention at Richmond, Virginia, adopted a "Ten-Year Objective" that read:

A BROAD PROGRAM

"During the next decade the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc., should fit itself to assume real leadership in thinking on economic problems and their social implications, with a view toward helping in the establishment, through scientific methods, of conditions which assure to women, and to men as well, the fullest possible opportunity and reward for the development of whatever capacities they may possess."

A sixty-seven-word star for the clubs to hitch their wagons to! But the need for sturdy coupling rods and pins was evident from the beginning. Feeling about for a way to provide them, the staff offered the national board meeting of 1934 the idea of suggesting that clubs build their serious programs for the following year around "Economic Security for All." The idea was approved by the national officers.

In 1935 "Women Unite for Effective Democracy" was chosen; in 1936, "The Business Woman as Citizen"; in 1937, "Our Town's Business"; in 1938, "My Business and Yours." In 1939 it was decided that in odd years when the biennial conventions were held a theme should be selected to dominate a biennium, and "Making Democracy Work" is only a subtitle, as it were, under the focus, "Business Women in a Democracy," chosen in 1939.

Obviously, any one of the themes could cover the waterfront, and some of the earlier month-by-month suggestions for developing them pretty nearly did. The clubs wailed, "too hard!" or "too much!" They still do. For with the complexity of problems to be faced in the world increasing like compound interest, it is hard to slim down and simplify the approach to their local outcroppings.

There has been intense effort this year, however, to popularize the language of the program book, and translate as many ideas as possible into action suggestions.

"Can human freedom, can kindliness, tolerance, and mercy survive the forces of hate and destruction that are marching, marching in the world today?" asks its foreword. "America must have the heart to believe that they will. More, she must have the mind to realize that they can. Above all, she must have the energy, the will to work, *to see that they do.*

"This conviction is a deep-seated and sincere one among members of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs. Their wholehearted acceptance of 'Making Democracy Work' as the 1940 keynote of the biennium study of 'Business Women in a Democracy' proves the strength of their belief. The board of directors and some five hundred state committee chairmen, individually consulted by the national program chairman, [this portion is quoted to explain the laborious democratic process followed] are in agreement on the point that women must participate more vitally, more intelligently in the everyday mechanisms of government if the people's rights to 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness' are to prevail—if they are to weather the storms coming toward us from *within* as well as *without* our country.

"To aid clubs in coming to grips with the problems in their own communities, this program book of month-by-month suggestions has been prepared with the advice of a group of experts in governmental, economic, and sociologic fields." (Which advice-getting was another important step in the book's preparation.)

THE SEASON'S PROGRAM

Then, after two pages given over to getting a club started, working on the program, and slipping the different committee activities into gear, there is the month-by-month breakdown of the theme, with a color strip to set off the first page of each, as follows:

September—Facing the 1940 Issues
October—Voting Intelligently
November—Our Government
December—Goodwill (the clubs are encouraged to concentrate on social affairs, taking into account refugees and foreign-born)
January—Helping to Shape Legislation
February—Considering the Price of Peace
March—Evaluating Government Services
April—Weighing Government's Cost
May—Taking Stock

After the months' sections, ranging from two to eight pages each depending upon how much illustrative and diagrammatic material is needed, comes an appendix. Here are assembled a number of interesting matters—such as a description of how to set up a school for voters, a "Know Your Government IQ Bee," and an outline of the federation's legislative machine—that required so much space it was thought they would confuse the progression of the months if full details were put in the place where each was suggested.

Each month's suggestions grow naturally out of the subject matter itself. As many as five possible programs are offered some months (with great emphasis upon the fact that they are *alternative* ideas, and not all to be undertaken at once) and it would be impossible to suggest them all here.

But, this being November, let us take a look at how the November section on "Our Government" is developed, by way of illustration.

"You went to the polls. You voted. Are you figuratively dusting off your hands in a 'well, that's that!' gesture? Suppose, instead, that you had gone to the store. You bought something. Aren't you going to *look* at it now that you've brought it home? Don't you expect to *use* it? Aren't you going to see whether you have got good value?"

So begins a page offered as possible introductory remarks of the chairman in any of the plans for meetings. There are five choices offered in November.

Alternative A is on "Charting the Local Government." The club's public affairs chairman is advised to ask a local civics or social science teacher to lead the meeting. "Let her talk from a blackboard showing a chart of the local government, its appointive and elective officers, its most important departments, and the interlocking devices that make it an efficient unit." There are a number of other specific details. Or, explains the booklet, the same material may be presented through a symposium.

Alternative B undertakes to "air a town problem." The meeting should lead to a program of action, states the booklet.

Alternative C is a comparison through discussion of the mayor-council, commission, and city manager plans of government.

Alternative D offers "A Know Your Government IQ Bee" which is detailed in the appendix.

Alternative E is an "Inter-Club IQ Bee" adapting Alternative D to a cooperative effort among groups.

There are then *Additional Suggestions* for clubs that in previous years may have examined their local governments intently. And—of no little importance—each month's section in the program book carries its reference list. Books are listed. Addresses are given of organizations that are sources for information on each month's topic—thus, November's "Our Government" cites the National Municipal League, the United States Conference of Mayors, the Public Administration Service, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, and state and local governments.

Probably the references most used are those found in the "Program Kit." Since 76 per cent of the federation members live in towns of less than 50,000 population and 27 per cent in towns under 5,000, it seemed reasonable to assume that available library facilities would often be inadequate. Hence each year for several years a miniature library of the most recent material available in booklet or reprint form bearing upon the different months' topics has been asembled and sold to the clubs at cost.

The clubs are under no compulsion to buy this library, but it is worthy of note that with only 655 sold last year, this year 850 three-dollar kits have been purchased by the clubs.

Finally, almost every issue of *Independent Woman* contains at least one article offering supplementary material on the following month's program.

So much by way of suggesting the practical usable way in which program aids are offered.

EVIDENCE OF SUCCESS

The proof of the pudding? That time-honored "eating" test is a little hard to apply, since until this year the stress in developing the federation programs has always been on study rather than on action, and at first it seemed impossible to check how much study was going on. However, of the 1,594 clubs in the federation last spring, 1,174 in forty-five states and Hawaii reported that they were using at least some part of the national program suggestions. And a thousand and one evidences are to be seen of the growing civic consciousness and increasingly effective citizenship of business and professional women. No one case offers high drama. But in the aggregate the change of emphasis in activities is impressive. The business and professional women's clubs have climbed out of the society columns and become front-page news in the local press from coast to coast.

While there is no real gauge for the benefit to Columbus, Ohio, from this event described in the local paper of March 29, 1940, everyone will agree the benefit exists:

"The church, the school, government, and the community were discussed point by point in a two-hour symposium at the annual public affairs dinner sponsored by the Business and Professional Women's Club last night at the Neil House. Factors that contribute to the building of Columbus of Tomorrow was the general theme." Leaders of other women's groups were invited—350 women altogether—to talk about such matters.

At many of these public affairs dinners, sponsored by federation clubs throughout the country in the past few years, the coöperation and participation of men's as well as women's organizations is secured. The club in East Liverpool, Ohio, for example, felt so great a challenge in last year's program that they did not wish to confine its benefits to club members. With democracy as the general theme, forum meetings open to the general public were organized and continued throughout the winter at popular demand.

There has been considerable stress on developing participating citizens through encouraging participation of members in club meetings. Business and professional women, in other words, have been encouraged to dispense with speakers from the outside, to whom they listen passively, in favor of meetings which members themselves stage in group discussion or symposium form, after getting facts through original research. Success along this line is reported from Alexandria, Louisiana:

"Our particular pride is membership participation; practically every member has appeared on at least one program. Largest participation—thirteen members helped to develop the January theme, 'Business and Government Grow Up in our Country,' with stimulating discussion following. The most general discussion followed presentation of 'Economic Ills of the South'."

Reported the club in El Dorado, Arkansas, of last year's work: "Our already lively interest in public affairs was increased by the theme study. The members kept in touch with political affairs and tried to vote intelligently, maintained a club membership in the El Dorado Chamber of Commerce, and coöperated with other civic organizations."

The Tennessee federation sponsored "Citizenship Day," April 25, to honor young men and women of the state approaching their twenty-first birthdays and assist in training them for citizenship responsibilities. A series of essay contests was arranged.

CLUBS IN ACTION

No doubt business and professional women can profit from much, much more such study of civic affairs, especially that shared with the entire community. And the study angle is not now being overlooked, as the samples of material in *Making Democracy Work* indicate. But with democracy going down to defeat over a rapidly widening area of the earth's surface, this year it seemed wise to steer the federation toward action in so far as possible.

Business and professional women have always taken kindly to action in fields they considered their own. Clubs have offered vocational information to young women, taken up the problems of the older unemployed women, established libraries and "bookmobiles," parks, playgrounds, day nurseries, baby clinics, and health centers, collected funds for milk or shoes or glasses or clothing for needy school children, endowed hospital beds, aided the work of other organizations such as the Red Cross, and so on ad infinitum from one end of the country to the other. And who shall say all these activities do not further the functioning of democratic processes?

Will business and professional women be equally effective in a direct attack upon the ills of democracy?

It remains to be seen. With the dual purpose of stimulating clubs to make practical application of this year's program in their communities, and to report those activities back to headquarters, a contest has been announced with prizes offered "the two clubs initiating and reporting before June 1, 1941, the best achievement during the coming year in the field of local government."

The announcement in the September *Independent Woman* suggested as possible contest projects:

"Perhaps the establishment of improved election procedures. Perhaps a campaign to oust a dishonest government official. Perhaps definite steps to improve the form of local government, such as a campaign for city manager or council. Perhaps arrangements to train young people for careers in public service. Or a series of seminars on aspects of efficiency in local government, sponsored by club and other organizations; or adoption or improvement of the merit system; or investigation of the qualifications of candidates for local offices, with suitable publicity."

JUDGES FOR CONTEST

Eminent leaders have thought well enough of the contest to promise coöperation, and the judges next June when the reports come in will be Clarence A. Dykstra, president of the University of Wisconsin and of the National Municipal League and recently appointed National Director of Selective Service; Mrs. Walter T. Fisher of Winnetka, Illinois, treasurer of the National League of Women Voters; and Sevellon L. Brown, editor of the *Providence Journal*.

Business and professional women are under no illusions about their ability *alone* to "make democracy work" in their communities. In some places they may be able to initiate needed changes. In far more, increased understanding from study of community problems will impel them to coöperate intelligently in betterment programs others have begun. We shall "make democracy work" in communities everywhere, and in the nation as a whole, only when all men and women of good will who are capable of thought set their minds and hearts to the task.

Detroit—A Tale of Two Cities

Michigan city's metropolitan area extends not only into three adjoining counties but also crosses international boundary lines.

By **LAURENCE MICHELMORE**
Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research

THERE are two Detroits. One is an economic and social community of over two million persons, living in an area of some 750 square miles. The other is the legal city, which includes within its boundaries only three-fourths of these persons and but one-fifth of the area.

Detroit is, of course, not unique in this respect. The same condition exists in nearly every large population center in the country, with consequences that are familiar to all persons interested in local government.

Indeed, the resulting problem is probably not so acute in Detroit as in most other large metropolitan communities. A larger proportion of the total population is included in the central city and the remaining population is organized in a smaller number of governmental units. In comparison with the 1,600 units in the Chicago area, for example, Detroit is flanked by twenty-two cities, twenty-three townships, and twenty-four villages. Two of the cities, Highland Park and Hamtramck, are completely surrounded by Detroit. Parts of three counties and about a hundred school districts are included in the area.

A distinctive feature in the case of Detroit is that the metropolitan area crosses an international boundary and includes several Canadian municipalities in addition to those already mentioned. The Detroit area is also characterized by an extremely rapid population increase in recent years, especially from 1920 to 1930, due to the amazing growth of the automobile industry.

Many attempts have been made to adjust the governmental institutions of the area so that they might cope more effectively with the problems which must be met. As in other metropolitan areas attempts have included annexation, the creation of special authorities, intermunicipal co-operation, and the transfer of activities to larger governmental units.

Until recently annexation proved a fairly effective means of adjusting the governmental boundaries to the rapid growth of the region. The area annexed to Detroit in recent decades has been as follows:

	SQUARE MILES ANNEXED
1891-1900	7.09
1901-1910	13.23
1911-1920	38.48
1921-1930	59.65
1931-1940	0.00

No area has been annexed to Detroit since 1926, and there seems to be little prospect of any further adjustment by this method in the near future, as the adjacent areas are well developed political units.

The special metropolitan authority has not yet been an important factor in the government of the Detroit area. Constitutional and statutory provision has been made for such agencies, but in most cases little has been accomplished, at least until the present.

After a campaign of several years' duration the state constitution was amended in 1927 and legislation enacted in 1929 to provide that metropolitan districts might be created for the operation of parks, sewage disposal, drainage, water supply, or transportation facilities. It may be noted that these are all engineering rather than social or protective functions in spite of urging at the time that broader authority be given. Before this legislation was enacted the area had almost reached the peak of its growth. The most pressing problems had already been met in other ways, principally by the city of Detroit undertaking to provide essential services to its neighbors. For this reason, and because of shortcomings of the enabling act, no metropolitan district has been created under this authority.

PORT DISTRICT FSTABLISHED

Permission to establish port districts was originally given by a legislative act of 1925. After several years of discussion, a Port of Detroit Commission was established. Composed of five persons appointed by the governor, the commission has authority to make harbor improvements and to provide transfer and terminal facilities for the port. Until this year expenses of the commission's rather limited program have been met by the WPA, but an appropriation from Wayne County funds is being requested for the next fiscal year.

The most recent proposal for a special metropolitan authority appeared on the ballot in the November election in the five counties around Detroit.[1] If approved by the voters of two or more counties, a Huron-Clinton Metropolitan Authority will be established, to be governed by a board of commissioners consisting of one person selected by the board of supervisors of each county and two persons appointed by the governor. It will be possible for this agency to plan and develop parks, particularly along the Huron and Clinton Rivers, connecting drives and limited access highways. A special tax of not more than one-quarter mill per dollar may be levied for these purposes. The need for additional park space is generally acknowledged. Opposition is based on the method of financing, which would aggravate a financial problem already acute because of a constitutional over-all tax limitation of 15 mills. The basis of representation in the governing body is also questioned by Wayne County (Detroit) which has the great bulk of the population and would supply almost all the funds.

If this agency is approved, and if the Port of Detroit Commission increases its activity, the special district may yet become a significant type of agency in the government of the Detroit area. So far other devices have been more important.

A number of metropolitan problems have been met by extra-territorial action by Detroit, or by formal or informal agreements between municipalities in the area.

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[1] Since this issue of the REVIEW goes to press before election reports are available, the results of this referendum will appear in December.

For example, several municipalities adjacent to Detroit are served by the Detroit municipal street railway system. The Detroit water department supplies water to about 325,000 persons in eleven neighboring cities, twelve villages, and parts of thirteen townships. Detroit parks and other public recreational facilities are used by residents of other municipalities in the area. The Detroit Zoo is located several miles outside Detroit limits, and is even in another county. Coöperative relationships have been worked out between several Detroit departments and other nearby agencies. The Detroit police department supplies information about wanted persons, makes its fingerprint file available, and otherwise aids other localities. Some coördination has been achieved in planning for major street improvements and in traffic regulation.

In addition to the surface transportation afforded outside the Detroit limits, the Detroit Transit Commission has authority also to plan and construct rapid transit facilities ten miles beyond the city boundaries. This commission has been unsuccessful, however, in its attempts to secure federal aid for financing a subway or elevated transportation system, and is at present inactive.

The transfer of activities from smaller units to the counties has reduced the number of agencies performing similar or parallel services in the region. Outstanding examples are two of the most expensive of present local government functions—roads and welfare.

Until a few years ago the construction and maintenance of roads and highways in Michigan was very decentralized. The state, counties, villages, and townships were all responsible for some of the street and highway mileage. Township roads have now been transferred to the counties. Cities and villages still control most of the street mileage within their boundaries. Some of the more important municipal streets, however, are known as state or county roads and are maintained by state and county agencies.

WELFARE ADMINISTRATION

Prior to January 1940, welfare administration was similarly decentralized. Welfare and relief activities throughout Michigan have been organized on a county basis since that date. The public assistance programs which are aided by the federal government are administered on a county basis, but are actually subdivisions of a state agency. General relief is nominally and really under county control. Detroit, because of its tremendous welfare problem, is considered as a separate county for welfare purposes, and maintains its own department.

Counties of over 300,000 population were granted permission to develop and operate water supply and sewage disposal facilities by the state legislature in the 1939 session. The population limit restricts the application of this act at present to Wayne County, which is developing sewage disposal facilities and constructing water mains in the out-county area.

In some cases counties perform other activities which relieve the smaller municipalities of providing services. In the case of Wayne

County a rather extensive system of parks is maintained, library services are offered, and the county sheriff and state police augment the work of the smaller police forces. The county provides teletype service for the local law enforcement agencies. The county also aids local assessing officials in securing some uniformity in their assessing practices.

The assumption of an increasing number of functions by the county, and the fact that Wayne County includes about 90 per cent of the residents of the Detroit metropolitan area, suggest that the most practicable solution for the government of this region lies in the gradual transfer of more and more activities to the county until the need for the numerous smaller units no longer exists.[2]

COUNTY REORGANIZED

Before this can be accomplished, however, there is widespread agreement that the organization of county government must be almost completely revamped. At present county government in Michigan is extremely disorganized. There is no chief executive or administrator in whom responsibility can be centralized. The chief legislative body is a board of supervisors, with ex officio representation from each township and city in the county. The Wayne County board now consists of 152 members which is unwieldy to say the least. The number is increased every time a new city is organized or a village is reorganized as a city. Detroit residents are particularly critical of the fact that they pay about 77 per cent of the county's taxes, yet have such limited representation on the board of supervisors that the organization of another out-county village as a city would deprive them of their present slight majority. Many of the county departments and agencies are headed by separately elected officials who are virtually independent of the rest of the county as a consequence.

Because many of the weaknesses of present county government in Michigan are due to provisions in the state constitution, it appears that revision of the fundamental law is a prerequisite for any substantial improvement. Attempts in this direction have been made for the last twenty years, culminating in the submission of "county home rule" amendments to the electorate in 1934 and again in 1936.[3] Both proposals were defeated, although they received a favorable vote in the urban counties. However, the total negative vote was great enough (61 per cent in 1934, 56 per cent in 1936) to discourage submission of another amendment which would apply to all counties in the state.

Some thought has been given to an amendment which would apply only to the larger counties, or perhaps to Wayne County alone. This might be done by restricting the application to counties of 100,000 population or more—or to counties of 300,000 or more which would eliminate all but

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[2] J. M. Leonard, and L. D. Upson, *The Government of the Detroit Metropolitan Area,* 1934.

[3] See Arthur W. Bromage, "Bringing County and Township Up to Date in Michigan," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, February 1939, pp. 134-142.

New Orleans Leads in Consolidation

First steps for coordination of city and parish governments taken as early as 1813; city has had few metropolitan area difficulties.

By S. S. SHEPPARD and L. L. MOAK
Bureau of Governmental Research of New Orleans

NEW ORLEANS' talent for the unusual and even bizarre is by no means limited to its food, architecture, or even the antique shops of Royal and Chartres Streets. In the city archives, for example, can be found traces of almost any form of city government in the textbooks and some that are not in the books at all.

Thus, the textbooks notwithstanding, a plausible case can be made for the occurrence in New Orleans of one of the first, if not the first, city-county consolidations. Likewise it can be maintained that New Orleans had the commission form of government three decades before Galveston "invented" it.

Determining the beginnings of consolidation of city and parish (county) governments is as difficult as learning from a suitor just when he first began to fall in love.

Consolidation has long been and still is the natural condition in Orleans Parish. Settlement of the city, generally speaking, was never sparse, starting from the closely settled Vieux Carre and extending later across the canal (now Canal Street) to the Garden District and later to uptown and Carrollton on the one hand, and downtown on the other. There were some plantations, of course, but these were subdivided rapidly as the "American" portion of the city expanded.

Dependence of the city on its port commerce, its relative isolation by land because of river, lake, and swamps, the French method of colonization, levee and drainage problems —all these and other elements conspired to prevent sparse settlement and extensive metropolitan areas outside the city limits.

Consolidation was natural. In fact the complete separation of city and parish governments would have been much more difficult to maintain than consolidation.

The parish, of course, has roots running back of the Louisiana Purchase and, after a brief experiment along superficial "county" lines following American acquisition, the parish rapidly acquired the functions exercised by counties elsewhere.

The city of New Orleans was incorporated in 1805. Two years later its precincts were recognized as a parish in determining supreme court circuits, and in 1809 settlements on both sides of the river were combined into a parish.

As early as 1813, however, the movement toward consolidation gained headway in legislation providing that "the authority of the police jury (county commission or board of supervisors) of the parish of

Orleans shall not extend to the city of New Orleans within its present limits. . . . "

This then constitutes an early "consolidation by separation." Parish government was excluded from New Orleans and the city was empowered "to exercise within said [city] limits the functions committed by law to police juries." As usual the sheriff and a few others escaped the consolidation.

MEANDERING

Complications soon entered the picture, however, in a bewildering series of changes that can be only partially described here. An attempt to reinstall parish-wide government was made in 1822, but just two years later only the powers of taxation and appropriation were left to the police jury (county board). The police jurors outside New Orleans acted for the territory outside while matters of levees, public works, and "policing of slaves" in New Orleans were reserved to the city council.

The height of confusion was reached in 1836 when a federal system of three municipalities was set up on the left bank of the river (comprising all of the then existing city). Under this system each municipality had its own municipal council, which councils combined in a general council for consideration of city-wide matters. A mayor was elected at large. A final touch was added in 1840 when a separate police jury was formed for the right bank of the river.

COMMISSION FORM BEFORE ITS "BIRTH"

Events then took a turn toward a more reasonable setup. In 1846 the police jury was abolished on the left bank (city portion) of the Mississippi and its power of taxation went, strangely enough, to the three municipalities in the city rather than to the general council.

Six years later the three municipalities were consolidated and a bicameral council established. This process of simplification then proceeded until 1870 brought the final consolidation, which has continued to this day. The police jury on the right bank of the Mississippi was abandoned. Just to make sure of the consolidation, the law subjected to a fine any police juror who sought to continue any exercise of authority.

Most interestingly the legislature in 1870 set up for New Orleans a virtual commission form of government—and this, three decades before the Galveston disaster is supposed to have led to the formulation of the commission plan of government.

The city was governed by seven administrators—one to head each of the following departments: finance, commerce, improvements, assessments, police, public accounts, and waterworks and public buildings.

This form of government lasted for twelve years, followed by thirty years of the aldermanic form. Finally the commission form was re-established in 1912—to which the city still clings despite the parade of municipal progress up other streets.

EXTENT OF CONSOLIDATION

Throughout its varied history New Orleans legislative powers have been vested in the city council; even when the police jury existed within the city (1822-1846) its ordinance-making powers were quite limited. The police juries have had only residual powers, often merely that of general taxation. Public works have likewise been left almost entirely to the city for decades and remain so today. Finance is entirely a city function as well as budgetary control; the latter however is weakened with respect to courts and a few remaining parochial (county) offices by special laws of the legislature, particularly where the state bears a share of the cost.

Schools are under the elected Orleans Parish School Board, but although its members are parish officials, the situation in actual operation is the exact counterpart of any city school system with an elected board.

Assessing, utility control, health, fire, markets, tax collection for city, schools, and some independent boards, waste and garbage collection—in fact most of the functions are carried on under the direction of the mayor and council or the independent boards with which the city is over-blessed. The sheriffs (New Orleans has two, a civil sheriff and a criminal sheriff) still continue as parish officers but are primarily officers of the courts and not law enforcement officers in competition with city police. Most of the court officers might be construed as parish officers as well as the district attorney, coroner, recorder of mortgages, and register of conveyances.

The differentiation is, however, more technical and legal than actual. The man on the street, if he is aware of any difference, thinks of New Orleans as a parish and city as a natural situation, seldom if ever questioned. The presence of some parish officials independent of the mayor and council is not unusual in a setup with so many separate boards, commissions, and agencies. (Three city boards are self-perpetuating and one of them has not encountered the democratic process in more than half a century.)

THE RESULTS

The writers of this article have no intention of falling into the common error of ascribing too much importance to the form of government in appraising its results. All too often where city-county consolidation is found alongside well run government, the lazy, but not necessarily accurate, conclusion is likely to be that consolidation has brought about the progress made.

Conversely no blame can be placed necessarily on consolidation for the obvious lag in the government of New Orleans behind many other cities.

Here is a city which has lived under numerous flags, a city originally of French and Spanish settlement. Its laws, traditions, and background vary greatly from those of most other large cities. The economic, educational, and racial problems of the city and region are well known. Politically it has again and again been the football of state politics. As the largest city of the south it is in a relatively isolated position from other large cities.

What sincere student of government would then try to correlate results with the form of government in such a case?

A static view of the operation of city-parish government would in many respects be dismal. The organization setup of the agencies is confused, illogical, and perhaps workable only under strong political organization. Personnel management, assessing methods, budgeting, purchasing, health administration, social services, and other functions leave a great deal to be desired. A view of the *trend* in recent years, however, is vastly more encouraging, and real progress is being made along many lines.

From the standpoint of parish-city consolidation, the union has been so natural that separation would be unnatural. The city is not plagued by the duplication, rivalry, and waste many metropolitan cities face in this respect, nor an artificial union. There has been no extensive suburban development to drain the life blood of the parent city. Land booms and rocketing population have not occurred for decades.

Given then its varied past, its present unusual stability, and its increasing interest in modern governmental methods, this city can carve out a real future for itself.

DETROIT—A TALE OF TWO CITIES

(Continued from Page 723)

Wayne County.[4]

At present, then, a comprehensive solution to the metropolitan problem awaits the reorganization of county government, at least of the county in which the problem is most acute. When any progress may be realized is entirely a matter of conjecture, although it seems likely that a further attempt will be made within the next two years.

Until a revised county structure permits the transfer of additional activities to that unit, the more serious effects of disintegration are being handled as the circumstances surrounding each case permit. It might be said that governmental processes are being adapted more and more to the governmental needs of the metropolitan community in this item-by-item fashion. There are serious shortcomings to this "process of adaptation," however, as it now functions:

1. It is slow. Adjustments are made, not at the earliest desirable moment, but only after a problem has become pressing.

2. Complete adaptation is not secured. When an adjustment takes place it is likely to be the least that is necessary under the circumstances rather than all that is desirable.

3. The means employed frequently provide temporary relief rather than a permanent solution.

4. The process lacks adequate planning and integration. Adjustments made are piecemeal rather than complete and comprehensive. Each specific problem is worked out without sufficient reference to the general social, economic, and governmental needs of the community.

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[4] See J. M. Leonard, "Michigan's County Government, 1938" in this Review, April, 1938, pp. 214-222.

New York Solves Transit Problems

City unifies its transit lines by purchase of privately-owned systems after twenty years of conflict with private interests.

By ARTHUR J. WATERMAN, JR.
New York University

THE idea of the unification of transit facilities in New York City is not new. At least as early as 1909 the desirability and necessity of a comprehensive and coördinated plan for transit development in the city was recognized.[1] But a unified and integrated development of its transit facilities is just what New York City was not able to attain prior to 1940. Instead, we had a picture of multiple ownership and operation, of competition among private transit groups and of competition between lines municipally owned and privately operated and those municipally owned and municipally operated.

Public regulation of private transportation companies had not brought about the desired development because of failure of that control resulting from division of authority between the state and city agencies involved. Eventually it was recognized that, as far as New York City was concerned, the only practicable solution lay in municipal ownership and operation of transit facilities.

The necessity for unification was first officially recognized by the state legislature in 1921. Its action was the outcome of an acutely critical transit situation that had developed in New York City during the years immediately preceding. As a result of the World War, operating costs of the transit companies had greatly increased, while their revenues had remained relatively stable on the basis of a fixed five-cent fare. The two operating companies under the dual contracts (Interborough Rapid Transit Company and New York Consolidated Railroad Company) had accumulated large deficits; the city was thus faced with the prospect of having to carry its funded subway debt for an indefinite period since it could hope for no revenue from the subways until the cumulative preferentials of the companies were paid. Additional rapid transit lines were badly needed, too, as well as a remedy for existing divided organization and control. Relief had thus become imperative—for the city, for the companies, and for the traveling public.

In 1921 Governor Miller urged prompt action to deal with the situation and maintained that a completely unified system of transportation in New York City was necessary for its future development. It was originally contemplated that unification plans should include all transportation lines within the city, but most of the proposals that have been made during the nearly twenty years of consideration of the problem have concerned themselves only with the rapid transit lines. Even when thus limited, unification remains a tremendous problem, especially from the financial angle. The combined investment of the city and the rapid transit companies in the dual system (not including the original company investments) and in the Independent system amounts to almost $1,500,000,000, of which the city's share is well over a billion dollars, and these lines carry more than three times as many passengers per year as all the steam railroads in the United States.[2]

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[1] *Cf.* address by Calvin Tomkins on New York City's transit problems in Reform Club, *Transit Problems* (1909), 20 p.

LOWER REVENUES

After 1921 other factors continually emphasized the desirability of unification for both the city and the rapid transit companies. The depression of the early 1930's brought about a decline in traffic. Although the total traffic figure for 1939 (including surface lines and buses as well as rapid transit lines) is only slightly below that for 1930, the decade has witnessed a steady decline of Interborough and Brooklyn-Manhattan rapid transit traffic, together with a decline in street railway traffic resulting from the development of bus competition.[3] The competition of the Independent subway lines has unquestionably been the most important factor in connection with loss of traffic suffered by the privately operated rapid transit lines (particularly the elevated lines), and the decline in earning power thus resulting strengthened the city's bargaining position with respect to the acquisition of the private lines for the purposes of unification.

Also, unification would make possible the acquisition and demolition in systematic fashion of the obsolete elevated roads without the necessity of long drawn-out condemnation proceedings as in the past. Coördination of the Independent system with the dual system lines was considered highly desirable in that it would probably help to reduce the annual burden of fixed charges currently met from taxes.[4]

In New York City the persistent existence of certain obstacles prevented the consummation of any plan for unification of the rapid transit facilities between 1921 and 1939. Among these obstacles we find a prominent rôle played by disagreement as to the details of the plans presented for consideration and by the lack of coöperation between the city and the Transit Commission. In addition there have been legal difficulties centering around the Interborough Rapid Transit Company receivership and the damage suit for $30,000,000 instituted by the Brooklyn-Manhattan Transit Corporation for alleged breach of contract No. 4. Finally, there has been the unsatisfactory financial condition of the city. Until 1939 it was unable to finance through its own resources under the constitutional debt limit the acquisition of the private properties included in the several unification proposals, and the attempt to do so indirectly without actually pledging the credit of the city by means of a Board of Transit Control was in no case found to be acceptable to private interests.

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[2] For 1939 the number of rapid transit passengers was 1,852,944,000.

[3] *Cf.* Regional Plan Association, Inc., "Present Trends Appraised on New York City Transit Lines and Suburban Railroads," *Information Bulletin* No. 48 (December 18, 1939), 8 pp.; and *New York Times,* January 22, 1940, p. 17, sec. 2, col. 8.

[4] That annual burden in 1939 amounted to about $34,000,000.

Theoretically, there were two methods of accomplishing unification: recapture and purchase. The city was given the right of recapture under both contracts 3 and 4. The exercise of this right, however, would not have given to the city exclusive ownership of all rapid transit facilities since the original elevateds and subways in Manhattan and the Bronx and the original Brooklyn-Manhattan Transit lines were not included. Also, controversy existed as to when the right of recapture commenced, and the actual attempt to exercise it would have encountered great difficulties. In fact, recapture would have been more disruptive than unifying in its effects.

TRANSIT COMMISSION REPORT

Negotiation and purchase was the alternative to recapture in attempting to accomplish unification, and it was this method that received the most intensive consideration in New York City. The main problems encountered have been the determination of the cost of unification and the method by which payment should be made for the lines. Let us now consider the powers granted by the act of 1921 to the Transit Commission in connection with unification and to the several plans that have been proposed in order to secure that goal.

After making the necessary studies and investigation the Transit Commission was to prepare a plan of readjustment for the relief of the emergency declared to exist and for the improvement of transit in the city. Such a plan was to secure: (1) effective reorganization of existing railroads; (2) sufficient return to the city from operation so that the city securities issued for construction should be exempt from the debt limit; (3) readjustment of existing company rights and obligations in order to protect their real values and stabilize their securities; and (4) assurance to the people of the city of continued operation of the railroads at existing or lowest possible fares consistent with their just valuations and their safe and economical operation.[5]

In accordance with legislative mandate, the commission, on September 29, 1921, published its *Statement and Outline of a Plan of Readjustment*. This was not a definitive plan; it merely established a basis for procedure in the future. It called for complete unification under municipal ownership of all transit facilities in the city, including surface lines, and for their supervision and operation by a Board of Control and three operating companies which would eventually be completely consolidated into one system. This plan also included provision for a flexible fare. A more definitive plan was submitted to the New York City Board of Estimate in 1923, but no action resulted because of the hostility of the municipal administration to the commission.

Between 1921 and 1926 official activity with respect to unification lapsed. During this period the rapid transit companies were quite willing to negotiate an agreement because of the poor condition of their finances and the low levels at which their securities were selling, but the antagonism of the Hylan administration towards the Transit Commission made any agreement impossible.

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[5] New York State Statutes, Laws of 1921, chapter 134, sec. 69.

In 1926 the Transit Commission was reconstituted by appointment of three new members, and to speed up the process of unification they appointed Samuel Untermyer special counsel to press the commission's inquiry. Both the Brooklyn-Manhattan Transit and the Interborough Rapid Transit groups were invited to participate actively in negotiations, but they refused.

UNTERMYER PLAN

Between 1926 and 1931 the special counsel was actively engaged in formulating proposals in connection with unification. In September 1927 there appeared a preliminary report which did not contain a unification plan, but merely some outlines of some parts of a plan, including a proposed purchase price for the Interborough-Manhattan properties and a recommendation of recapture of the Brooklyn-Manhattan Transit Corporation. On July 12, 1928, Mr. Untermyer prepared and issued the first completely developed plan of readjustment in conjunction with counsel for the Brooklyn-Manhattan Transit Corporation. It contained all necessary provisions with respect to properties, operation, and the like, but it lacked the most important element—price.[6] Between 1928 and 1930 the Transit Commission unsuccessfully supported certain proposed legal changes closely related to unification, involving proportional exemption from the debt limit for city bonds partly self-sustaining and a clarification of the powers of the Board of Control.[7]

Lack of harmony between regulatory agencies and private transit companies and the obstacles which it placed in the way of a successful and early attainment of unification are well illustrated by the seven-cent fare litigation between the Interborough Rapid Transit Company and the Transit Commission during the years 1928 to 1931.[8] Although both the Supreme Court of the United States and the New York State Court of Appeals upheld the commission, it is clear that the fare question was merely representative of problems that could never be satisfactorily solved while New York City's transit facilities remained uncoördinated and subject to divided ownership and control.

By the beginning of 1931 the situation with respect to unification had greatly changed from that existing in 1921. The company deficits in connection with their preferentials had been largely extinguished, while the new city subway system was almost ready for operation. Thus, both financially and because they could not be divorced from the city's investment in the new system and its reiterated policy of maintaining the five-cent fare, plans for unification were in a very different setting from that contemplated when the Public Service Commission law was passed in 1921. Unification had become a limited unification, for the Untermyer plan of 1930 did not include all surface lines, as was the case with the 1921 plan.[9]

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[6] *Cf.* New York State, Transit Commission, *Report of Special Counsel to the Transit Commission Accompanying Proposed Tentative Plan of Readjustment.* July 12, 1928. 39 pp.

[7] See Transit Commission reports for 1928, 1929, and 1930.

[8] New York State, Transit Commission, *Eighth Annual Report* (1928), p. 42; *Ninth Annual Report* (1929), pp. 10-11; *Eleventh Annual Report* (1931), p. 30; *Annual Report for the Year Ended December 31, 1937*, pp. 11-12.

Mr. Untermyer's *Second Supplemental Report* of December 29, 1930, practically abandoned recapture, proposing instead that the dual contracts be wiped out by purchase of existing rapid transit systems at an aggregate price of $489,804,000. The city was to own all transit lines and to lease these lines, as well as the Independent system, to a Board of Transit Control which, in turn, would make operating contracts with the management of the Brooklyn-Manhattan Transit system.

BOARD OF TRANSIT CONTROL

In April 1931 the legislature at last authorized the creation of a Board of Transit Control and issuance by it, in conjunction with unification, of tax-exempt securities legal for investment of trust funds,[10] and also amended the rapid transit act to allow the Board of Transportation to negotiate for unification through a private corporation subject only to approval of the Transit Commission.[11]

The fourth Untermyer plan, issued in June 1931, was in effect a postscript to the report of December 29, 1930. The companies refused to participate in public hearings on the plan because it had not been approved by the Transit Commission, and shortly afterwards Mr. Untermyer resigned as special counsel.

In October 1931 John J. Curtin was appointed special counsel to the Transit Commission to continue the attempt at formulating a plan of unification. Shortly thereafter the commission issued its tentative plan, dated December 19, 1931.[12]

This plan did not differ fundamentally from the fourth proposal submitted by Mr. Untermyer, although there were certain modifications as to detail including a lower price of $474,500,000. No plan, after action taken by the legislature in 1931, could become effective without agreement of the city and at least one of the transit companies, in addition to the Transit Commission, and this plan was labelled "tentative" because it did not represent the necessary agreement.

Between 1931 and 1935 official action in connection with unification was of an indecisive and largely investigatory nature because of the precarious financial condition of the city and conditions in the securities markets. In January 1933 the Transit Commission furnished the O'Brien administration with a memorandum containing a study based on an aggregate price for the companies' properties of $420,000,000. This memorandum was not a new unification plan, but only a summary of the commission's 1931 plan with consideration of subsequent developments.[13]

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[9] *Cf.* New York City, Mayor's Committee on Taxation, *Memorandum on The Cost of Rapid Transit to the City of New York* (May 1, 1931), p. 7.

[10] New York State Statutes, Laws of 1931, chapter 689.

[11] *Ibid.*, chapter 682.

[12] New York State, Transit Commission, *Tentative Plan and Readjustment Agreement for the Readjustment and Unification of Rapid Transit Railroads and Related Power Properties in The City of New York.* New York, December 19, 1931, 120 pp. The plan was approved by two of the three members of the commission, Commissioner Lockwood dissenting.

UNIVERSITY REPORT

In February 1934 the New York University Division of Public Administration, of the Department of Government of Washington Square College, presented a statement of principles—not a formal plan—with respect to transit unification, while renewed official activity began in the same year with the appointment of a special committee of the Board of Estimate—consisting of Judge Samuel Seabury and City Chamberlain A. A. Berle, Jr.—to take up the problem. Under the important 1935 law, the Transit Commission was to prepare a plan of unification, to fix fares—subject to referendum vote on any increase above the five-cent rate, and to have valuations made of the properties included in the plan. After hearings, the plan was to become operative upon declaration of the commission approved by the Board of Estimate. Finally, there was to be created a Board of Transit Control of eleven members appointed by the mayor of New York City with the concurrence of three-fourths of the Board of Estimate.

The first results of the renewed activity in connection with unification were the Brooklyn-Manhattan Transit and Interborough Rapid Transit-Manhattan memoranda of understanding of February and November 1935, respectively. These were not definite plans, but merely unification terms which public and private representatives were prepared to recommend to their principals. This was the first time that public understanding had been reached by representatives of the private interests on any plan setting forth the prices to be paid. A definitive plan agreement, the Seabury-Berle plan, was submitted to the Transit Commission in June 1936, and we must keep clearly in mind the fact that it represented the city's views as to the terms that should be substituted for those transmitted to the Board of Estimate by the Transit Commission in 1931 and 1933 and that for the most part the commission had not been included in the negotiations which led to the drawing up of this plan.

Essentially, the Seabury-Berle Plan[14] provided for acquisition of the rapid transit and power plant properties of the I. R. T. and B. M. T. systems by the city at an aggregate price of $436,000,000 to be made up largely of bonds issued by a proposed Board of Transit Control. These properties, along with the In-

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[13] New York State, Transit Commission, *Memorandum on Development of a Plan for the Readjustment and Unification of Rapid Transit Railroads and Related Power Properties in the City of New York*. Bureau of Unification and Transit Adjustment, Jan. 23, 1933, 78 pp., mim., tables.

[14] *Cf.* New York State, Transit Commission, *Definitive Plan and Unification Agreement Proposed for the Acquisition and Unification, under Public Ownership and Control, of Rapid Transit Railroads, and Related Power Properties in the City of New York*. Draft Submitted to the Transit Commission, State of New York, June 22, 1936, 193 pp.

SUMMARY: MAJOR FEATURES OF UNIFICATION PLANS

Plan	Properties Involved	Purchase Price	Method of Payment	Method of Acquisition	Control and Operating Agency	Fare
1. Transit Commission Plan, 1921	All lines Incl. Surface	None	Exchange of securities	Exchange of leases	Board of Control and three operating cos.	5-cent 1 year. Then cost of service
2. Untermyer Plans, 1927-1931						
a. Preliminary Report—Sept. 1927	Subways & elevateds	$245,594,000 (IRT)	Bonds of City of N. Y.	Purchase and recapture (BMT)	Board of Transit Control	Fixed at 5 cents
b. Proposed Plan and First Supplemental Report, July 12, 1928	Subways & elevateds	No price	Bonds of the Public Corp. to be refunded by the city	Exchange of leases	The Public Corporation	Basically 5 cents, and sliding scale
c. Second Supplemental Report, Dec. 29, 1930	Subways & elevateds	$489,804,000	Cash or city corporate stock & Board of Transit Control bonds	Purchase	Board of Transit Control & BMT	5 cents
d. Proposed Plan and Third Supplemental Report, June 10, 1931	Subways & elevateds	$489,678,000	City securities and Board of Transit Control bonds and debentures	Purchase	Board of Transit Control	5 cents
3. Transit Commission Tenative Plan, Dec. 19, 1931	Subways & elevated, incl. independent system	$474,500,000	Board of Transit Control securities, or, at city's option partly in cash or such securities	Purchase	Board of Transit Control	Fixed at 5 cents
a. Summary of and Supplement to 1931 Plan, Jan. 23, 1933	Same	$420,499,000	Same	Purchase	Same	Same
4. Research Committee Plan (New York University) 1934	Rapid transit lines, street railways and buses	None	Left open	Recapture	Special Transit Corporation	5 cents
5. Memorandum of Understanding with B. M. T., Feb. 19, 1935	Rapid transit and power plant properties	$192,500,000	Cash or city corporate stock, assumed mortgages and Board of Transit Control bonds	Purchase	Board of Transit Control	5 cents
6. Memorandum of Understanding with I. R. T., Nov. 1, 1935	IRT-Manhattan properties	$238,251,000	Same	Purchase	Board of Transit Control	5 cents
7. Seabury-Berle Definitive Plan, June 22, 1936	IRT-BMT city rapid transit lines	$436,157,220	Partly cash, partly city corporate stock and partly securities of Board of Transit Control	Purchase	Board of Transit Control	5 cents
8. Memorandum of Understanding with I. R. T., March 4, 1938	IRT-Manhattan properties	$170,000,000	City bonds and corporate stock	Purchase	....	....
9. B. M. T.-B. Q. T. Plan, 1939	Rapid transit, surface and power plant properties of BMT	$175,000,000	City bonds, cash, or combination	Purchase	Board of Transportation	Not mentioned
10. I. R. T.-Manhattan Plan, 1939	IRT subway and elevated properties	$151,000,000	City bonds and assessment bonds	Purchase	Board of Transportation	Not mentioned

dependent System, were to be leased to the Board of Transit Control for seventy-five years for operation as a unified system on the basis of a five-cent fare subject to change by the Board of Transit Control only with the consent of the Board of Estimate and in accordance with the referendum provision of the 1935 law. In May 1937 the Transit Commission rejected the Seabury-Berle plan, and, once again, efforts to attain unification were thwarted by the perennial lack of coöperation between the city and the Transit Commission.

Beginning in May 1938 representatives of the city participated in negotiations with the Transit Commission and representatives of the companies which eventually led to the unification plans of 1939. Commissioner Fertig introduced into the Constitutional Convention of 1938 a proposed amendment excluding from the debt limit of the city $315,000,000 for the unification of transit facilities. It was adopted by the convention and approved by the voters at the general election of November 1938. During 1939 unification negotiations were continued and brought to a successful conclusion, while the first five and a half months of 1940 have witnessed the final consummation of those plans.

UNIFICATION ACHIEVED

The unification plans of 1939 provide for the acquisition by the City of New York of the properties of the Interborough-Manhattan Transit system and of the Brooklyn-Manhattan Transit system with its power, street surface railway, and bus properties for $326,000,000,[15] and give complete control over the unified systems to the City of New York, subject only to the broad provisions of applicable state statutes. For the Brooklyn-Manhattan Transit and Brooklyn-Queens Transit properties $175,000,000 were allocated, and for the Interborough-Manhattan properties $151,000,000—payment in both cases to consist of city corporate stock bearing interest at 3 per cent. The B. M. T.-B. Q. T. plan was promulgated in April 1939, and declared operative on March 1, 1940. Corresponding dates for the Interborough-Manhattan plan were July and November 1939. On June 1, 1940, the city took over the B. M. T. lines and is now operating them, while on June 12, 1940, it took title to and began to operate the Interborough-Manhattan transit properties, difficulties in connection with the receiverships having been cleared up earlier in the year. The comprehensive network now operated by the city is known as the New York City Transit System and consists of three divisions: the Independent, the Interborough Rapid Transit, and the Brooklyn-Manhattan Transit.

Neither of the plans above mentioned the fare or the operation of the properties after they had been acquired by the city—in contrast to previous plans. Thus, the city under unified operation may increase the fare if necessary, although it was one of the underlying assumptions of the negotiators that the five-cent fare would be retained. The legislature has, in fact, specifically given the

(Continued on Page 766)

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[15] *Cf.* New York State, Transit Commission, *Annual Report for the Year Ended December 31, 1939.*

Judiciary Up to Date

Problems which press for solution include reorganization of the courts as well as methods of selecting and retiring judges.

By JOHN A. PERKINS
University of Michigan

AN IMPORTANT phase of the constitutional history of the states is the growth of powers of the executive and judicial branches. Unlike the coördinate executive branch, the judiciary has not been followed with a comparable interest by students of government or by the citizenry in general. Further, these two departments have gone through a parallel process of democratization which has made their exercise of increased power somewhat irresponsible.

In the executive, demands of efficiency have compelled attention to reorganization; for similar reasons the pressing problems of the courts are now compelling consideration. General reorganization of the state judiciary has yet to become an accomplished fact in any state. The hierarchy of the courts still lacks unity and administrative direction; the personnel of the courts on all levels is still popularly elected in most states and the rules of practice and procedure continue to be patched rather than overhauled by legislators.

Nevertheless, the impression should not be given that the judiciary has made no progress whatever in meeting problems relative to the courts. Foremost among those problems pressing for solution are two: organization of the courts and methods of selecting and retiring judges. What has been suggested and, more important, what has been accomplished in solving these two problems?

Optimism might permit one to forecast that unification of courts is on the way. Its origins may be discovered in Virginia where the little-admired justice of the peace has had his functions usurped. There the counties were permitted to authorize circuit judges to appoint assistants (trial justices) on salary to perform all the duties within the jurisdiction of the former justice courts.[1] The following advantages of the modern Virginia trial justice system soon became apparent and account for the adoption of the present state-wide system within a very few years: (1) much greater assurance of securing men of character and ability; (2) enlarged jurisdiction; (3) retention of the simple procedure of the old justice courts; (4) lower cost than in the old "justice-at-a-price" system. A lawyer in a neighboring state, Arthur F. Kingdon, testified recently: "In all the trial justice courts of Virginia in which I have appeared I have found good personnel. In the county adjoining us on the east we have . . . an outstanding lawyer—a man who has often been spoken of as qualified to occupy either circuit or supreme court bench." In Virginia it is felt that the system is so simplified that concurrence of the appellate and circuit court judges in respect to administration brings about *de facto* unification with no further law.

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[1] Acts relating to this change are found in Acts of 1934, page 466 *et seq.;* Acts of 1936, page 615 *et seq.;* Acts of 1938, page 153; Code of Virginia, Section 4987-a *et seq.*

North Carolina by legislation in 1937 sought to get relief from a system which foists upon the state several thousand justices.[2] As in Virginia, the plan is optional, but, unlike Virginia, it is not actually a part of the superior court. Rather, in those counties whose commissioners adopted the plan, it offers an alternative for litigants who wish something better than local magistrates can provide. The judges are lawyers, appointed by the governor; however, their salaries are determined by the county board. The judges may continue to practice while serving in this capacity. The new "county civil courts" have justice-of-the-peace jurisdiction and much of the superior court's civil jurisdiction in actions involving not more than $1,500.

CHANGES IN INDIANA

The Indiana magistrates court act, effective June 30, 1939, was designed to create a minor court system which would be an integrated part of the judicial system of the state.[3] If the new act is adopted on a large scale throughout the state, the situation will be similar to that of Virginia, especially in providing responsible control of magistrates by judges of the higher courts. The local judge of the circuit court has supervision over the magistrates court of each county. For instance, the circuit judge has powers of appointment and removal with respect to each magistrate, of assignment by consent temporarily to a certain locality or to a certain type of case, of fixing hours and sessions of court, and of providing magistrates with a suitable court room, court officers, and supplies.

Governor Herbert R. O'Conor of Maryland pressed the legislature to enact radical changes in the justice courts of that state. In his inaugural address on January 11, 1939, he candidly admitted that criticism and adverse comment concerning the minor courts have been justifiable. He went on to condemn the justice-of-the-peace system as a "justice-at-a-price" system. For the justices of the peace in counties he urged the substitution of "one or more central courts in each county for the trial of such civil and criminal cases as now go before the magistrates. Judges of such courts should be compensated on a salary basis and the fee system abolished."

Because of the Governor's stimulus, the state legislature went as far as the constitution permitted in revising and strengthening the local justice courts throughout the state. The justice-of-the-peace system has been undermined by the creation of "trial magistrates" and the mandatory provision that the justices must transfer to the new courts, on demand of one of the parties, all cases, civil or criminal, begun before them.[4] As judicial officers, the fee-justices are in effect liquidated through limiting their activities to taking bail and fixing for them an annual salary of twenty dollars.

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[2] Public Laws of North Carolina, 1937, ch. 437, p. 894 *et seq.*

[3] See Acts of Indiana, 1939, ch. 164, p. 753 *et seq.*

[4] Laws of Maryland, 1939, ch. 720, p. 1523 *et seq.*

A completely unified court system is a distant but not unachievable goal in the light of what has been accomplished in integrating the system of minor courts. Unification has gone much further than was believed possible a few years ago; constitutions do not confine the problem to academic speculation for these states illustrate that much improvement is attainable within the constitutional *status quo*. Our present state judicial systems are weakest and poorest in their local features. These improvements making for unification will certainly improve the character of local justice, a consideration which becomes even more significant when it is recalled that it is in these lower courts that the great bulk of litigation is tried, and it is here that "the cause of the forgotten man is heard and settled."

SELECTION OF JUDGES

In the solution of the problems confronting the judiciary most effort has been expended in an endeavor to remedy the process of selecting and retiring judges. Possibly the interest this problem evokes is due to growing dissatisfaction with popular election of judges—the practice in 75 per cent of the states. In seven states judicial officers are appointed by the chief executive either with the advice and consent of the upper branch of the legislature, or with confirmation by a council. In four states the legislature itself selects the judges. The widely-heralded California plan adopted by constitutional amendment in 1934 deserves to be set apart inasmuch as it constitutes a break with tradition. The plan combines appointment by the executive with a measure of popular control.[5]

The elective, fixed-term principle was recognized almost from its inception to be a far from perfect system. The vices of industrialism, urbanism, and spoils politics have emphasized the inherent weaknesses that were not to be overcome by mere nonpartisan ballots or separate judicial elections.[6] The only alternative seemed to be that offered by the advocates of the "federal plan." It first became possible to move off this dead center when the simple but surprising proposal was made that appointment be limited to a list certified to the governor by a non-political, non-salaried citizens' commission. The difficult problem of tenure was not solved by this proposal. This problem was met in 1914 by a plan devised by Albert M. Kales. It is this plan—generally called the "Chicago plan"—which has been combined with the nomination-commission plan and recommended by the House of Delegates of the American Bar Association as the model.

The plan consists in nomination by a judicial commission, composed variously of representatives of the state judiciary, laymen, and in some cases lawyers, which nominates from three to five men for the vacancy.

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[5] California *Constitution,* Art. VI, sec. 26.

[6] Thirteen states provide for nonpartisan ballots: Arizona, California, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, South Dakota, Washington, Wisconsin, Wyoming. Illinois and Wisconsin provide for election at odd times.

From among these three or five, the governor then exercises his choice for appointment. At the end of the judge's first term, his name is submitted to popular vote on the issue "Shall Judge . . . . . be reappointed?" No party label is put on his name, and no other name is put up against him for the voters to choose between them. If the incumbent loses in the popular vote, his place is thereby vacant, and the executive appoints another person for the new term.

Although this plan had achieved the status of a classic to the lawyer, in comparatively few states has the general public been familiarized with the proposal, and in still fewer instances has it actually been presented to the voter. In the seven states in which definite proposals have been recommended, they have been voted on as initiated referenda in only Ohio and Michigan. The suggestion for an appointive judiciary came in Wisconsin from the committee on judicial selection of the state bar. Submitting its proposals in 1934 the Wisconsin committee then recommended that the nominating commission be composed of lawyers; recently, however, it has modified its stand so that its present recommendation is for half lawyers and half laymen.[7] From the standpoint of attracting popular support for the change, this alteration greatly increases the recommendation's chance for success.

In Iowa and Utah the proposals came a step nearer success through being introduced in the legislature as constitutional amendments. The amendments were well drawn and complete, embodying the best aspects of the model plan. In Iowa the measure failed to pass; in Utah it looked promising after the Senate adopted the measure by a vote of seventeen to two, but it was not reported out of committee in the House. Only in these states have the changes in the judiciary come within the range of practical politics.

PENNSYLVANIA REPORT

The Committee on Judicial Council of Pennsylvania is of the opinion that the "Chicago plan" should be adopted for that state to free the courts as much as possible from political influence. The special significance of the committee's report is that the model proposal could be enacted into law without alteration of the Pennsylvania constitution and that it would apply to judges presently in office.

There has been some activity toward revising judicial selection in the direction of appointment in Florida, Georgia, Kansas, Kentucky, North Dakota, and Washington. Except for Georgia, where the movement originated in the State University's Institute for Public Affairs, the movements have all begun with the respective state bar associations. Except for Washington, the movements have likewise ended there.

In Washington the backers of the plan did succeed in getting it before the legislature but "due to the usual turmoil existing between branches of the legislature" no action was taken.[8] The Washington plan was not included among those advocating the model plan since it violates one of the foremost principles, namely, to center the responsibility for appointment in one individual. The Washington plan entrusts appointment to an eleven-man commission; choice is by majority vote of the commission. This plan therefore is open to all the criticisms levied against appointment by a group of any kind, be it legislature, council, or commission. There is opportunity for "passing the buck" and no possibility of pinning responsibility on the shoulders of a single individual. Vesting ultimate powers in the hands of the governor is the solution the model plan offers.

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[7] *Journal of American Judicature Society,* Oct. 1938, p. 128.

[8] *Journal of American Judicature Society,* Aug. 1937, p. 59.

In Ohio and Michigan advocates of "the new way to choose judges" took advantage of popular initiative of constitutional amendments and were able to submit their propositions to the voters in the fall election of 1938. The voters approached these propositions with the conservatism that has marked the use of constitutional initiative in the past, refusing to endorse either measure. Failure was not due entirely to conservatism of voters, however, for, as we shall see presently, there were other factors which compounded to lead to defeat. The Ohio plan provided for appointment by the governor but reverted to the federal plan inasmuch as confirmation by the Senate was required. The governor was to make his appointment from a list of three to five lawyers nominated by a judicial council of eight members composed of one judge from each of the appellate, common pleas, probate, and municipal courts, to be selected by his colleagues, three attorneys to be appointed by the governor, and the chief justice of the supreme court as president. Members were to be restricted to two terms of three years.

Each judge so appointed would have had to run against his record without opposition at the end of each six-year period. If a judge in office when the new system was adopted was not appointed at the end of his term, he would have been permitted to run against the person appointed to succeed him, and, if successful, would have assumed the status of an appointed judge. The amendment was mandatory as to the supreme and appellate courts and applicable to the trial courts of record in the districts which might vote acceptance. Any district might have rescinded such action by vote after trial.[9]

MICHIGAN OBSTACLES

The plan submitted in the Michigan test unfortunately was applicable only to justices of the supreme court. In this case the judiciary nominating commission was composed of nine members—a justice of the supreme court, a circuit judge, and a probate judge elected by the judges of their respective courts, three laymen appointed by the governor, and three members of the bar to be appointed by the commissioners of the state bar. The inclusion of laymen was a step forward in this plan over the undivided control of lawyers in the Ohio judicial commission. Even in Michigan, however, the cry was raised that judges so chosen would be little more than "placemen" of the legal guild.

The plan had two major drawbacks: First, it allowed the judiciary commission to present a "nomination or nominations" from which the governor was to appoint the justices of the supreme court. If the commission made but one nomination, the governor would have been obliged to appoint that candidate or wait upon an alternative nomination by the commission. If he took the first course, then the appointment would be tantamount to one made by the commission and hence open to the condemnation of no individual responsibility for the appointment. A second and greater drawback which accounted for a large degree of popular disfavor was the complete omission of the provision whereby the electorate might pass judgment on incumbents running against their records at the end of their terms. Whenever this proposal has been included, it has noticeably increased lay support.

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[9] Fred J. Milligan, "The Proposed Changes in the Selection and Tenure of Judges in Ohio," *Ohio State University Law Journal,* March 1938, pp. 166-170.

THE MISSOURI PLAN

Missouri's election this fall is the cynosure of all interested in judicial selection. The constitutional amendment submitted may be looked upon with greater favor than some of its unsuccessful predecessors in other states since it has broad provisions for voters voicing their approval of judges and their records.

The amendment provides for appointment of judges of the supreme court and of the three courts of appeal located in the districts of St. Louis, Kansas City, and Springfield. The governor appoints from a list of three nominated by a judiciary commission consisting of the chief justice of the supreme court, three lawyers to be elected by members of the bar residing within each of the three court-of-appeal districts and three laymen, one to be appointed by the governor from each of the three districts. If the governor chooses not to appoint any of the three nominees, the judiciary commission is required to make three more nominations from which the governor shall appoint.[10]

The rather limited experience in submitting amendments for an appointive judiciary to a vote of the electorate seems to indicate that their chance for success is directly proportional to the popular control allowed. The Missouri plan provides for it in three ways: (1) appointees must run against their records at the first general election after they have served one year, (2) sitting judges run against their records at the end of their terms and continue in office for twelve years, unless rejected by a majority of those voting on the question equal at least to 25 per cent of the voters of that particular election; (3) a recall provision is also included by which 8 per cent of the voters may by petition require any judge to run against his record at the following general election.

Missouri's plan continues with a unique and admirable means for making application of the appointive system to the circuit judges. In most states—Ohio, for instance—the proposal is adopted merely by local option and the state judiciary commission extends its sphere of nomination. In Missouri, however, the vote of a judicial circuit to adopt the plan creates a circuit judiciary commission of five members. This commission then certifies three names to the governor and the procedure is the same as for higher judges.

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[10] Pamphlet, *Preliminary Report of the Committee of Judicial Selection and Tenure,* published by the Bar Association of St. Louis.

Although this plan originated and received its first great impetus from the Missouri Bar Association, it has been actively sponsored by the recently organized Institute for the Administration of Justice, a vigorous state-wide field organization, composed of both laymen and lawyers.

Promoters of the amendments in Ohio and Michigan were of the opinion that the plan did not receive the approbation of the voters because they had not been educated to the merits of the plan. This explanation, however, seems to reflect wishful thinking. There were arrayed against the plan in both states antagonistic forces. In this instance the C. I. O. and A. F. of L. were as one. Several metropolitan dailies in each state were ready to voice the opinion of the opposition. In Ohio the feeling of the farmers was expressed by their state grange, which came out against the plan.[11]

While there was a considerable degree of organized opposition, there was but languid interest in the group that might have been expected to be the spearhead of the offense—the state bar.

In the face of this lack of interest, it is apparent that citizens do not realize that next to tax-gathering, the judicial function of the state touches the individual most vitally.

SUCCESS IN CALIFORNIA

California remains as the one conspicuous example in recent years of successfully meeting the problem of judicial selection. There they were able to meet the demands both of expediency and good government practice. The salient features of that plan are familiar. A first test in actual practice of judges running on their records is interesting. The result was a two-to-one affirmative vote for all judges, although a majority of affirmative votes is all that is required to retain the incumbent for an additional term of twelve years.

A corollary of any consideration of selection of judges is consideration of a retirement scheme. Examination of the laws discloses that nineteen states in all had a retirement system, either compulsory or optional, in 1929. Ten years later twenty-four states provided in some manner for the retirement of their judges. The ages of retirement vary from sixty to eighty years with years of service from seven to thirty.

Although no reorganization in the judiciary is comparable to the administrative reorganization that has taken place in New York and Virginia, efforts to modernize the judiciary have certainly become a significant aspect of reorganization of state government. The judiciary lags behind other departments, the judiciary remains in almost every state the unreconstructed department of government, but as has been pointed out judicial reform has not been without attention.

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[11] Howard D. Barkdull, "Analysis of Ohio Vote on Appointive Judiciary," *Journal of American Judicature Society*, Feb. 1939, p. 197.

Contributors in Review

AFTER having trained in the west (A.B., University of California at Los Angeles) and in the east (Ph.D., Harvard), **Laurence Michelmore** (*Detroit—A Tale of Two Cities*) has settled down in the middle west as assistant professor of government at Wayne University—where he is in charge of Wayne's program of in-service training. He is also a staff member of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research and assistant secretary of the Governmental Research Association, whose headquarters are in the Detroit bureau. Dr. Michelmore's past includes some time on the staff of the California Emergency Relief Administration and on the staff of the Idaho Works Progress Administration.

A NEWSPAPER WOMAN since undergraduate days, when she was a reporter for both daily papers in Lawrence, Kansas, **Josephine Nelson** (*Business Women in a Democracy*) is now associate editor of the *Independent Woman*, published by the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs. Once she edited a chain of three community weeklies in Chicago. As an occasional free-lancer, Miss Nelson has contributed to such diverse publications as *Fortune*, the *London Morning Post, County Life*—and the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

WITH backgrounds of research and teaching, **S. S. Sheppard** and **L. L. Moak** (*New Orleans Leads in Consolidation*) came to the Bureau of Governmental Research of New Orleans in 1937 and 1938, respectively, as, respectively, executive director and assistant executive director. Mr. Sheppard's research record includes time with the Boston Good Government Association and the Boston Municipal Research Bureau. Mr. Moak taught government at the University of Texas. Both collaborators took leave from the research bureau from April to July, 1940, in order to assist Louisiana's new governor Sam H. Jones, in the formulation of the state budget and financial planning.

AS SECRETARY to Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg from 1936 to 1938, **John A. Perkins** (*Judiciary Up to Date*) added an unusual practical phase to his prebaccalaureate days. Immediately thereafter he received his A.B. from the University of Michigan, and M.A. from the same institution in 1939. Now he is a teaching fellow in the political science department. Mr. Perkins has contributed to the *American Political Science Review* and to *Social Education.*

ARMED with two degrees from Harvard, **Arthur J. Waterman, Jr.** (*New York Solves Transit Problems*) came in 1933 to New York University as an assistant in government. Since September 1937 he has been instructor in political science at the School of Commerce of the same university. Now he has a third degree from New York University—a Ph.D. in public administration. Aside from teaching, Dr. Waterman has done independent research.

Researcher's Digest: November

Defense and the American city; tax-exempt real property in Oregon; Des Moines bureau achievements; St. Louis bureau on the air; new Ohio bulletin; researchers in Virginia.

WHAT will national defense do to American municipalities?

Two different observations on this general theme are made by two local bureaus of governmental research. The **Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy of Baltimore, Maryland,** sees in the enormous financial demands of defense preparation a threat of intolerable tax burden upon the average citizen (*Your Tax Dollar,* No. 256). But since national defense must have the "right of way," the commission maintains, it behooves Baltimore municipal government to pare to the bone its own expenditures in order to leave the taxation reservoir free for federal defense demands.

Cost of Government

Analyzing the financial situation in terms of the Baltimorean, the commission finds that the total annual cost of government—federal, state, and city—per person in Baltimore has increased from approximately $105 in 1920 to more than $150 in 1940. During the same period the net debt per person in Baltimore for all government has increased from approximately $330 to $430.

To quote the commission: "On top of these large and rapid increases there now is about to fall the billions that must be raised for the new national defense program. . . . That program will impose additional requirements upon the state of Maryland for public improvements such as better highways and for other military purposes. The national program seriously impairs the capacity of the taxpayers to provide for local city projects and requirements." Hence, "the all-important effect of the defense program is that it will leave a smaller proportion of the community's resources for purposes of local municipal government."

—While in Milwaukee

An opportunity for Milwaukeeans to contribute public works for national defense is how the **Citizens' Bureau of Milwaukee** looks upon the recent defense developments (August 31, 1940, bulletin). The bureau reproduces in part Public Resolution No. 88 of the 76th Congress which provides that WPA funds can be used by the state and local governments for purposes of national defense. About $8,000,000 of federal money for Milwaukee County in 1940 (and a similar amount in 1941), with local contributions of only $1,750,000, the bureau estimates, will be available for local citizens for financing armories or public works important for military or naval purposes.

Looking back through the past five years, the Milwaukee bureau finds that the county of Milwaukee alone received close to $75,000,000 from the federal government for WPA purposes, with less than $11,000,000 additional coming from the locality. And the WPA wage bill (financed from federal funds) in the county was substantial, too. For the first four months of 1940, alone, the WPA wage total was over $4,000,000. Exhorts the bureau: "Out of the ample funds available let's get something worthwhile for national defense."

Hows and Whys of Tax Exemption

"Of growing concern to those units of local government throughout the United States dependent upon the property tax as their principal source of revenue is the increase in tax-exempt real property."

Thus the study of "The Nature and Value of Tax-Exempt Real Property in Three Oregon Counties," by the **Bureau of Municipal Research and Service of the University of Oregon,** achieves a significance far more general than its title might at first indicate. In twenty-seven mimeographed pages there is closely packed a mine of concise information on the tax-exemption situation in these three localities, with data on the kinds of property exempt, their value, and why they are exempt.

Some of the significant findings:

"Approximately one-sixth of the value of real property of Linn County, one-fifth of the real property value of Marion County, and one-third of the real property value of Lane County is exempt from the property tax."

"In these three counties over one-half of the exempt property is exempt by reason of federal ownership. State ownership accounts for 20 per cent, and local governments combine to own nearly another 20 per cent of the exempt property. Nearly 10 per cent of the exempt property in these three counties is in private ownership."

"It should continually be borne in mind that . . . federal property . . . makes some payment in lieu of taxes."

"Some of the municipally-owned utilities in the three counties do provide free services to the cities and services at reduced rates to other governmental units. This may be regarded as a form of contribution in lieu of taxes."

"Included in the county-owned property are many which have been foreclosed on account of tax delinquency."

"Forty-seven per cent of the city-owned property located in these three counties is located outside of the limits of incorporated cities, consisting largely of utility and airport facilities."

"Eighty-one per cent of all privately-owned exempt property in the three counties is located in cities where it receives various local governmental services, constituting nearly 25 per cent of the exempt property within cities."

Albany, Salem, and Eugene are some of the chief cities located in the three counties which were surveyed.

Saving Money for Iowa

A saving of $500,000 a year to Iowa taxpayers by successfully fighting in the courts a law which would have had the state pay school taxes for farmers in certain localities is one of the achievements of the first six months of 1940 listed by the **Bureau of Municipal Research of Des Moines** in a letter of September 6.

Other highlights: a small net reduction in total tax dollars for 1941, after weeks of work on the 1940 property tax levies by the bureau and the Citizens' Tax Committee; substantial reduction of the time necessary for record-keeping by county relief workers as a result of a bureau study of relief department methods; recommendation of election economies to the county auditor; discovery of laxities in local relief administration and formulation of a remedial program, part of which is already in operation.

Broadcasting Research

During the month of October a St. Louis radio station donated five fifteen-minute periods to the **Governmental Research Institute of St. Louis,** the institute reports in *Dollars and Sense in Government,* No. 13. The broadcasts were in the form of interviews, with the director or a member of the staff answering questions about the institute and the government of the city and state. Program topics included the Governmental Research Institute, government of the city of St. Louis, city and state finances, public schools in Missouri, revision of the Missouri state constitution.

Ohio Institute Publishes

A series of bulletins "containing factual information and suggestions based on nonpartisan studies" was inaugurated by the **Ohio Institute** on September 30. The series will deal in the main with problems likely to come before the 1941 legislature. This first bulletin, titled "The Ohio Citizen," is two pages long, mimeographed. It deals with the need for reorganization of the state department of public welfare. Four divisions are suggested: correction, mental hygiene, social administration, and business administration.

Starting Year III

By way of beginning its third year, *Public Administration Notes,* publication of the **Virginia Council on Public Administration,** describes (October 4, 1940) the principal agencies and organizations in the field of public administration in Virginia and the relationships existing among them. Included are the Virginia Council on Public Administration itself, the Virginia Chapter of the American Society for Public Administration, and the Virginia Social Science Association.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Debt

Bonded Debt of the City. Rochester (New York) Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., *Municipal Research,* September 1940. 1 p.

Rochester's Debt. Rochester (New York) Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., *Municipal Research,* August 1940. 1 p.

Defense

National Defense Requires New Approach to City Budget Making. The Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Inc., Baltimore, Maryland, *Your Tax Dollar,* September 25, 1940. 3 pp. mimeo.

WPA and National Defense. Citizens' Bureau of Milwaukee. August 31, 1940. 3 pp. mimeo.

Finance

City Expenditures, 1928-1939. Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* October 8, 1940. 2 pp.

Where the City's Budget Dollars Go. The Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Inc., Baltimore, Maryland, *Your Tax Dollar,* October 5, 1940. 8 pp. mimeo.

An Analysis of the 1940-41 Budget. Providence Governmental Research Bureau, September 1940. 3 pp.

1940 City Budget Story No. 3. Bureau of Municipal Research, Toronto, Canada, *White Paper,* September 27, 1940. 5 pp.

Highways

Digest of Effort to Improve Highway Department Efficiency. Taxpayers' Re-

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News in Review

(Continued from Page 709)

The **Lynn (Massachusetts)** Taxpayers' Association has decided not to appeal the Superior Court decision adverse to its city manager petition, but to start a new petition next year so as to be sure to have the question on the ballot in 1942.

The town of **Jay, Maine,** at a special town meeting on October 1, by a vote of ninety-one to twenty-two rescinded the action of the annual town meeting last March, which voted for the manager plan.

Bayonne, New Jersey, on October 15, defeated a proposed manager charter.

On October 8 **Durant, Oklahoma,** defeated a proposed charter which called for a manager whose appointive powers were limited.

Hackensack and **Teaneck, New Jersey,** have both passed the 25,000 population mark, according to preliminary figures of the 1940 census, and under the present council-manager laws would have their five-man councils increased to seven members, with higher remuneration. The councils have decided to include on the November ballot a referendum on requesting the legislature to permit five-man councils until the 40,000 mark is reached. The Hackensack Council Manager Association supports the move.

Little Rock, Arkansas, will vote on November 26 on a proposal that a manager charter be drafted, for submission to a referendum.

In **San Antonio, Texas,** the advisory committee of fifty-two members, appointed to draft a manager charter, has been superseded by a new committee of fifteen, appointed by Mayor Maury Maverick September 14 and approved by the city council. Drafting of the new charter is nearing completion and December 10 has been tentatively set as the date for the charter referendum.

In **California** Charles Holtz of Sacramento, a candidate for the state assembly, urges an investigation into the desirability of a state manager, in view of the success of the manager plan in Sacramento.

The city council of **Santa Monica, California,** has refused to act on the recently filed city manager petitions, on advice of the city attorney who questioned their validity. The Superior Court has sustained the city attorney in his contention and unless reversal of the decision is secured on appeal to the Supreme Court the question will not be placed on the ballot.

Twenty-seventh City Manager Convention

The International City Managers' Association held its twenty-seventh annual conference in Colorado Springs during the last week of September, with an attendance of 240, of which 100 were city managers. New officers chosen include: Roy S. Braden, Greenbelt, Maryland, president; C. Sophus Johnson, Grand Rapids, Michigan, H. J. Graeser, Marshall, Texas, and A. F Newman, Decatur, Georgia, vice-presidents.

Philadelphia Ghosts

A survey of registration by the *Philadelphia Record* indicates a large excess of registrations on the records, compared to persons still living at the addresses given. Many names of people now dead were found on the lists, including a former mayor, still a registered Republican although dead two years; at the address given, an apartment house, 36 out of 209 registrants had moved or died, according to the survey. Other apartment houses showed much larger percentages of excess registrations, and the total city registration was stated to be 55 per cent of the population, as against an average of 42 per cent for New York, Boston, Baltimore, Buffalo, and Cincinnati—an average that would be raised somewhat by including certain large western cities. The survey indicated extreme laxity on the part of the registration commission as to purging the records.

501 Local Housing Authorities

The number of local housing authorities organized to enter the nation-wide slum-clearance and low-rent housing movement had increased to 501 by October 13, with more being organized week by week, according to the United States Housing Authority. Prior to enactment in 1937 of the federal housing act, authorizing loans by the USHA, there were only forty-six local authorities, largely inactive. Of the present number, 193 have borrowed over $660,000,000 for 467 projects for 154,209 families.

Editor's Note: On page 614 of the National Municipal Review for September 1940 the item title "Local Housing Authorities Now Number 175" was misleading; the text of the item indicated that this was the number of local authorities with USHA loans.

Voting Machines for Jersey City Delayed

Jersey City will not use voting machines at the current election, despite recent state legislation authorizing the State House Commission to purchase them. One bid was contingent on freedom from litigation over the validity of the legislation; another manufacturer could not make delivery before election. The commission plans to have the machines in use for the city election in the spring. Meanwhile the state administration filed quo warranto actions against the judges designated by the legislature to handle election cases in Hudson County; and an investigation of election procedure in Jersey City and other parts of that county proceeds before a committee of the United States Senate.

Vermont Holds Town Officers' Meetings

During September and early October six regional conferences of town officers and school directors were held in Vermont, sponsored by various state officials, the Vermont State Chamber of Commerce, farm bureaus, and the Agricultural Extension Service. More than seven hundred officers attended these six meetings, and it is hoped they will be repeated next year. They are an outgrowth of a town conference in 1933 and ten county conferences in 1934 at which the modernization of town reports, a subject to which the state chamber of commerce has devoted much attention, was stressed—with salutary effects on modernization of municipal operations.

City and State Planning Boards Aid Defense Preparation

The American Society of Planning Officials reports that various city and state planning agencies are supplying information pertinent to national defense.

Milwaukee, Brookhaven (New York), and Philadelphia are among cities where planning or housing agencies are making special efforts to collect such material. State planning boards reporting such action include those of

Arkansas, California, Kansas, New York, Tennessee, and Virginia.

In Milwaukee, which has had a municipal committee on national defense since July, the Board of Public Land Commissioners, local planning body, has furnished a three-part report on the city's housing and land use, labor supply, and vacant industrial property.

The Brookhaven, New York, planning commission has compiled a census of all land use, a complete outline of existing and planned roads, a population map showing the most logical locations for possible newcomers, an industrial spot map indicating the present industrial areas with possible expansions, a map of the underground water supply, coast line maps, and a complete topographical map indicating the best areas for air fields.

In Philadelphia, one of the important ordnance districts in the country, the local civic housing association is urging an immediate survey of housing conditions by the Philadelphia Housing Authority to prepare for a likely increase in worker population of several thousand, and periodic check surveys in the future.

The state planning boards of Kansas and New York are making a survey of idle plant facilities and production capacity, and will compile a directory of manufacturing establishments. Planning agencies of California, Tennessee, and Virginia are doing special research for their state defense councils, and the Arkansas State Planning Board has set up its own defense committees.

Fall Activities in Municipal Leagues

The American Municipal Association, the national federation of state leagues of municipalities, holds its seventeenth annual conference, dealing with many municipal problems, November 13-15, at the Congress Hotel, Chicago.

The League of Wisconsin Municipalities broke its attendance record at its recent convention with the figure of 1,040. Actions taken included unanimous endorsement of proposed home rule over rates of municipally-owned utilities.

At its recent annual meeting the Kentucky Municipal League authorized its president to appoint a committee of five city finance officers to coöperate with the state revenue department in adopting a uniform system of accounting in cities and in preparing financial report forms.

The recently reorganized Tennessee Municipal League has chosen as its executive secretary William H. Newell, formerly field consultant of the North Carolina League of Municipalities. The league's office is in the American National Bank Building, Nashville.

The New Jersey State League of Municipalities, through its executive committee, has elected James J. Smith, treasurer of Linden, as executive secretry to succeed Samuel S. Kenworthy, deceased.

The Arkansas Municipal League has temporarily lost its executive secretary, William D. Hopson who is a captain on duty with a National Guard aviation squadron, for a year. Henry A. Ritgerod, the league's research consultant, is acting executive secretary.

Governmental and Planning Courses in New Hampshire

The Department of Government at the University of New Hampshire enters the third year of its interne training program. University students spend one semester in a state or municipal office studying governmental administrative problems. The demand by public officials for student internes far exceeds the supply. Approximately 45 per cent of the internes graduating in the past two years are now in government positions.

A new course in community planning is being offered this year at the university. The departments of government and engineering are combining for the presentation and are calling on departments of sociology, economics, land use economics, landscape architecture, and architecture for assistance on special phases. Students will visit state and city planning programs and will work out suggested plans for their own towns.

LASHLEY G. HARVEY
University of New Hampshire

Many States Adopt Price Control Laws

State price control laws, designed to prevent sale of merchandise below cost, to regulate resale price, and prevent discrimination by discount or rebate, have built up at a rapid rate within the past four or five years, as shown by an analysis by the Council of State Governments, based on information supplied by the marketing laws survey. In some states their constitutionality is still in question, however, and other challenges as to legal validity have been made.

These laws include forty-four resale price control acts, twenty-four statutes prohibiting sales below cost, and twenty-four anti-discrimination statutes applying to commodities in general use. The quick growth of these acts, according to the council, reflects the way merchandising has changed since the turn of the century with the development of mail order houses, department and chain stores, and super-markets.

Voting and Office-holding by Soldiers

Members of the National Guard or other citizens who were in active military service away from home by November were unable to vote in six states—Kentucky, Mississippi, New Mexico, South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana—under present laws, according to an analysis by the Council of State Governments. Lack of absentee voting provisions is the chief reason. In a seventh state, Texas, citizens in the army, navy, or marine corps (but not those in the National Guard or the reserves) are entirely disfranchised.

In many states civil officeholders who enter active service as officers of the National Guard are prohibited from continuing to hold their state offices.

Public Administration Society to Hold Annual Meeting

The American Society for Public Administration, which was organized December 27, 1939, will hold its first annual meeting in Chicago December 28, 1940. Professor Earl H. deLong of Northwestern University is chairman of the program committee. The first issue of *Public Administration Review* is to appear this fall.

Correction

In the Tax Rate Tabulations listed in the December 1939 issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, the following correction should be made:

New Castle, Pennsylvania (No. 195): Tax rate should read: city, $11.50; school, $18.00; county, $6.00; state, none; total, $35.50; estimated ratio of assessed value to true value 94%§; adjusted tax rate on 100% basis of assessment, $33.37.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

Roundup—

Fall programs of city clubs are now in full swing. . . . The **Chicago City Club** has moved into new headquarters in the Hotel La Salle. On October 21, at one of its regular forum luncheons, Allen H. Seed, Jr., president of the **National Association of Civic Secretaries,** spoke on the topic, "John Q. Citizen Goes to Town."

The October *Bulletin* of the **City Club of New York** outlines its civic program for the year. The club has taken an active part in the campaign to preserve proportional representation and to effect county reorganization in New York. . . . The *Bulletin* of the **Portland (Oregon) City Club** contains committee reports on specific state proposals voted on at the recent election—milk control legislation, gambling and game amendment, and a bank stockholders' liability constitutional amendment.

Yonkers' Councilwoman and "Public Energy No. 1," Mrs. Edith P. Welty, spoke on behalf of the manager plan in two Massachusetts campaigns—Chicopee and Haverhill.

Senator Carl A. Hatch was speaker at the forty-third annual meeting of the **Cleveland Citizens League,** held in early October in conjunction with the conference of the **Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada.** His topic was "The Observance and Enforcement of the Merit System." . . . The September 26 issue of *Greater Cleveland* (the league's publication) is an indictment of "inexcusable waste" in the operation of the city's Service Department. The league is attempting to get some action on its report of two years ago on waste collection and disposal in which a number of suggestions for reorganizing the department were made.

The September *Citizens Bulletin* of the **Citizens League of Baltimore** announces the first major triumph of the organization, in preventing amendment of the zoning law attempted by the city administration during the summer months when a good many citizens were out of the city. . . . In October the **Civic Club of Allegheny County** issued the sixteenth edition of its *Voters Directory.* No recommendations were made, but the directory contained information about candidates for state and federal offices.

"Principles Behind the Election Issues" was the topic of the **New York State League of Women Voters'** convention held October 16, 17, and 18 in Buffalo. A number of local leagues, including Scarsdale, Schenectady, New York City, and Nassau and Suffolk Counties sponsored pre-election institutes for their members.

Applications have now closed for the position of field secretary for the **Connecticut Merit System Association,**[1] and plans are going forward for an examination later in this month.

The municipal and county government section of **Town Hall** (a citizens' organization in Los Angeles) has issued a report recommending creation of the office of chief administrative official in Los Angeles County.

The September 25 issue of *Indiana Tax Digest,* published by the **Taxpayers' Federation,** listed ten sets of facts which the citizen may easily obtain about his community and which will enable him to judge its debt situation. . . . In its October *Tax Digest,* the **California Taxpayers' Association** offered its recommendations on five of the twelve measures on the November ballot.

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[1] See this column, October REVIEW.

Here's a tip for citizen organizations looking for program ideas. . . . Russell H. Ewing of the University of Denver suggests eight methods of improving city government which might be selected as the objectives of a modern central civic organization. . . . Here they are: (1) *research,* investigation, reporting publicity; (2) creation of a modern, central, civic organization to foster *civic education,* encourage civic leadership, and enlighten public opinion; (3) *strengthen government personnel* by establishing a civil service merit system, abolishing the spoils system, training public employees, promoting university training in public administration; (4) *structural simplification* and administrative reorganization of government (adoption of the manager plan where this is found feasible); (5) *re-chiseling the areas of government,* changing boundaries, consolidation of cities and counties; (6) *redistributing the functions of government,* eliminating duplications and unnecessary services in state, counties, cities, and special districts; (7) *modernizing equipment,* methods, procedures, budgeting, accounting, auditing, purchasing, inspection, use of modern methods of measuring municipal government; (8) *removing constitutional and statutory barriers* to the improvement of city government, home rule, etc.

Ruth M. Williams

Town Meeting Works on Statewide Basis

"Modern democracy in action" was exemplified by the **Town Meeting of Washington,** a public forum on ballot propositions sponsored by twenty-one service clubs in Seattle and affiliated organizations throughout the state on October 11.

The forum was considered so successful that plans are being made to continue the practice of holding statewide Town Meetings of Washington whenever vital questions are before the voting public for its decision.

Members of Seattle Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, Active, Young Men's Business and other clubs assembled that evening in the first meeting of its kind ever held in the state, while affiliated clubs in other towns held Town Meetings of their own, to hear the program broadcast over a statewide network, and to hold forum discussions of their own.

Speakers selected from the Seattle Municipal League's "town criers" analyzed each of six proposals on the November 5 ballot, after which sponsors and opponents of the various measures led forum discussions on them.

The program received statewide publicity, and had an estimated audience of 500,000.

Forum discussion during the broadcast was governed by a specially-constructed traffic signal, which flashed a green light during the time allotted each speaker, and a red light when his time was up. Questions and answers during the radio program were limited to one minute each, but in the forum which continued, following the broadcast, were extended to two minutes.

Ewen C. Dingwall
Seattle Municipal League

Mayors Ask for Your Fingerprints

When most of the mayors of the larger cities of the country issued proclamations last August calling for cooperation with the Department of Justice on work of registering aliens, they at the same time urged voluntary fingerprinting of citizens. Encouraging progress has been made but much remains to be done. Citizen groups could be most helpful if they would incorporate, in their community program, a voluntary citizen identification plank.

The government of the United States today is placed in the embarrassing position of a mother who does not know her own children! With our far-flung coast lines, relatively unprotected borders on the north and south, and a shifting heterogeneous population of over 130,000,000, there is an appalling lack of *personal identification.*

It has taken a national emergency to bring about registration and fingerprinting of aliens. This registration is now being carried out by the United States Department of Justice under the provisions of a federal statute approved last June 28.

Appeal for Volunteers

Now is the opportune time to make a forceful appeal to native born and naturalized citizens—although they are not included within the purview of the law—to come forward voluntarily, and have their fingerprints taken and filed in a non-criminal fingerprint register. The Police Department of the City of New York, for example, has for years offered this service but, to date, only 218,000 civic-minded persons have availed themselves of this privilege.

It is common knowledge that fingerprints are accurate, that there are no two identical fingerprints, that they are not changeable, that they are not inherited, and that the technique of taking impressions, classifying and storing them is simple, inexpensive and convenient.

Too few of us, however, appreciate the practical, concrete benefits that accrue to those whose fingerprint impressions are on file in a non-criminal register. A common misconception is that the police are only concerned with the apprehension of criminals. Nothing is farther from the truth. In actual practice no inconsiderable portion of police work is involved in attempting to identify and locate missing persons, relations of the insane, identification of unknown dead, suicides, victims of amnesia, aphasia, and those injured in major catastrophies and everyday accidents. In 1939 the Missing Persons Bureau of the New York City Police Department investigated 33,332 cases. During the same year, 794 unidentified dead were buried in potter's fields.

Many Benefits

The manifold benefits that the taxpayer would derive from universal fingerprinting would include reduction in the cost of maintaining large staffs of police to conduct lengthy investigations not of a criminal nature; fewer unidentified dead; release of vast sums of insurance to deserving beneficiaries; aid in restoring to their families lost, wayward, and runaway youths, thus possibly saving them from a life of crime; relief of the anguish and suspense of parents, wives, children, and sweethearts by the speedy, accurate identification of victims of accidents and catastrophies, aphasia, and amnesia; increase in the efficiency of relief administration—preventing fraud and duplications; reduction of income tax evasion, illegal voting, illegal entry into this country, and the issuance of false passports; aid in facilitating the mobilization of our national man power in time of war or national emergency; and effective aid in frustrating the spy, saboteur, and the numerically designated columnists.

The mechanics of operating such a system, while a gigantic undertaking in itself, could utilize the present facilities of over 11,000 law enforcement agencies now taking and forwarding fingerprints to a central bureau at Washington, D. C., as well as post offices and other government departments.

Business and industry envisaged the possibilities of fingerprinting in making exact, speedy identification, and thereby preventing misrepresentation, fraud and unethical practices. Bonding companies require that fingerprints be taken before undertaking to bond employees for positions of trust. Banks and the United States Postal Savings System have been using a combination of written signature plus fingerprints with great success. During World War I, the federal government fingerprinted millions for the armed services.

New York System

In New York City applicants for the following licenses are fingerprinted: hack driver, hack owner, bus driver—tow car, cabaret, dance hall, pistol, non-resident pistol, dealers in firearms, gunsmiths, tear gas and tear gas devices, short wave radio in automobile, auctioneer, bail bondsman, rooming house, special patrolman, attendant—cloak room, guide, junk shop, junk boat, pool parlor, laundry, second hand dealer, public porter, express driver, massage operator, massage institute, locksmith, applicants for all municipal civil service positions, U. S. civil service, 2nd District, U. S. Navy Yard, post office, army, navy, marine corps and coast guard enlistments, port authority employees, U. S. Department of Justice—drivers of bonded trucks, WPA employees, and railway express employees. Even newborn babies are printed immediately after birth to prevent substitution or error.

A somewhat vague apprehension is sometimes voiced to the effect that the non-criminal register may be used as an instrument of police oppression, or as a medium for the creation of "black lists." This record is filed separately, apart from the criminal files, and its contents are not consulted except for purposes of a non-criminal nature. To disabuse the public mind of this bias, however, it might be suggested that this function could be handled as are the social security records, with adequate legislation to protect the confidential status of the register.

To the civic-minded person, alert to the preservation of his civil rights, it is an added assurance of individual liberty. One never knows when he may need proof to distinguish him from everyone else in the world. It is very interesting to note that not long ago in New York City a certain man was arrested, arraigned in court, and released on bail. Subsequently, he fled and the bail was forfeited. Now it so happened that the offense for which he was arrested was not one for which the taking of fingerprints is made mandatory by law and, consequently, there was no official record of his identity, other than the name given at the time of arrest. Some time later the surety caused the apprehension of the alleged bail violator, who indignantly denied that he was the person originally arrested. He did admit, however, having been arrested and fingerprinted on a prior occasion for another charge. He requested to be fingerprinted again, and these prints proved his story that it would have been impossible for him to be the same person as the bail violator. It is, indeed, an anomalous condition when a convicted felon can prove his identity and verify his claims more readily than the average honest citizen can in a similar situation!

Paul V. Betters
Executive Director
United States Conference of Mayors

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

County Manager Plan an Issue in Nebraska

Vote on amendment giving legislature permission to draft optional governments

Nebraskans participating in the general election this month voted on a constitutional amendment permitting the state legislature to propose an optional manager form of county government. The amendment states: "The legislature may provide by law for a form of county government in which county officers may be elected or appointed, but such form shall be optional with each county and shall obtain in any county only upon the adoption thereof by the electors of such county."

The amendment marked the latest move in a succession of efforts that have been made to modernize county government. As early as 1933 the state legislature enacted a law permitting counties to adopt the manager plan by popular vote. The following year Douglas County (Omaha) adopted a manager charter only to have the statute declared unconstitutional by the state supreme court. The constitutional provision in question stated that: "The legislature shall provide by law for the election of such county and township officers as may be necessary." The court reasoned that this provision conferred no power on the legislature to create an appointive county office. Therefore a law creating the appointive office of county manager was declared invalid.

In 1939 the state legislature again acted to improve county government. It passed the proposed constitutional amendment which has just been presented for final approval of the people. It is believed that adoption of the amendment will remove the greatest obstacle, and effective progress toward reform in county government will then be possible.

Onondaga County, New York Votes on Manager Plan

In order to combat the opposition that appeared in various parts of the county, proponents of the manager charter for Onondaga County, New York, distributed 10,000 printed copies of the charter commission's report. These were placed for distribution in the hands of both town supervisors and those representing the city of Syracuse. Copies were made available also at the county court house.

The report was circulated in an effort to inform the voters on the merits of the manager plan before they went to the polls in the general election this month. Since the New York law requires an affirmative vote both in the central city and in the county outside such city, greatest efforts were directed to the voters outside of Syracuse, for apparently the rural and suburban areas contained the greatest amount of opposition to the charter.

Milwaukee County Studies Cooperative Purchasing

Almost all of the units of government in Milwaukee County, Wisconsin, were represented at a meeting held recently in city hall to study the possibilities of coördinating purchases. It was agreed that a voluntary and tentative plan should be tried. The city, county, villages, townships, school districts, and library boards consented to participate in the plan.

The participants stated that they believed the following advantages would result from a coöperative purchasing plan in Milwaukee County: carload shipments would result in lower freight costs, standardization of specifications would reduce manufacturing costs, reduction in number of orders would result in savings in administrative costs, advantage could be taken of the sliding scales offered on quantity orders, and sales expense incurred by vendor and shifted to purchaser would be lower.

Pennsylvania Counties Inaugurate Magazine

The Pennsylvania County Commissioners Association, at its annual convention held recently, voted unanimously to begin the issue of a new magazine. It is to be called *The County Commissioner* and is to be issued bimonthly.

Consolidation Hits Snag

The proposal to consolidate San Francisco, Marin, and San Mateo Counties in California met at least temporary defeat recently when the attorney for the city of San Francisco ruled that the inclusion of Marin County would require a constitutional amendment. It is expected that the proposal for the consolidation of the remaining two counties will be presented to their respective boards of supervisors shortly.

Courts Rule County Reform off New York City Ballot

The New York Court of Appeals, by a vote of 4 to 3, has ruled that the petitions initiating amendments to the city charter to abolish and consolidate county offices within the city[1] are invalid. The question, therefore, did not appear on the November 5 ballot.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Census Bureau Reports Government Employment

Payroll figures cover three thousand states, counties, cities, towns.

Statistical reports on employment and payrolls of state and local governments, heretofore available only at yearly intervals, are now being compiled by the Division of State and Local Government of the Bureau of the Census on a quarterly basis. Data have already been released for the quarters ending in January and April 1940, with figures for July expected soon.

While the material is being gathered on a quarterly basis primarily to supplement existing employment and payroll figures prepared by other governmental agencies on commercial, industrial, and federal employment, the figures should be of considerable interest to students of government and governmental finance.

Data for smaller units are estimated largely on the basis of sample returns, but individual returns are shown in nearly every instance for states and for cities and counties of over 25,000 population. Summary bulletins present the material by type of unit and size and geographic distribution, while additional bulletins—and these are likely to be very useful to citizen groups and others interested in a particular municipality—show individual data.

Space considerations make it impossible to do more than indicate the scope of the reports, but even a brief resume of some of the findings for April are instructive. For the end of April 1940, 3,146 states, counties, cities, towns, and townships reported to the bureau a total of 936,000 full- and part-time employees. These were exclusive of school employees, contract workers, and those on work relief. Of the total, 90.5 per cent were engaged in general governmental functions, while the remaining 9.5 per cent were accounted for by public service enterprises. Included were 3,311 state and local units with a monthly payroll of about $120,000,000, of which nearly $108,000,000 was for general governmental functions. The range was from New York City, with 104,981 employees in governmental functions and a monthly payroll of $16,712,000 down to small rural townships with a dozen or less employees and payrolls of a few hundred dollars.

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[1] See this department for June 1940, p. 426.

In its general summary of the April situation, the bureau notes that while the federal government payrolls in 1939 had risen 50 per cent higher than the 1929 level, state payrolls increased almost 74 per cent. City payrolls rose only 6 per cent, and county payrolls only 17 per cent, however. The April summary also includes, in a separate bulletin, a functional classification of employment based on the returns of more than 1,800 units. These data, in conjunction with increases since 1929, contain food for thought in areas where governmental consolidation is possible. States the report in one place:

"In spite of the wide variety of public services undertaken by state and local units of government in the United States, the majority of state, city, and county workers are engaged in only a few of the many functions which their governments perform. Returns to the April canvass of the Quarterly Employment Survey indicate that 73 per cent of all state employees, for example, are found to be serving in general administrative, legislative and judicial, highway, police, hospital, or charity work. The percentage of city employees assigned to corresponding functions ranged from about 56 per cent for the largest cities to 84 per cent for small villages; and 86 to 93 per cent of all county employees serve the same five purposes in the sphere of county government, with the highest percentages occurring in the counties containing the lowest populations."[1]

Homestead Tax Exemption Increases in Oklahoma

In 1937, as a result of legislation providing that homesteads up to $1,000 assessed valuation be exempt from the ad valorem property tax, taxable assessed valuations in Oklahoma were reduced $115,177,924 by exemptions granted on 171,133 homesteads. This figure has increased steadily, to an exemption of $141,031,644 on 213,264 homesteads for 1940. Whereas in 1937 assessed valuations exempted under the statute amounted to 9.48 per cent of the total in the state, by 1940 it had increased to 11.80 per cent.

The effects of homestead tax exemption in Oklahoma have been covered perhaps more fully than have the effects of similar provisions in other states. Subsequent to approval of the constitutional enabling amendment by the voters, the Oklahoma Tax Commission made a comprehensive survey of the probable reduction in assessed valuations at various levels of exemption, and these studies undoubtedly had considerable influence on the state legislature, which fixed the maximum exemption at $1,000 of assessed valuation. Since the exemption became effective, the commission has continued its analysis, reporting by counties such facts as the number and valuation of properties eligible to homestead tax exemption, the exempted valuation, and the relation of exemptions to total valuation.

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[1] Quarterly Employment Survey, Vol. 1, No. 10, September 26, 1940. Division of State and Local Government, Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C.

For 1940 the commission's analysis shows that the range of loss in assessed valuations due to exemption is from 4.39 per cent in Osage County to 22.39 per cent in Cherokee County. In twelve counties the $1,000 exemption amounted to more than 90 per cent of complete homestead exemption. In Latimer County, 97.28 per cent of all homestead valuations were relieved of property taxes (except levies to retire prior indebtedness, to which the exemption does not apply). In twenty-five counties the $1,000 exemption amounted to 80 per cent or more of complete homestead exemption. In all, 7,528,989 rural acres and 302,302 urban lots were affected by the provision.

In general, homestead exemption has been most severe in its effects on rural counties located in the poorer agricultural sections of Oklahoma, areas where property values are low and the $1,000 exemption catches a large proportion of owner-occupied properties. Neither Tulsa nor Oklahoma City has been seriously affected, the ratios of exemptions to total assessed valuations in these urban centers holding very close to the average for the state as a whole. City valuation figures for 1940 (for the fiscal year 1940-41) are not yet reported, but for 1939 homestead exemptions accounted for 11.06 per cent of the total valuation in Tulsa County and for 12.18 per cent in Oklahoma County.

The deduction of homestead exemptions is made particularly severe in its effects on local finances, in those instances where it exceeds more than a nominal proportion of the total valuation, by the existence of a constitutional overall tax rate limit. Adopted in 1933, the limitation amendment holds the overall tax rate to 15 mills, exclusive of taxes levied for debt service. Additional levies may be voted for school purposes. The 15 mills available for operating purposes is allocated to the local units by the county excise board, and the cities usually receive the smallest portion as indicated by 2.9 mills allocated to Oklahoma City for 1939-40.

The claiming of homestead exemption is of course optional with the property owner, and increase in the number and value of exemptions since 1937 is in part a reflection of the fact that exemptions are being requested on an increasing proportion of eligible properties.

For the state as a whole, in 1940, exemptions amounted to 61.6 per cent of the assessed valuation of homesteads before deduction of the exemption, leaving only 38.4 per cent of the valuation of homesteads subject to taxes for current operating purposes.

New Hampshire Property Tax Declines

New Hampshire cities and towns show a decline in the average tax rate from 3.45 in 1939 to 3.42 in 1940. The average tax rate followed a gradual rise from 2.84 in 1930 to 3.48 in 1938. Reduction since 1938 is attributable to the removal of the state tax on property, included in municipal tax rates, and extensive federal public works spending which has permitted the assumption by the national government of street and park labor costs.

LASHLEY G. HARVEY
University of New Hampshire

Rochester Exhibits in Tax-foreclosed Building

Taking a novel step in the administration of tax-foreclosed properties, the city of Rochester, New York, opened a downtown Civic Exhibits Building in October in a structure which was formerly a department store.

The building, which is seven stories in height, was foreclosed for tax delinquency early in 1940. Vacant for some eight years, it was three years in arrears in taxes, owing the city and county together approximately $71,000. Formerly it paid about $23,000 annually in taxes.

The city, although reluctant to remove such a large assessed valuation from the tax rolls, was forced to this course of action. As a result, the municipality became owner of a well built, modern structure.

It was evident that if the city should tear the structure down or sell it at a low price, the government would be admitting that all downtown properties were over-valued for tax purposes.

A diverse group of suggestions were made for use of the building and for placing it upon the tax rolls again. None of these plans was found practicable. After careful consideration of all possibilities, however, it was pointed out that the city was without a major exhibit center. The city determined, therefore, to convert the building to this use in an effort to utilize its values, to build up the values of surrounding property, and to create a conveniently located center for civic events.

The new civic exhibits building, it was thought, would demonstrate adequately that the city believed in its assessments. At the same stroke the city would be divesting Main Street of the ghost of a business which failed some years ago and, instead, would be substituting a center of activity.

Remodeling of the structure was carried out by the city immediately and before the job was completed five major civic events were scheduled for the building, first of which was the Rochester automobile show.

Present bookings indicate that rentals received from the shows which will be held during the winter will not only pay maintenance costs but will also partially replace the revenues from taxes which were lost to the city by foreclosure.

Harold S. W. MacFarlin,
Commissioner of Commerce
Rochester, N. Y.

Tax Records Centralized in Colorado

The Colorado taxpayer is coded and carded for all his payments to the state in a new centralized tax record system unique in tax-collection procedure, according to a recent report of the Federation of Tax Administrators.

All relevant information for each taxpayer on sales, income, motor fuel, and inheritance taxes goes on a single card as a permanent record, while a smaller card, with less detail, is used for monthly entries.

The system was devised in order to simplify record-keeping and to combine at one point most of the information necessary for auditing purposes that would otherwise be scattered over the dissimilar record systems of the numerous state taxing divisions.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

P. R. League to Meet at Springfield

Johnstown vote blocked; N. Y. papers endorse P.R.

The Proportional Representation League plans to hold its annual meeting on Tuesday morning, November 19, in connection with the Conference on Government of the National Municipal League at Springfield, Massachusetts, November 18, 19, and 20.

After a short business session the P.R. movement in New York, Massachusetts, and elsewhere will be discussed by a group of prominent speakers including Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., of St. Louis; George H. McCaffrey, director of research, Merchants' Association of New York; Thomas H. Mahony, chairman, Citizens' Committee for Proportional Representation in Boston; and Charles J. Rohr, of Massachusetts State College. Thomas Raeburn White, vice-president of the P.R. League and chairman of the Philadelphia City Charter Committee, will preside.

Other items on the conference program of interest to proportionalists will be found in the announcement of the conference on page 710 of this issue.

Technicality Blocks Johnstown Vote

The scheduled vote on a P.R.-city manager revision of the Johnstown city charter, prepared by the National Municipal League and submitted by petition under the auspices of a local charter committee, has been blocked by a most unexpected decision of the New York Court of Appeals.

The Johnstown city clerk certified to the sufficiency of the submitting petition, but the board of elections refused to put the question on the ballot on the ground that the proposal, though it left more than half of the existing charter unchanged, was really a new charter and not an "amendment." Even more complete revisions of laws have often been made by amending procedure, both in New York and in other states, as when the Cleveland charter was completely revised in 1921 and when the New York State constitution was largely rewritten by "Amendment No. 1" submitted by the New York Constitutional Convention of 1938. The very purpose of the section of the city home rule law under which the Johnstown committee was acting was to make just such important and fundamental changes available to New York cities by petition and popular vote.

The case was ably argued by Laurence A. Tanzer, one of the foremost authorities on city home rule in New York State. Yet the Supreme Court, the Appellate Division, and the Court of Appeals all held without a dissenting vote that a procedure set up for charter amendment could not be used for a charter revision extensive enough to be considered a new charter even though the revision was put in amendment form.

Attempts will be made by further amendment in the legislature to regain the ground that has been lost and recast the law so that it cannot be interpreted to mean other than what it was originally drafted to mean.

Meanwhile cities using the home rule machinery for extensive improvements will have to divide their proposals into piecemeal amendments, with the danger that the passing of some and the defeat of others will leave an unsatisfactory whole, or else go through the unnecessarily slow, expensive, and cumbersome procedure of setting up a charter commission one year, voting on its product the next.

Testimonials to P. R. in New York City

The attack on P.R. in New York City this fall, to be decided at the polls November 5, has brought forth many telling statements of its value—among them the following:

"The Threat to the City Council

"It is earnestly to be hoped that the overwhelming interest in the presidential election will not blind New York City voters to the pernicious bit of knifework against their local liberties which the Tammany-Democratic clubhouse statesmen have slipped into the ballot with their referendum to annihilate the proportional voting system for the city council.

"Engrossed in greater issues, the citizenry may easily overlook this proposal or misunderstand its implications. But the thing is important; and it is important to bury it on election day under alert and emphatic majorities. 'P.R.' is certainly no universal panacea for political ills; it is probably not safely applicable to all situations, but as a practical device applied to the specific problem of choosing the New York City council it has in fact worked admirably. And none who remembers the rubber-stamp statesmen of the old Tammany-appointed board of aldermen would wish to abandon it.

"Ever since the days when the new charter was being formulated the local machines have been filling the air with their seemingly plausible assaults on 'P.R.' The system was a strange newfangled contraption; it was 'undemocratic'; it was an inordinately complicated puzzle which only an Einstein could fathom; it was disruptive and would end in disaster. And in face of all the argument the public voted for 'P.R.' by heavy majorities when the new charter was adopted four years ago. They showed they could understand it very well, even if the politicians could not. They have used it in two councilmanic elections now without difficulty. It has produced no disasters—except to the comfortable old arrangement under which the local Democratic bosses dealt out the aldermanic seats, as their private monopoly, to whatever party hacks they chose to reward for services rendered.

"The 'P.R.' system has not upset the political structure of the city. The Democrats, since they have a majority among the voters, have a corresponding majority in the present council, which they fully control. But the great bulk of other voters, who were in effect permanently disfranchised under the old single-member system, now also have representation. The growing boroughs, such as Brooklyn and Queens, no longer have to wait on reapportionment to secure the number of seats to which they are entitled; they get them automatically. The quality of the council membership is vastly improved; able men, refused nomination by their own party machines, have secured election while the machines have been forced to nominate abler men in answer.

"But the whole arrangement is one under which the machines have never been happy, and they have now put on the ballot their amendment which would destroy the whole system, establishing a council, elected in the old way, of thirty-three members, at least thirty-two of whom would be Democratic virtually by law. When the public grasps the inwardness of that proposal, we have not much doubt as to its fate."

New York Herald Tribune, editorial,
October 17, 1940

"To Save P.R.—Vote No

"Twice the voters of this city have expressed their approval of the system of proportional representation under which we now choose our city council. Four years ago they adopted it by a vote of 923,000 to 555,000. Two years ago they rejected, by a majority of 775,000 to 355,000, an amendment to the state constitution which would have abolished P.R. Tammany and its allies have been hostile to the system from the first, despite the fact that they now hold a two-thirds majority in the council. This year they hope to kill P.R. by a charter amendment under which council members would be elected by simple pluralities, one from each state senate district. The result would be in effect to disfranchise those minorities which now have a one-third representation in the council.

"Liberal voters had hoped to control the council. There have not been enough of them, properly informed as to the issues, to achieve this end. They have nevertheless had a voice, and the council has been at no time a mere rubber stamp for machine politicians, which was the best that could be said for the old board of aldermen. Tammany and its allies now want the rubber-stamp days back, presumably because they fear that the voters may grow sufficiently independent in the near future to upset the Tammany council majority. The way to defeat this Tammany plan is to vote no on the charter amendment."

New York Times, editorial,
October 21, 1940

RESEARCHER'S DIGEST

(Continued from Page 746)

search Association, Fort Wayne, Indiana, *Research Bulletin,* July 1940, 5 pp.

Financing Arterial Highways. Boston Municipal Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* September 30, 1940. 4 pp.

Home Rule

Home Rule. Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* August 20, 1940. 2 pp.

The Taxing Power under Home Rule. Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* September 3, 1940. 2 pp.

Public Welfare

State Welfare Organization. Ohio Institute, Columbus, *The Ohio Citizen,* September 30, 1940. 2 pp. mimeo.

About Public Relief and Insurance Cases as of August 31, 1940. Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, *Just a Second,* September 24, 1940. 1 p. mimeo.

Tax Exemption

The Nature and Value of Tax-Exempt Real Property in Three Oregon Counties. Bureau of Municipal Research and Service, University of Oregon, Eugene, August 1940. vi, 27 pp. mimeo.

Water

Water Department Efficiency. Civic Research Institute, *Kansas City Public Affairs,* September 12, 1940. 3 pp.

"Free Water." Civic Research Institute, *Kansas City Public Affairs,* September 19, 1940. 3 pp.

Briefly—About Water Rates. Civic Research Institute, *Kansas City Public Affairs,* September 19, 1940. 3 pp.

Briefly—About a Water Finance Plan. Civic Research Institute, *Kansas City Public Affairs,* October 3, 1940. 3 pp.

Books in Review

EDITED BY ELSIE S. PARKER

Property Taxes. By Leo Day Woodworth and others. New York City, Tax Policy League, 1940. vi, 288 pp. $2.50.

The Tax Policy League chose the oldest major American form of taxation—the property tax—as the subject of its last symposium, the papers for which are presented in this volume. It was not possible, of course, to include all of the aspects of this tax for exhaustive treatment in a single book.

Part One is devoted to present trends in property taxation, while the other four parts cover important selected phases intensively and critically.

Part Two is heavy with a critical study of the classified property tax, to which Simeon E. Leland, Alfred G. Buehler, and Harold S. Buttenheim are contributors. This list of authors goes a long way to explain that there seems to be more territory left unexplored in this field of property taxation than has been disclosed as yet. "Some Observations" from Leland's pen run to considerable length and make one wonder whether the subject is not inexhaustible.

The theoretical issues of the property tax are treated in Part Three under the heading of the "Justification of the Property Tax" in four papers by Clarence Heer, Edwin H. Spengler, Harold M. Groves, and Carl Shoup. Especially noteworthy is the paper by Groves under the heading, "Commons' Theory of Reasonable Value as Applied to Taxation."

Part Four contains two papers only, "Taxing Real Estate on Its Income," by John A. Zangerle, and "Alternative Bases for Real Estate Taxation," by C. Lowell Harriss. One should note especially Zangerle's devastating criticism of the movement to use income, and possibly other bases, for the purpose of determining the tax liability of real estate. His use of current facts and situations in proving real estate income unascertainable is refreshing and makes one forget that the same is true of the capital value of almost any tangible property. There still seems to be a good deal left unsaid as to the real reasons why net income and capital value are not interchangeables, specifically why income cannot be forthwith substituted for capital value in ascertaining tax liability of real estate.

Part five, consisting of four papers, deals with administrative problems of property taxation, chiefly the old standbys of assessment and delinquency. The conclusion seems to be inescapable that such personalty as cannot be fairly effectively assessed ought to be exempt entirely, or ought to be reached by other means than the property tax. The two papers covering the collection methods are less defeatist in attitude.

Not all of the nineteen papers are of equal merit, of course; but the quality runs high throughout. Most of the writers are fortunate in having a great deal of practical experience as a basis for their reasoning. The fact that the subject is one that has been much discussed does not mean that nothing new is told. In fact, the contrary is very much the case.

JENS P. JENSEN
University of Kansas

The Awkward Age in Civil Service. By Betsy Knapp. Washington, D. C., National League of Women Voters, 1940. 114 pp. 40 cents, paperbound.

Betsy Knapp, experienced pamphleteer for the National League of Women Voters, proves that civil service can be made to sound fresh, interesting, and vital with this provocatively titled study of public employment from the citizen's viewpoint.

Miss Knapp has managed to cover every conceivable question about the merit system—conceivable, that is, to the progressive-minded layman—without falling into the errors of dryness or preachiness. She has cleverly bulwarked even the more argumentative sections of her study with choice supporting quotations from politicians and public officials with a gift for earthy expression. As for her own style, it is lucid and neither highbrow nor insultingly puerile.

The book is divided into four chief sections. The first comes to grips with the question "Is patronage necessary?" It is, perhaps, the weakest section of the pamphlet, chiefly because the author has a tendency to sidestep such vital issues as the need of the executive for patronage as a club over his legislature. She contents herself with footnote references to other works which discuss the question more fully.

Section two gives a rather brief history of civil service in the United States and shows why the merit system is necessary. "The Merit System in the Making, an Obstacle Race," which is chapter three, is the core of this work, an honest exposition of the kinds of conditions and people which sabotage the development and operation of sound public personnel methods. Here the role of public opinion is forcefully described and the thesis of the work is once and for all uncovered: that the merit system can be instituted and made to work well if the citizens will it and if they work for it.

The final chapter describes the essentials of personnel administration and goes into the features of a "model" program.

Finally, useful tables show the extent and cost of civil service systems in the federal government, the state governments, and seven large cities, the type of organization of personnel agencies in various jurisdictions, and numbers of government employees in the past decade. Rare in paperbound books, there is also an index and, to boot, a glossary of civil service terms.

In this pamphlet the National League of Women Voters has produced one of the best, probably *the* best, discussion to date of the merit system for the "citizen," or "voter," or "layman," or "taxpayer." Probably even an expert could profit by reading it.

M. R.

Tennessee: A Political Study. By William H. Combs and William E. Cole. Knoxville, University of Tennessee Press, 1940. xi, 353 pp. $2.00.

The authors of this book are professors at the University of Tennessee, one having recently moved to the Michigan State College of Agriculture and Applied Science. The book is designed to be a popular treatment of state and rural local governments in Tennessee. It has succeeded admirably in attaining this object, and deserves to be widely read by the voters of the whole state. In a foreward to the book President James D. Hoskins of the University of Tennessee says that the main purpose of the volume is to improve governmental administration and contribute to popular understanding of government in the state. To this end the authors have included comparative practices from other states and have made numerous recommendations for betterments. It is fitting, says President Hoskins, that the first book to be published by the newly organized University of Tennessee Press "should be a volume on the government of the state which gave the institution birth and which sustains its existence."

The book contains chapters on constitutional development, suffrage and elections, general assembly, governor, state administration, court system, fiscal administration, educational facilities, welfare and health services, planning agencies, and problems of local rural government. The state's administrative reorganization, beginning in 1923 under Governor Peay, is carefully traced and explained both by chart and text. Civil service, too, is discussed at some length; its failure in recent months commented upon, and recommendations offered for the establishment of a real merit system. The fiscal problems of the state, of which there are many, are treated in a frank and helpful manner. An interesting chapter is included on planning agencies and planning legislation. A final chapter is devoted mainly to county governments, showing how antiquated and politically corrupt they are at the present time and how great the need is for their immediate reform.

A. E. Buck

Institute of Public Administration

Government of the American People. By Jeremiah S. Young, John W. Manning, and Joseph S. Arnold. New York City, D. C. Heath and Company, 1940. xiv, 830 pp. $3.75.

The word "integration" or "integrate" occurs ten times on the first page of the preface to this unusual textbook, and this generic viewpoint is carried out in two ways. The basic aspects of government are each discussed as a whole and at each of its levels; then the way each of the three major levels deals with the achievement of certain ends is set forth in the second half of the book.

Subjects are discussed which are not usually covered by books on government. We find chapters with such headings as "Our Vocations," "The Family," "Recreation," and "Commerce: Domestic and Foreign."

The problem of correct logical order must always confront those who put such a book together but it would seem that the chapter on the getting and spending of public revenue more properly belongs at the end of Part VI which deals with intergovernmental relations, particularly in view of the critical question of getting each to confine itself to a particular type of taxing, than it does in the section devoted to general economic welfare.

We have come a long way in the development of the writing of books for those who would study government when—as in this case—the name of Socrates does not occur once, the name of Aristotle only once, and the reports of the National Resources Board are continually referred to. We have moved from the inculcation of abstract and *a priori* principles, to the type of thinking for which Galileo was one of the first to set the fashion. And that constitutes one of the many values of this book. Anyone who reads it will have thereafter in his slant on government more of the quality embodied in the words "the means whereby" than is yet unfortunately found abroad.

W. J. M.

Additional Books and Reports Received

Planning

California Planning 1939. Sacramento, California State Planning Board, 1940. 64 pp.

Streamlining a City to Attract Industry. Techniques and tools for sustaining cities where men earn their bread. By Herbert S. Swan. New York City, 1940. 23 pp. 25 cents; in lots of 25 or more, 20 cents. (Apply to author, 15 Park Row, New York City.)

Police

Salaries, Hours of Work and Vacation Periods in Police Departments of North Carolina Cities Over 3,000 Population (for year ending June 30, 1940). Raleigh, North Carolina League of Municipalities, 1940. 9 pp. mimeo. Ten cents.

Taxation and Finance

Financial Statistics of Local Governments in Oklahoma, for the Fiscal Year ending June 30, 1939. Oklahoma City, Division of Research and Statistics, Oklahoma Tax Commission, 1940. viii, 171 pp. mimeo.

Fiscal Facts Concerning the City of New York—a 20-year statistical summary of the city's finances. New York City, Citizens Budget Commission, Inc., 1940. 90 pp. Paper cover, $1.50; cloth cover, $2.50.

Government Spending and Economic Expansion. By Arthur E. Burns and Donald S. Watson. Washington, D. C., American Council on Public Affairs, 1940. vi, 176 pp. Paper cover, $2; cloth cover, $2.50.

Illinois Tax Problems. Proceedings of an open forum on taxation and tax problems in Illinois. Edited by Benjamin P. Draper. Chicago and Springfield, Illinois Tax Commission, 1940. xii, 423 pp.

Kentucky County Debts, June 30, 1938. By George Peak and J. E. Reeves. Lexington, University of Kentucky, 1940. v, 62 pp.

State Tax Legislation, 1940. New York City, Tax Policy League, 1940. 16 pages, mimeo. 25 cents.

The Administration of Gasoline Tax Refunds and Exemptions. Chicago, Federation of Tax Administrators, 1940. 32 pp. 75 cents.

Varying Emphasis on Different State Taxes. New York City, Tax Policy League, 1940. 11 pp. mimeo. 25 cents.

NEW YORK SOLVES TRANSIT PROBLEMS

(Continued from Page 735)

Board of Estimate authority to decide what the fare shall be on the unified system, which is the only logical action that the legislature could have taken.[16] The unified lines are being operated by the city directly through its Board of Transportation rather than through a Board of Transit Control as proposed in the past.

The process of unification was not a smooth one, but a road filled with conflict both between private interests and public authorities and between the city and Transit Commission. In the various plans proposed before 1939 certain common tendencies are discernible, including the use of the securities of a public corporation to meet a large part of the purchase price for private properties, consideration of the fare on the unified system, management and operation by a Board of Transit Control on behalf of the city, and a continual decline in the proposed purchase price—except in the Seabury-Berle plan. Recapture was not seriously considered as a means of unification after the second Untermyer plan of 1928.

One can say that the solution reached in 1939, although not ideal, is logical for New York City considering all the circumstances.

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[16] New York State, Transit Commission, *Annual Report* (1939), p. 195; and *New York Times,* March 29, 1940, p. 1, sec. 1, col. 2.

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News in Review

City, State, Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Voters Support Civil Service, P.R., Old Age Pensions

Direct legislative results largely negative

Aside from choosing between candidates for governmental offices the people in various states voted November 5 on a wide selection of governmental issues. These questions involved state constitutional amendments and statutory changes, and other state and local propositions dealing with governmental forms and methods, social security, liquor control, taxation and other financial questions.

Outstanding victories for better government were achieved in the adoption of amendments to establish and safeguard statewide merit systems in Michigan and Louisiana, and in the retention of proportional representation in New York City (commented on in the P.R. department following).

The civil service amendment to the Michigan constitution is discussed in Professor Bromage's article below.

Action in Louisiana confirms civil service statutes passed by the 1940 legislature for the state (see NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, September 1940, page 615) and for the city of New Orleans. The state's electorate also ratified extremely important amendments validating comprehensive and thorough legislation on a general state reorganization. Changes in these laws by the legislature can now be effected only with a two-thirds vote of each house.

Kansas approved an amendment removing the present constitutional prohibition against holding a state position for more than four years from employees who may be placed under a merit system, if the state adopts one.

Four states acted on old-age security measures. Pensions were increased in Washington (see note on page 826); California passed two amendments barring and releasing liens on property of pension recipients; Colorado, despite financial problems, voted down an amendment to reduce the present forty-five-dollar monthly limit to thirty dollars; Arkansas rejected an amendment to establish a new system with a lower age limit of sixty instead of sixty-five.

A proposal for holding a constitutional convention in Iowa lost by a large margin; California defeated a plan for annual legislative sessions; West Virginia turned down the short ballot for state offices. Proposals to increase salaries of legislators failed in Louisiana, Missouri, Oregon, Tennessee, and Washington.

The nonpartisan court plan won in Missouri (see item following). The proposal to abolish justice-of-the-peace courts in West Virginia, and to create summary courts in each county, failed.

Three states defeated liquor proposals. Oklahoma rejected an amendment to repeal state prohibition; initiated propositions in Oregon, to do away with state stores and permit private sale, and in Idaho, to establish county option, were unsuccessful.

Tax changes were widely opposed, including a proposed graduated land tax varying in rate with size of holdings in Oklahoma, personal property exemptions of fifty dollars for single and one hundred dollars for married persons in Arkansas, $5,000 homestead exemption in Arizona, and efforts to extend exemption of industries in Louisiana.

Gas tax diversion was prohibited in Idaho but was left possible in South Dakota; Arizona defeated local sharing of the gas tax.

West Virginia defeated a proposed amendment to give genuine authority to the director of the budget.

The proposed initiated constitutional amendment providing for the merit system in Colorado failed to secure enough signatures to be placed on the ballot.

According to the Council of State Governments, some 165 constitutional amendments or legislative measures were voted on at the polls on November 5, approximately two-thirds being defeated.

Several council-manager charters for cities were voted on, with about equal division between victories and defeats, as noted elsewhere.

The results given represent late November information, with some possibility of alteration by official returns.

Michigan Writes Merit System into Constitution

Michigan has made the merit system a certainty by establishing it as part of the state constitution. Civil service was first established by Michigan in 1937, when Governor Frank Murphy insisted that the legislature pass an act based in large part upon the recommendations of the Civil Service Study Commission headed by Professor James K. Pollock. Out of this original effort came a satisfactory merit system administered by William Brownrigg as personnel director under a commission of distinguished citizens, George J. Burke of Ann Arbor serving as chairman.

The statutory basis for the merit system proved to be unreliable. In 1939 the legislature by a ripper act removed about one-half of the positions from the classified service and drastically reduced the appropriation of the commission.

Pursuant to this legislative reversal, members of the original study commission and other leaders in the drive for the merit principle framed and sponsored a constitutional amendment to place civil service in the state upon a more secure foundation.

The Michigan Merit System Association, with James A. Kennedy as president, was responsible for the circulation of petitions placing the amendment on the November ballot through constitutional initiative and for the campaign leading to its adoption at the referendum. The association was joined by groups such as the C. I. O., League of Women Voters, A. A. U. W., Congress of Parents and Teachers, Citizens' Councils, Kiwanis Clubs, and professional organizations. It did not have the support of the rural groups in the Grange and had active opposition from those state employees supporting the Michigan Constitution League.

Although complete official figures are not yet available, unofficial returns gave the amendment a majority of more than 120,000 with 73 per cent of the precincts reporting.

Under this adopted amendment,[1] the range of positions in the state civil service is clearly defined so as to include not only the lesser jobs but also the more important administrative positions which had again fallen to the spoilsmen in 1939.

The merit system is to be controlled by a small non-salaried commission of four persons, not more than two of whom may be members of the same political party. They will be appointed by the governor for eight-year, overlapping terms. In 1941 this commission

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[1] For full text of the amendment see National Municipal Review for June, 1940, p. 354.

The League's Business

Conference on Government Draws Large Attendance

The League's Forty-sixth Annual National Conference on Government, held at Springfield, Massachusetts, November 18, 19, and 20, was one of the most successful in recent years both in attendance and enthusiasm. Nearly five hundred members and friends of the League formally registered, with many more attending one or more sessions. At the mass meeting held in Springfield's attractive municipal auditorium about 2,000 persons were present.

It was at this mass meeting that retiring President Clarence A. Dykstra set the keynote of the conference when he said that revitalizing the democratic processes of government in local communities is fully as important as the mobilization of man power to save "our way of life." He drew applause from the conference guests and local citizens present when he said, "What is the use of talking about defending the democratic way of life unless it is provable that it works and unless we do our part to make it work in our own local communities?"

The same theme was reiterated by Hon. John G. Winant, newly elected president of the League, at the annual banquet when he declared, "We haven't begun to sacrifice in America."

The January issue of the REVIEW will be devoted practically in its entirety to the conference, presenting as articles some of its more important addresses, and covering the highlights of the sessions.

League's Annual Meeting and Election of Officers

The National Municipal League held its annual business meeting at Springfield, on November 18, in connection with its Annual Conference on Government. President Dykstra presided.

Howard P. Jones, secretary, presented a brief résumé of his report for the year, stating that written copies of the report were available to members on application to the League's office.

Mr. William P. Lovett, acting for the nominating committee, placed the following list of officers in nomination: *President,* John G. Winant, former governor of New Hampshire and more recently director of the International Labor Office; *Vice President,* Henry L. Shattuck of Boston; and *Treasurer,* Carl H. Pforzheimer of New York City, all of whom were unanimously elected.

The nominating committee recommended that the ten vacancies on the League's council be filled by the League's executive committee after conference with Mr. Winant, the new president. This will give the new administration of the League an opportunity which has long been needed to coördinate program and finance in the selection of new council members and insure that each may be counted on to give actively of his time to the work of the League during the next three years.

League's Committee on Model State Constitution Meets

Taking advantage of the opportunity presented by the conference, the League's Committee on a Model State Constitution held sessions at Springfield for three days, November 16, 17, and 18, presided over by its chairman, Professor W. Brooke Graves of Temple University. Members discussed a tentative draft of

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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

A Fool There Was, and He Didn't Vote

AN ESPECIALLY heartening aspect of our democratic self-governing system at the local level is this: When a large proportion of the qualified voters goes to the polls the result is almost invariably good.

This was strikingly illustrated in the recent election when the voters of New York overwhelmingly defeated the machine-inspired proposal to abandon proportional representation as the method of choosing the city council. Politicians had been extremely confident that, with local issues overshadowed by the national election, they couldn't fail. New York voters were discriminating indeed, especially in view of the fact that there was almost no opportunity to conduct a campaign to save P. R.

Cambridge, Massachusetts, provided another example. Two years ago, by a narrow margin, Cambridge defeated a Plan E charter. This year, with a considerably larger vote, Cambridge adopted Plan E[1] (the manager form of government with council elected by P.R.) by a margin of 7,552 out of a total of 43,000 votes cast.

Time and time again similar lessons have been taught in our cities, towns, and villages from one end of the country to the other. In cities where 35 or 40 per cent of the qualified voters turn out at local elections (a tragedy which happens with unbelievable frequency) the result is more often bad than good.

It is seldom, on the other hand, that anything but a wholesome result is obtained when a community actually gets out the vote. This explains the penchant of political spoilsmen for the quiet doorbell-ringing technique and their unhappiness when a community and its newspapers become thoroughly aroused.

Knowledge of these essential truths lends particular significance and promise of hope in such movements as the "get-out-the-vote" campaigns of Junior Chambers of Commerce. Mark Matthews, president of the National Junior Chamber of Commerce, speaking at the National Municipal League's recent forty-sixth annual National Conference on Government, said:

"Many of these political machines have been successful because of the failure of voters to exercise their voting franchise. In carrying out our basic public affairs policy to make democracy work by encouraging individual expression by the constituents in a democracy and unified action by the factors within the democracy, our local organizations carry on 'get-out-the-vote' campaigns on a nonpartisan basis in hundreds of communities. It is interesting to note that in many cities these campaigns have resulted in record registrations and increases in the vote as high as 85 per cent over previous elections."

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[1] See also pages 820 and 830.

It would be overbold to assume to amend Lincoln's oft-quoted statement on fooling the people, but the evidence seems to indicate that all of the people or any large proportion of them are seldom fooled. They are fooled only when half or more of them voluntarily invite it by failing to exercise their right of expression. A self-governing system essentially assumes general participation in the activities provided to insure popular control. The wishes of the majority remain obscure when any considerable proportion chooses to remain inarticulate.

Long Range Fiscal Planning Needed

THE time has come for American cities to be less energetic about seeking new sources of revenue and more intent on teaching themselves to "need" less and to plan more intelligently how to pay existing obligations.

This need is strikingly illustrated by an analysis of the comparative tax rates for 301 cities which are published elsewhere in this issue of the REVIEW.

Despite the fact that these figures are not perfect—various cities are operating under differing conditions, have a variety of standards, do not always have exactly similar revenue sources, and do have dissimilar problems—these comparative tax rates are significant.

They show, for example, that cities which are declining in population are, for the most part, facing greater tax burdens on real estate. Those cities which increased in population—most of them very little—show only half the tax rate increases, on the average, of cities which have shrunk during the last decade.

This trend should be a warning to all cities, for population is becoming static and decentralization of cities continues.

Most cities are still coping with the problem of retiring debts which were incurred during the days of going modern at any and all cost. Today we may be facing another period of temptation. Plenty of pressure is being brought to bear to do things in the name of defense. There will be much to do and much which must be done whatever the cost, but there is unquestionably a strong tendency for pressure groups which have long sought certain improvements to rework their approach now from the defense angle in order to confound the doubting opposition.

Some of our cities are closer to bankruptcy today than it would be possible for an individual or a private business to be. Comparatively few have done systematic, intelligent jobs of making long term financial plans. And the process has been surprisingly painless for those which have tackled the problem.

There is no longer any excuse, beyond that of political expediency and the weak desire to escape reality, for cities to continue in a haphazard manner. Long range fiscal programs and experts to apply them are available. They can and should be used by all municipalities.

A Battle Lost, a War to Win

New York City still saddled with obsolete county offices after forty years' struggle; but fight for county reform to continue.

By PAUL BLANSHARD

Former Commissioner of Accounts, New York City

The sheriff is a man with feet
Who sits upon the county seat.
If we should take his desk away
His feet would have no place to stay.

ON THE crowded sidewalks of New York last September appeared scores of little tables manned by beautiful and earnest ladies of New York City who asked the passers-by for their signatures on county reform petitions. The appearance of those tables was the signal for the eleventh-hour drive of the 1940 battle for county reform in New York City, a battle which has been going on since 1935 when the people of New York State by a constitutional amendment gave the voters of New York City the right to abolish and reorganize some of the leading county offices. On each table a sign was pinned which read:

COUNTY REFORM PETITION
HERE

1. Abolish political army supported on public expense in the sheriffs' and registers' offices.
2. Put the work on a 100% merit basis with competitive service.
3. Save half a million dollars a year now wasted on useless jobs.

SIGN HERE

50,000 signatures are needed this month.

The county reform petitions offered to the voters of New York City from the street tables, and by hundreds of house-to-house canvassers, provided an amendment to the city charter abolishing the old office of sheriff in each county and giving the mayor power to choose one citywide sheriff after competitive examination conducted by the Municipal Civil Service Commission. That meant that if the amendment was adopted the mayor could choose one citywide sheriff from the first three stellar performers in a competitive examination. And it also meant the end of politics in the sheriffs' offices of the city.

Those petitions also provided for the choice of a new citywide register to be appointed by the mayor from competitive civil service lists.

The city voters were able to propose these changes in New York City's new charter by initiative petition because the charter adopted in 1937, which went into effect in 1938, provided that, if 50,000 voters signed a petition for an amendment to the charter, the amendment could be voted on directly by the voters without the approval of the city council.

There is no doubt that the voters of New York City would have endorsed the proposed amendment reorganizing the offices of sheriff and register, but fate was not kind. A similar move to adopt a similar amendment had been defeated in 1939 because there had been defects in the petitions submitted to the board of elections. This time the petitions were challenged in a well organized move headed nominally by five independent citizens in five boroughs of the city, but actually arranged and guided by the Democratic organizations in the five counties. The petition was challenged on the ground that 7,111 signers had failed to show on their petitions either the election district or the assembly district, or both, and that some 15,000 more who were not registered in the year 1939 falsely declared that they were so registered.

PETITIONS LOSE IN COURTS

The battle on technicalities on these petitions went through the Supreme Court and the Appellate Division, while the reform elements of the city watched with tense anxiety. The city's case was ably presented by Frederick vP. Bryan. The Citizens' Non-Partisan Committee, headed by Thomas D. Thacher and ably supported by Judge Samuel Seabury, functioning largely through the Citizens Union under the leadership of William J. Schieffelin and George H. Hallett, Jr., had spent many weary months in gathering petitions and enlightening the public concerning the evils of the county spoils system.

The petitions lost in the Supreme Court and the Appellate Division, but still there was hope. Then, in a dramatic four-line opinion on October 29, the Court of Appeals decided by a vote of four to three that the petitions were defective.

How close the decision was is indicated by the fact that Chief Judge Lehman and Judges Finch and Sears dissented and voted to reverse the unanimous decision of the Appellate Division invalidating the petitions. The majority of four of the highest court interpreted the initiative provisions of the new city charter strictly and said the petitions must conform to the requirements of state election law. The minority said there was no obligation to observe these strict technical rules. The people, believing in the integrity and intelligence of our highest court, submit, and echo the sentiments of the *New York Times,* which said in an editorial:

> In ruling the county reform initiative petition off the ballot the Court of Appeals did not decide that it is a good thing for the City of New York to be encumbered with the useless offices of county sheriffs and registers, with their flocks of retainers maintained for political purposes out of the public funds. It did not decide that a single citywide sheriff and a single citywide register, nominated by the mayor from a civil service list, would not do the city good. What it decided, by a 4 to 3 vote, was that there were not enough valid signatures on the initiative petition.
>
> The court has spoken and the issue is settled for this election. Next year another opportunity will offer. . . .

So ended for another year one of the most bitter and lengthy battles for civic reform in this country. To the person who is not familiar with the devious political manipulations of New York City politics it seems almost incredible that the world's greatest city should have left its county governments unregenerated through all the years since the creation of Greater New York in 1898.

The answer to the riddle is politics —politics and the spoils system. The five county governments of New York City have been for a generation nests of political patronage, vermiform appendixes of the spoils system. The half million dollars of waste in the support of county loafers by city taxpayers is only part of the story. The rest of the story is more important. Several hundred county loafers drawing sustenance from the city payroll are actually very hard working political hacks who serve as district leaders, election district captains, and general all-round handy men for the political machines that seek to dominate New York City life.

GREATER NEW YORK IS BORN

Officially, the story goes clear back to 1896, when the legislature of New York passed a bill which made Kings County, part of Queens County, and all of Richmond County integral parts with Manhattan of Greater New York (Bronx came in later in 1914). Since then we have had five counties in New York City—Kings, New York, Queens, Bronx, and Richmond.

A charter was written for the new Greater New York, which took effect in 1898, the same year that Theodore Roosevelt and Leonard Wood organized the Rough Riders and Roosevelt was elected governor of New York. Those were the days of two-year terms for mayors, when buggies trundled across the Brooklyn Bridge, and Queens was a great stretch of little villages surrounded by farms which Manhattanites reached by ferry.

In those days, as today, local politics was important, and it would not have been possible to consolidate into one great city all the different localities unless the people in each county had preserved most of their local powers. Accordingly, the new city took over into the new structure of government many county offices which were even then outmoded.

The new city included not only the antiquated and useless county offices but all the borough offices as well, and those borough offices have been preserved through all the years, even in the new city charter which went into effect in 1938. So New York is one city, five boroughs, and five counties, all part of the magnificent and wasteful maze of overlapping jurisdictions. The boroughs, which are practically identical with the counties, have some legislative power because the borough presidents, elected every four years by the people of each borough, have votes in the city's highest legislative body, the board of estimate.

But the counties have no vestige left of local legislative power. Their survival depends upon ancient laws of the state legislature. No one dared to destroy the old counties, so they were stripped of most of their functions, and those functions were transferred to city authorities. Today we have the anomaly of five county governments within one city government, five sets of county officials paid for out of city taxes while the city itself has no power to reduce or abolish their mandatory salaries, five sets of county buildings paid for by the city while the city has no power to vacate them.

Some of these ancient county offices are important centers of governmental activity. The district attorneys in each county are useful and at present exceptionally energetic. But when the civic-minded citizen of New York criticizes county government, he thinks of those two sets of offices which have been dramatized by years of civic campaigning—the offices of the sheriffs and the registers in the five counties.

One reason why these two sets of offices are singled out for attention is that they are the only local offices the voters can abolish or reorganize directly under the constitution—the district attorneys' offices and the county clerks' offices cannot be touched directly by local legislation.

ALL PLAY AND NO WORK

By tradition, sheriffs are bold men who keep the peace. By devolution, the sheriffs of New York have become fat men who sit in chairs. I once wrote the strictly amateur poem which appears at the beginning of this article. Behind that doggerel there lies a long record of incompetence and waste in the sheriffs' offices of New York. Almost all the important functions of the sheriffs of New York's counties have been taken over by the police, the department of correction, and other agencies, but the salaries of these sheriffs are still carried by city taxpayers at a depression rate of $15,000 a year for New York, the Bronx, and Kings and smaller amounts for the other counties. When you consider that the vice-president of the United States gets $15,000 and most New York City department heads receive $10,000, you can see what an expensive luxury a county sheriff is. The city budget for the year ending June 30, 1940, appropriated $896,164 for the five county sheriffs' offices, and the salaries in those offices were paid to 362 employees, all but eleven of whom were exempt from civil service examination and controlled largely by their political bosses.

When I investigated the sheriff's office for Mayor LaGuardia in his first administration, the investigators of my staff discovered that the average deputy sheriff in the civil division of New York County, even with the aid of an assistant, handles less than three papers per month on which any real work is demanded. Many deputies in this office actually handled only about one paper per month on which real work was required. They received salaries ranging from $2,000 to $3,000 and they were all exempt political appointees. Seventy-five per cent were members of the county committee of the political party to which they belonged, and 63 per cent were chairmen of their local election district county committees.

The performances and the political connections did not vary much from county to county. In Kings County I found that the average deputy sheriff handled four papers per month on which any real work was required, and some of the deputies frankly admitted under cross-examination that they could easily handle four times the number of matters assigned to them. The sheriff's office of the Bronx was particularly saturated with politics and indolence. In Bronx County 90 per cent of the employees in the sheriff's office proper were members of the county committee of their party.

In the course of our investigation for Mayor LaGuardia, one honest old man in the Kings County sheriff's office, Clerk X, testified quite candidly:

> A. I claim, and I believe, that the office could be run at this time by twelve deputies and assistants.
>
> Q. Twelve deputies and twelve assistants?
>
> A. Yes. . . .

Q. How many deputies are there now?
A. Twenty.
Q. How many assistants are there?
A. Also twenty.
Q. So that you could save eight deputies and eight assistants?
A. As I said before, when those four deputies and four assistant deputies were appointed in 1930 I told McCooey they weren't needed, and then there must have been a "deal" there, because four of them are Republicans and four are Democrats.

. . . .

Q. This Miss Wright [Minnie Wright, secretary at $2,250] does she do any typing?
A. No.
Q. Does she know anything about bookkeeping, do you know?
A. Well, candidly, no. She is a housewife, a wonderful woman.
Q. What is she, a political appointee?
A. Oh yes. They all are.
Q. What is she, an election captain? A district captain?
A. Oh no, she is a co-leader.

If the reader is slightly shocked by the political success of Miss Wright, he should realize that her case is not exceptional. The non-competitive rosters of the sheriff's office, the register's office, and the offices of the commissioners of records are full of "wonderful" people whose literary attainments are no less notable than their financial acumen.

During the same county investigation described above, I had the honor to examine the commissioner of records of Kings County, Mr. Hyman Schorenstein, who for many years has been drawing a salary of $6,250 a year for his literary attainments. The examination ran as follows:

Q. Can you read anything?
A. A little.
Q. Can you spell your own name?
A. Certainly.
Q. How do you spell it?
A. H-s-t-c-t-e-i-n.
Q. Did you sign this check [handing check to witness]?
A. Yes.
Q. That is your own signature?
A. Yes.
Q. You wrote that?
A. Yes.
Q. Can you read these letters [showing witness check and indicating signature]?
A. No.
Q. Can you read what it says on the red line [handing check to witness and pointing to figures $2,000]?
A. No.
Q. What are the functions of the office of the commissioner of records?
A. I am there every day and see that the work is conducted and see that the books are overhauled and see all the work is done there.

. . . .

Q. Do you keep records in your office?
A. Everything is kept in records in the office.
Q. What records do you keep?
A. Whatever the work is done there.
Q. What records are kept in your office?
A. That is taken up with the chief clerk. He conducts the work in keeping the records of everything.

The commissioners of records in the counties of New York are essentially bookbinders and librarians, while the registers of the five counties are essentially bookkeepers. There is no earthly reason why these bookkeepers should be paid $12,000 a year, as they are paid in several of the counties today, and most intelligent voters of the city have long opposed their retention.

Several years ago the Citizens

Budget Commission did a little independent prowling in the New York County sheriff's office and discovered three stationary engineers who are quite typical. They were paid nine dollars a day each by the city of New York for shovelling one hundred tons of coal a year. The coal might have cost as much as $1,000. The shovelling cost $6,750!

SAVINGS AND MORALE

It is not certain exactly how much money could be saved by the proposed county reorganization, but the amount ranges from $500,000 to $1,000,000. In an annual city budget of more than $600,000,000, this is a relatively small amount, but morally it is immensely important. The county loafers in the registers' and sheriffs' offices help to corrupt the whole spirit of the civil service system in New York. Faithful employees who have gained their salaries and positions by hard work often see above them in the economic and political scale men and women whose sole attainments are political bootlicking and district doorbell ringing. A million dollars in unearned salaries paid to political loafers may mean ten million dollars of demoralization in other city departments.

It is no wonder that Mayor LaGuardia, in discussing county loafers in general, once said: "These parasites are the most contemptible bunch of leeches I have ever gone after, and I have gone after plenty. They are not only useless, but they admit they are useless, and in the same breath in which they admit they never do a full day's work they dare us to chase them out. Could the public get a more insolent challenge?"

Many of the sheriffs and other county officials who have held office in days gone by have admitted the relative uselessness of their offices. Al Smith once said, "Why leave the sheriff? As far as the City of New York is concerned, the sheriff's office is just all finished. I was sheriff myself, and I was busy looking for something to do, and if it had not been for the war and the time I put in selling liberty bonds and postal savings stamps and seeing the boys off, I would have had nothing to do."

Incidentally, Al Smith, who was a very able sheriff, conducted the New York County sheriff's office in the days when the sheriff was allowed to keep the fees and pay his own men out of the fees received, and strangely enough, in those days the sheriff's office cost the city itself absolutely nothing and yet managed to yield the sheriff a very handsome profit. When the sheriff's employees were put upon the city payroll, the number of payroll occupants rapidly rose, and the whole system has been in the red ever since.

In spite of the fact that the leaders of both major political parties supported the home rule amendment when it was passed in 1935, the old-line political leaders of the Democratic party have fought county reform, directly and indirectly, ever since. In the first new city council chosen by proportional representation, leaders like Mrs. Genevieve Earle and Newbold Morris fought hard for county reorganization bills, only to see those bills emasculated and finally defeated.

Mrs. Earle began her fight in January 1938, in her first month as a member of the new council, by introducing a series of bills for county reorganization. In May and June of that year she revised her bills and re-introduced them, but Tammany sought to bury the bills in a well controlled committee on public welfare. And they remained pigeonholed until the very last day of the council session when a fight by the minority held the council in session more than twenty hours—a famous filibuster that lasted till three o'clock in the morning. When they finally forced a vote, many of the Democratic and Republican councilmen broke the pledges they had made to the public and voted against the bill, the score of defeat being seventeen to nine. The American Labor party, Republican and City Fusion leaders voted for reform, but they were defeated by the old guard regulars of the machine.

TAMMANY'S PLAN

Mrs. Earle's proposals were essentially the same as those embodied in the proposed charter amendment that was outlawed in October of this year by the Court of Appeals.

But meanwhile Tammany forces in the city council attempted to divert the move for real county reform by introducing a fake plan of their own. Because they controlled a majority of the city council, they re-wrote one of Mrs. Earle's admirable bills on the subject and made it into a scheme whereby the sheriffs and the registers would be chosen by the city court in the respective counties. The bills provided that the political hacks in the present sheriffs' and registers' offices should be transferred bodily to the new payroll.

The device fooled nobody, for everybody knows that the elected lower court judges of New York City are continuously forced to pay political tribute to the machines in order to get their nominations, and the tribute commonly takes the form of retaining political ne'er-do-wells as secretaries, coatroom-keepers, and clerks. Transferring control of the sheriffs' and registers' offices to a Tammany-controlled court would simply have sanctified with judicial camouflage a series of transactions which would soil and degrade any judicial institution. It is not surprising that these fake reform measures, passed by the Democratic majority in the city council in the fall of this year, were vetoed by Mayor LaGuardia on October 23.

At present the machine political bosses of New York are jubilant over their temporary victory in defeating the proposed charter amendment for county reform, but their victory will be short-lived. The voters of the city in the last election overwhelmingly endorsed and retained P. R. in spite of the bosses' opposition. It is certain that after the technical difficulties are once overcome they will overwhelmingly endorse the measures supported by the Citizens' Non-Partisan Committee for county reorganization.

Chicago's One-Man Cleanup Campaign

Hotel man puts Cook County jail, hospital and poorhouse — formerly "fat political pickings" — on a sound business basis.

By **WILLIAM F. McDERMOTT**

IN THE midst of the graft, waste, and incompetency that have made Chicago notorious, a lone citizen has engineered an amazing cleanup of three public institutions formerly considered fat political pickings—the Cook County Jail, the Cook County General Hospital, and Oak Forest, the county poorhouse.

He has eliminated thievery, filthy conditions, bad food. He has made innumerable other improvements for the health and morale of the 7,500 inmates and patients of the institutions. And he has returned half a million dollars to the public in buildings, equipment, or cash.

This unique trail blazer of the Windy City is Anton C. Negri, Swiss-born hotel man, inventor, and business executive. Long grateful to his adopted country for the freedom and opportunity it had accorded him, Negri wanted to render some public service in return.

One day five years ago he met Chicago's newly elected sheriff, John Toman. "My worst problem is the jail," Toman remarked. "It is a filthy mess. The food is awful." Negri pricked up his ears at the mention of food. He had been assistant manager of the great Savoy Hotel in London, later of the Waldorf Astoria in New York, and finally manager of a chain of hotels in Chicago, until 1930 when he began marketing his invention for dehydrating milk products. He agreed to spend a few days looking over the jail to see what suggestions he could make.

The few days have stretched to five years of cleaning up public institutions in Chicago. Negri, the hotel man, gets more fun out of catering to prisoners, hospital patients, and paupers than to swanky travelers.

When Negri and the sheriff visited the jail they found it dirty, the attendants indifferent or caustic, the food an unpalatable, deadly monotony of hash on Mondays and Thursdays, and beans on Tuesdays and Fridays. The cooking was wasteful, the service messy, and the prisoners threatened trouble.

Negri had never seen anything like it. "Imprisonment is enough," he said. "We can't let men starve because of food they can't eat." He hired a dietitian to plan meals, throw out stale food, put in fresh vegetables and meats. Yet by cutting out waste and graft he saved $30,000 on food the first year.

Though many of the employees owed their jobs to politicians and resented an interloper, Negri sought their support. In time even they absorbed the contagion of progress. The prison looked up in appearance, cleanliness, and morale. Garbage was cut from fourteen barrels to one a day by making food palatable and not cooking excessive amounts. Under the improved conditions rumbles of revolt among the prisoners died. While Negri saved enough on prison operation to build a new county highway police station, the jail, which had previously had no rating at all, won a Class A rating from federal prison authorities.

Negri had given a year and a half away from his business to improve conditions at the jail when complaints about rotten conditions at the Cook County Hospital swelled to a roar. A vivid series of newspaper articles had portrayed the hospital as "Misery Harbor," a place filthy beyond description.

ANOTHER JOB

A committee of six prominent physicians and hospital superintendents headed by the Dean of the Northwestern University School of Medicine investigated the hospital and prescribed "the elimination of politics and the introduction of competent and adequate management, efficient personnel, and essential facilities."

It was rather a large order, but President Clayton F. Smith of the county commissioners said to Negri, "We'll give you blanket authority to do for the hospital what you have done for the jail." Negri and his small crew of expert investigators and clerks went to work. The county board voted $25,000 to underwrite the cleanup, of which Negri used $23,500 to pay eleven investigators, gathered mostly from hotel staffs he had once managed and each an expert in his own field. The balance went for miscellaneous expense.

A commissioner who had toured the 3,300-bed Cook County Hospital—the largest general hospital under one roof in the world—had said angrily that it was "unfit for swine." Many drinking fountains and toilets were out of order. The floors and walls were dirty. The alleged ventilation system blew soot at the patients. Attendants were rude. There was a shortage of nurses. The public surged through the hospital at will. Petty thievery thrived. Not enough sheets, bad food. Rags and newspapers plugged broken windows. There was a chronic hot water shortage. But the hospital budget was high.

Negri hired an expert in mass cooking, who cut food waste 80 per cent while living up to the rule, "first quality in everything." Negri installed a perpetual inventory and budget control to double-check every item purchased, used, or discarded from a thimble to an X-ray machine. He cut off "leakages," such as the $300 worth of aluminum and drugs found hidden behind egg cases and radiators in the bakery room, ready to be sneaked out at a favorable moment. When Negri fired the culprit his political sponsor demanded that he be reinstated. "If you like publicity . . . " Negri began. The politician disappeared.

In the first week Negri put in 9,000 new sheets and 2,500 new blankets. Plumbers and painters went to work cleaning and repairing. He rebuilt the medical library, established a new clinic, bought hundreds of bedside tables, a new incubator, new microscopes, X-ray shadow boxes, wheel chairs, and infra-red ray lamps and installed photographic film records. It seemed like a spending spree. Yet he handled the cleanup and the new supplies, which also included $29,000 worth of repairs on the main building, a new ambulance, and a $25,000 X-ray machine, all within the hospital budget.

A typical Negri economy was to order all laundry done at the hospital. Of course the politicians squawked. It deprived favored laundries of business, but it saved the county $20,000 that year on laundry bills. All in all Negri saved $152,000 the first year, most of which went for improvements and equipment.

POORHOUSE NEXT

Gratified by Negri's achievements, President Smith of the county board asked him to tackle the poorhouse. Keeping the jail and the hospital under his wing, Negri, who had turned down a $25,000-a-year hotel job to continue serving the public for a fraction of this salary, started in on his third institution.

Negri's investigation of Oak Forest, a pretentious establishment with 3,600 inmates and a $1,500,000 annual budget, gave him a progressive shock. Linens simply faded away. Sheets remained on beds a month or more without change. Undergarments had become so scarce that male inmates often wore them a month without change. Skin disease epidemics had spread among inmates. Cobwebs and dirt covered the building. The roof leaked. Bedbugs ran rampant. Inmates sold full-grown hogs from the pens at two dollars each; 2,000 chickens "flew away" in one year—300 in a single night. Politically appointed "farm hands" took vacations in summer, letting the crops go to weeds.

Negri assigned the chief cook to drive the fire truck. In his place he brought the former chef of the Union League, Chicago's most exclusive club, to supervise the preparation of 12,000 meals a day.

The simple measure of having bread sliced and wrapped instead of distributing it by the loaf reduced the amount of bread wasted by 325 loaves a day. The chef doubled the strength of the coffee, made the bread with milk instead of water, provided good food, added desserts to the menu. As a final touch he installed electrically heated carts to carry food steaming to the tables and the hospital wards. The doctors soon reported better health among the inmates and a lower death rate. *And in the first year Negri saved $65,000 in food costs.*

Negri had beds taken out, sandblasted and repainted; mattresses torn apart, fumigated, and rebuilt. Now every bed is disinfected once a week, mattresses are rebuilt every three months. To bring the linen supply up to the standard of a first class hospital he increased the number of sheets from 7,000 to 23,000. He also added $20,000 worth of clothes to the stock. Now inmates bathe and change all of their clothes twice a week.

Among other items new equipment included electric fans, dentist's chair, sterilizer, basal metabolism machine, sun lamps, drinking fountains, kitchen equipment, water softener, fire extinguishers, and even a tractor for the farm.

A roundup of piping, couplings, tools, and electrical equipment scattered over the grounds and through the buildings equipped a storeroom with $11,000 worth of supplies. The elimination of waste and unnecessary charges saved $35,000 a year on fuel. One year of efficient operation jumped the value of products of the farm from $9,000 to $23,000, although rebellious hands, bitter at the loss of summer vacations, mowed down whole fields of beets and carrots. Negri's economies even paid for a new floor for the chapel, *yet $80,000 in cash was returned to the corporate fund in his first year at Oak Forest.*

One of Negri's major drives was to give the meaning of "home" to the institution. He held mass meetings of the inmates and invited them to cooperate with him in keeping up the grounds and buildings. He introduced brightly colored bedspreads and curtains to the wards.

He promised to do his best to have potter's field—the county's pauper and unidentified bodies are buried there—removed from the county farm where it is like a shadow of death to the feeble and downcast among the inmates. Meantime, he has had the simple markers painted and trees planted about the huge plot of unclaimed dead.

WORK AND RECREATION

He is now working for a recreation building with assembly hall for movies and entertainment, quarters for games and smoking, a library for the blind, and a room of their own for the women.

Negri has done a heroic job of providing as many inmates as possible with useful activity. Work is commended but not compulsory. In the tailor shop men and women, in seven months, made 3,500 sheets, 2,500 towels, 1,500 pillow slips, and 10,000 other items. The women even darned 3,500 pairs of socks. A blind man weaves baskets. Even a badly crippled invalid has found a job: he sits in his wheelchair and opens the door for passers-by with a string.

Today you can travel through the long corridors and many buildings of Oak Forest and find it "spotless town." More than that, it has the indefinable human touch which gives the feeling that "someone cares." Negri does care. The deference and friendliness of this slight, silver-haired business man win the trust of even the lowliest. Time and again as I went through the wards with him, I heard him hailed—by grandmothers in their rocking chairs as well as youngsters in tuberculosis wards. Everyone brightened as he approached.

While Negri has directed the cleanup of the institutions and their finances, his son has operated the dehydrating business in which they have a partnership. The county has paid the expense of Negri's work out of the savings he has made within the budgets. This has run from $15,000 to $25,000 a year, providing investigators and clerks and their expenses and a small compensation for Negri himself which the county board has insisted he take for the last two years.

Yet it has not all been smooth sailing for citizen Negri. He has had to buck the politicians in order to pull these institutions out of the mire. Those whose graft has been reduced have tried to sabotage his efforts. Orders have been pigeonholed, unaccountably misinterpreted, or overlooked. Mysterious countermands have been attempted. Petty politicians have been furious at Negri's civic-minded intrusion into their efforts to sponge off the poor and sick and aged. Only public clamor and

(Continued on Page 791)

Local Progress in Labor Peace

Various methods of handling labor disputes developed by cities throughout the country; many cities offer some service for mediation.

By WILLIAM L. NUNN
University of Newark

IN RECENT issues of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW the municipal labor boards of Toledo, Ohio, and Newark, New Jersey, were described in considerable detail.[1] The point was made that creation of these boards was due to the impact of local labor disputes on the municipal governments of the two cities.

But many other cities have been faced with exactly the same set of problems, and, as a result, other plans and policies which differ from those in Toledo and Newark are known to exist. In order to find out the extent to which other plans are used, a questionnaire was prepared and sent to each municipality in the United States which had a population of more than 30,000 according to the census of 1930. A total of eighty cities, or 26 per cent of those polled, returned completed questionnaires which could be analyzed satisfactorily. The purpose of this article is to report the results which were secured.

NO DEFINITE PLAN

Sixty-nine cities, or 86 per cent of those returning satisfactory questionnaires, indicated that a definite municipal policy or combination of policies for the settlement of local labor problems had been adopted by city officials. Only eleven cities, or 14 per cent, had, for one reason or another, no plan or policy of any sort. These cities, with their 1930 population figures, included Rome, New York, (32,000); Mansfield, Ohio, (34,000); Zanesville, Ohio, (36,000); East Cleveland, Ohio, (40,000); Lima, Ohio, (42,000); Cranston, Rhode Island, (43,000); Berwin, Illinois, (47,000); Greensboro, North Carolina, (54,000); Newton, Massachusetts, (65,000); New Haven, Connecticut, (163,000); and Dayton, Ohio, (201,000).

Each city without a definite policy ascribed this lack to the absence of labor disputes. Only one of the cities in this category, New Haven, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, has had ten or more strikes in at least one year over the past ten-year period.[2] In New Haven, according to the returned questionnaire, no machinery exists for preventing local labor disputes because the city has had " . . . no major labor disputes in [nine years]." Since the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported ten strikes in New Haven in 1937, two in 1938, and four in 1939,[3] one must conclude that these strikes did not attract the attention of city hall.

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[1] "Communities Settle Their Labor Problems," March 1940; "Newark Makes Labor Peace," April 1940. These two articles, together with the present article, all by William L. Nunn, will be available shortly in pamphlet form.

[2] Only strikes involving six or more workers and lasting one or more days are included in the Bureau of Labor Statistics' reports.

[3] "Analysis of Strikes in 1937," *Monthly Labor Review*, May 1938; "Analysis of Strikes in 1938," *ibid.* May 1939; "Strikes in 1939," *ibid.* May 1940.

With the exception of New Haven, then, absence or infrequency of strikes would seem to account for the lack of a plan for settling disputes. Excepting Dayton, which has a population of more than 200,000, the small size of each town in this group would further indicate reasons for absence of a definite policy for settling labor disputes by municipal officials. The mayor of one of these smaller cities indicated that he would intervene if a strike should develop; another mayor pointed out that he, if confronted with a strike, would use the services of the United States Conciliation Service.

PLAN I

THE HANDS-OFF POLICY

The questionnaire presented to city officials several possible attitudes and plans which were known to be in existence in several cities. Plan I was described in the questionnaire as follows:

"Some mayors and city officials have adopted the policy that it is not their business to intervene for the purpose of settling local labor disputes. They maintain a clear-cut hands-off policy and counsel and advise neither party in such disputes."

Twenty, or 25 per cent of the cities which returned completed questionnaires, follow this policy. These cities, with their 1930 population figures, were Everett, Washington, (31,000); Marion, Ohio, (31,000); Joplin, Missouri, (33,000); Tucson, Arizona, (33,000); Dubuque, Iowa, (42,000); Port Arthur, Texas, (51,000); Durham, North Carolina, (52,000); Lancaster, Pennsylvania, (60,000); Oak Park, Illinois, (64,000); Quincy, Massachusetts, (72,000); Lincoln, Nebraska, (76,000); Pasadena, California, (76,000); Saginaw, Michigan, (81,000); Berkeley, California, (82,000); Little Rock, Arkansas, (82,000); Tacoma, Washington, (107,000); Erie, Pennsylvania, (116,000); Des Moines, Iowa, (143,000); Memphis, Tennessee, (253,000); and Seattle, Washington, (366,000).

The present hands-off policy on the part of these cities has been in effect for a period of time ranging from six months to ten years.

As might be expected, the questionnaire revealed a certain amount of shifting from policy to policy. When reasons for these changes were given, for the most part they centered around changes in city administrations. For example, one city, Seattle, under a prior administration, had had experience in settling labor disputes with an appeals board appointed by the mayor. The present mayor described the former board as follows: "The board—in a measure—was helpful and yet on the whole did not meet the problems involved because of difficulties in selecting a personnel that would be unbiased."

Seven of the cities included in this group indicated present policy was due to the few strikes which had occurred over the past few years. It is interesting to note that only one of the seven, along with five other cities in this category, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, have each had ten or more strikes in at least one year during the past decade. In 1937, the year of the greatest number of strikes for each of these cities with a hands-off policy, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, was credited with ten strikes, Saginaw twenty-one, Seattle thirty-two, Memphis, seventeen, Des Moines twenty-seven, and Erie seventeen.[4]

Except for Lancaster and Saginaw, the six cities included in the Bureau of Labor Statistics' tabulation have populations in excess of 100,000. Of all the towns with a population in excess of 100,000 which follow Plan I, only Tacoma has been without a sufficient number of strikes to be listed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

It would seem to follow, then, that small populations and absence of strikes tend to account for the hands-off policy in a majority of the twenty cities which fall in this category. Two of the mayors of these smaller cities indicated that if they were confronted with major strikes of long duration they would attempt to mediate them.

Other reasons for the existence of this hands-off policy were stated or were implied. One mayor confused the author of this article when he gave as a reason for the hands-off policy " . . . the labor vote is only 8 per cent of our registration and that is split up in several factions." With somewhat the same results, still another mayor described his town as " . . . a strong union labor city, and most mayors hesitate to take any action which might offend the labor classes."

Several mayors indicated a "law and order" justification for the hands-off policy. One would gather that some municipal officials limit their labor policies in such a way as to preclude any attempt to secure industrial peace other than preventing violence and property damage. For example, one mayor described his policy as an attempt " . . . to enforce peace and order and to immediately arrest any person who violates any ordinance . . . to see that all men who are willing to work have the privilege of going to and coming from their work without interference. . . . "

PLAN II

USE OF OUTSIDE MEDIATION AGENCIES

Plan II was presented as follows: *"Some mayors and city officials have departed somewhat from Plan I and maintain a policy of referring industrial disputes to the United States Conciliation Service or to the state mediation service, if one exists. This policy seems to be followed because of the belief that public welfare lies in amicable settlement of industrial disputes and that city officials should at least go so far as to secure the services of existing agencies in the settling of such disputes."*

Ten, or 12½ per cent, of the cities identified this plan as their own. These cities, with their 1930 population figures, were High Point, North Carolina, (37,000); Anderson, Indiana, (40,000); Lynchburg, Virginia, (41,000); Lorain, Ohio, (45,000); Haverhill, Massachusetts, (49,000); Beaumont, Texas, (58,000); Schenectady, New York, (96,000); Duluth, Minnesota, (101,000); St. Paul, Minnesota, (272,000); and Washington, D. C., (487,000).

One city, Duluth, adopted this policy after an unsuccessful attempt was made by the mayor to set up a labor relations board. The use of the United States Conciliation Service in the city of Washington seems to be due, not so much to the activity of the commissioners of the District of

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[4] "Analysis of Strikes in 1937," *Monthly Labor Review,* May 1938.

Columbia, as to the proximity of the federal agency in question. The unique Minnesota labor relations act seems to reflect itself in the policies followed in Duluth and in St. Paul, as do the state mediation agencies of New York and Massachusetts in the cases of Schenectady and Haverhill.

Other cities described assistance received from the United States Conciliation Service in some detail. Three mayors stated that they assisted the federal conciliators in arranging conferences and in presenting the facts of each dispute, but left it to the conciliators to secure agreements. Beaumont, Texas, has on occasion used panels of citizens in coöperation with United States Conciliators. High Point, North Carolina, contemplates the use of panels of local citizens in the future.

Perhaps the advantages of referring disputes to outside agencies was best stated in the reply from Anderson, Indiana: "We have never adopted a 'hands-off' policy in local labor disputes. When appealed to by either or both sides, we have tried to offer an understanding and sympathetic attitude. . . . We tell both sides that we cannot adjudicate their differences . . . we recommend that either the State Labor Conciliation or the National Labor Conciliation agencies be called in. Although we have experienced some rather exciting and serious occasions . . . our methods of approach . . . have so far met with unfailing success."

Four cities out of the ten included in this category appear in the Bureau of Labor Statistics reports. The greatest number of strikes was sixteen in Haverhill in 1933; seventeen in Duluth in 1937; twelve in St. Paul in 1938; and twenty-five in Washington in each of the years 1937 and 1938.[5]

PLAN III

MEDIATION BY CITY OFFICIALS

Plan III was presented to city officials as follows: *"Some mayors, city managers, and commissioners have made themselves readily available as mediators of local disputes."*

A total of twenty-eight, or 35 per cent of the reporting cities, found themselves in this category. These were Colorado Springs, Colorado, (33,000); Elgin, Illinois, (36,000); West New York, New Jersey, (37,000); Waterloo, Iowa, (46,000); Stamford, Connecticut, (46,000); Pueblo, Colorado, (50,000); Fresno, California, (53,000); Terre Haute, Indiana, (63,000); Hammond, Indiana, (65,000); Racine, Wisconsin, (68,000); Lawrence, Massachusetts, (85,000); Rockford, Illinois, (86,000); Lynn, Massachusetts, (102,000); Peoria, Illinois, (105,000); Knoxville, Tennessee, (106,000); New Bedford, Massachusetts, (113,000); Camden, New Jersey, (119,000); Trenton, New Jersey, (123,000); Bridgeport, Connecticut, (147,000); Springfield, Massachusetts, (150,000); Atlanta, Georgia, (270,000); Denver, Colorado, (288,000); Portland, Oregon, (302,000); Louisville, Kentucky, (308,000); Minneapolis, Minnesota, (464,000); Buffalo, New York, (573,000); Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, (670,000); and Baltimore, Maryland, (805,000).

Not only do the greatest number of

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[5] "Analysis of Strikes, 1927-36," United States Department of Labor, Bulletin No. 651; "Analysis of Strikes in 1937," *Monthly Labor Review*, May 1938; "Analysis of Strikes in 1938," *ibid.* May 1939.

cities fall in this category, but this plan, in those cities which furnished data, has been in existence for the longest period of time. About one-half of the cities act only when requested to do so by one or both of the contesting parties, and about one-half of the cities act only in major rather than minor disputes. In Pueblo, Colorado, members of the city council mediate. In Denver, Colorado, the mayor sometimes asks other members of his administration to mediate disputes. In Trenton, New Jersey, the mayor acts with the director of public safety. In Peoria, Illinois, it is the superintendent of police who officially acts for the city. Five of the cities listed in this category have, on occasion, either referred disputes to the state conciliation agencies or to the United States Conciliation Service.

It is significant that fifteen of the thirty-eight cities which engage in mediation activity have had ten or more strikes in one or more of the years since 1929. These are Rockford, eleven strikes in 1937; Minneapolis, thirty strikes in 1936; Louisville, twenty-two strikes in 1937; Springfield, nineteen strikes in 1937; Portland, thirty-one strikes in 1936; Terre Haute, ten strikes in 1935; Buffalo, twenty-eight strikes in 1937; Denver, eleven strikes in 1937; Baltimore, twenty-nine strikes in 1937; Atlanta, eleven strikes in 1939; Pittsburgh, ninety-nine strikes in 1937; New Bedford, ten strikes in 1937; Peoria, seventeen strikes in 1937; Trenton, fifteen strikes in 1938; and Lynn, eleven strikes in 1936.[6]

It is also interesting to note that sixteen of the cities that follow this plan have a population in excess of 100,000.

The mayors of both Pittsburgh and Lynn have expressed rather interesting points of view in connection with mediation of local industrial disputes by city authorities. Both mayors insist labor disputes should be adjusted as a matter of course by representatives of management and trade unions, through machinery set up independently of city halls or other agencies of government. The expressed policy, it would seem, would be for government officials to mediate disputes only as a last resort, and thus prevent "folks from running down to city hall with every 2x4 dispute." Clearly, in Pittsburgh especially, the mayor is attempting to develop the proper machinery for settlement of controversies by the groups concerned. This point of view, however, does not seem to be general. Elsewhere mayors function on a dispute-to-dispute basis.

One mayor wrote as follows: " . . . the mayor's office has been very active in the amicable disposition of labor disputes, and it has been my practice to call in both workers, business agents of the union, and employers to discuss the controversy in round-table fashion; through such techniques we have succeeded in avoiding many strikes. . . . My door is always open and the mayor is always available . . . I feel this kind of coöperation has been most instrumental in reducing the number of strikes . . . to such an extent as has been quite startling to all concerned."

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[6] *Ibid.*

PLAN IV

SPECIAL MUNICIPAL MEDIATORS

Plan IV, really an extension of Plan III, was stated in such a manner as to discover if any of the cities engaging in mediation had found it necessary to employ additional personnel in order to handle all the labor cases which came up for settlement. Of the cities which returned questionnaires, only three—Akron, Ohio, (225,000); Cincinnati, Ohio, (451,000); and Los Angeles, California, (1,238,000)—had found it necessary to designate special persons with the responsibility for such work.

In Akron an assistant director of the law department has been so designated, while in Cincinnati a committee of three works with the city manager as cases arise. The mayor of Los Angeles has a field secretary attached to his staff whose job it is to handle labor controversies. At times the field secretary acts alone. At other times a citizens' committee, of three or five persons, is appointed by the mayor to act with the secretary. Although the city of New York did not return the questionnaire, it is known that one of the secretaries to the mayor is a "labor secretary," and as such represents and assists the mayor of that city in much of the labor mediation in which he participates.

All three of the cities in this category, and New York City as well, are included in the Bureau of Labor Statistics' reports as having had ten or more strikes in at least one year during the past ten years. The reports credit Akron with forty-three strikes in 1936, Cincinnati with twenty-five in 1937, and Los Angeles with seventy-eight in 1937—the largest number of strikes in these cities in any single year during the decade.[7]

PLAN V

PANELS OF CITIZENS

Plan V was presented in order to discover the extent to which panels of citizens had been appointed by municipal officers to act as mediators of local labor disputes. As already indicated, several cities which were tabulated elsewhere have resorted to this technique occasionally. Only Lowell, Massachusetts, (100,000) and St. Louis, Missouri, (822,000) fell squarely into this category.

In Lowell each panel is made up of representatives of the disputants and a nonpartisan chairman, sometimes a clergyman, who is appointed by the mayor. In both Lowell and St. Louis the personnel of the panels changes with each situation. Although no questionnaires were returned by the cities of New York and Philadelphia, it is known that within recent years panels of citizens have been used in each of these cities.

Three cities—Sacramento, California, (94,000); South Bend, Indiana, (104,000); and Oakland, California, (284,000)—come fairly close to this plan, but with some interesting deviations.

In Sacramento and in Oakland employers' associations are in existence with full-time staffs whose responsibility it is to negotiate and assist in the settlement of labor disputes. In both cities municipal officials coöperate with these groups.

In South Bend the mayor was instrumental in bringing about a membership organization which took the name of "South Bend Citizens, Inc." This organization, which has been in existence since March 1 of this year, has an executive secretary and a board of directors. The organization does not engage in arbitration or in mediation. It limits itself to fact-finding, and makes available information to the public regarding labor relations in the community. Just what role this committee of citizens will play in local labor relationships is not yet clear. The significant thing about it, at present, is that it has the official sponsorship of the city.

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[7] *Ibid.*

With the exception of Sacramento, and the possible exception of Oakland, all cities using Plan V have had a sufficient number of strikes to be listed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. In 1937 St. Louis had sixty-six strikes, Lowell twenty-six, and South Bend eighteen. Oakland, California, is included by the Bureau of Labor Statistics as a part of the San Francisco Bay area, and this area, including San Francisco, Alameda, and Berkeley, is listed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics as having more than ten strikes in at least one year during the past ten years.

PLAN VI

MUNICIPAL LABOR BOARDS

Of the eighty cities which returned questionnaires, only Elizabeth, New Jersey, (115,000); Toledo, Ohio, (291,000); and Newark, New Jersey, (442,000) have, by municipal ordinances set up municipal labor boards. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, Newark had fifty-six strikes in 1938, Toledo had forty-four in 1937, and Elizabeth had twelve in 1937.[8]

Several mayors who replied to the questionnaires indicated that an increase of strike activity might cause such machinery to be established. Since the boards of Newark and Toledo have already been discussed in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, no further description of these boards is necessary.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Of the eighty cities from which questionnaires were returned eleven had no plan for settling local labor disputes, twenty adopted a strictly hands-off policy, ten referred disputes to existing state and federal mediation agencies, and thirty-nine attempted to settle local disputes as a part of the responsibility of city hall. Of the latter, city officials acted directly in twenty-eight cities, city employees were especially delegated as mediators in three cities, panels of citizens functioned in five cities, and municipal labor boards were established in three cities.

Statistics are not available as to the number of strikes in each of the cities included in the survey. The Bureau of Labor Statistics includes in its figures only those cities which have had ten or more local strikes of six or more persons in any one year over the past ten years. Thirty-six out of the total eighty cities covered in this survey, however, are included in the bureau's reports on strikes. Of these thirty-six cities, only one had no plan, six had a hands-off policy, four used state and federal mediation agencies, and twenty-five had procedures for the settlement of labor disputes. Of the latter, mayors and city officials mediated disputes in fifteen cities, city employees acted as mediators in three cities, panels of citizens acted in four cities, and municipal labor boards existed in three.

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[8] *Ibid.*

It would seem, then, that frequency of strikes has a good deal to do with determining the procedures used at city halls in handling local strikes. Obviously, the presence and activities of aggressive government mediation agencies influence these techniques. It is logical to assume that the type and character of industrial unrest play a part in municipal plans and policies which center around the settlement of industrial disputes.

The questionnaires, however, are by no means conclusive as to why these plans and techniques differ by cities. A distinct impression is readily secured from a scrutiny of the questionnaires and the letters which accompanied them that there are far less objective factors which are of great importance in determining city hall attitudes. The few mayors who referred to industrial disputes in terms of property damage, arrests, riots, and disturbances, would seem to indicate a fuzzy approach to the responsibilities of municipal officials towards amicable industrial relationships within a given community. Perhaps one can be pardoned for suggesting that a few of the replies indicated a political awareness both as to votes and influence of the pressure groups involved in industrial relations.

On the other hand, the survey, inadequate as it is, shows distinctly that the settlement of labor problems has not been relegated to state and federal agencies, but that cities, in one way or another, are brought into labor controversies. The extent to which cities, especially those with frequent strikes, have accepted responsibility for maintaining industrial peace is clearly indicated by the high percentage which report plans and machinery in existence for amicable settlement of local labor disputes.

ONE-MAN CLEANUP CAMPAIGN

(Continued from Page 783)

public backing have enabled him to go on. Once, for example, when there were threats to stop him, seventy-five civic organizations held a mass meeting of protest. It meant "hands off!" The politicians backed down.

Meanwhile, Negri, who has now tackled the Juvenile Detention Home, is showing the way to a balanced budget. He has given Chicago, and other cities, a hint of what can be done on a larger scale. He has provided the long-suffering taxpayers with the proof that if they demand it they can get as much for their money as industry does.

THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS

(Continued from Page 770)

the constitution which had been prepared on the basis of recommendations made by experts in the subjects covered. The committee hopes to complete its work at Chicago in December, when it will meet during the annual sessions of the American Political Science Association.

Passaic Survey Begun

The League's Consultant Service has started its survey of the city of Passaic, New Jersey, under the direction of Robert M. Goodrich, executive director of the Providence Governmental Research Bureau. Cuthbert E. Reeves, municipal consultant, is in charge of field work.

HOWARD P. JONES, *Secretary*

Comparative Tax Rates of 301 Cities — 1940

By **ROSINA K. MOHAUPT**
Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc.

CITIES which have declined in population tend to increase their tax rates more than cities with increasing population. This fact is indicated by a study of tax rates and assessed values during the past decade. Two-thirds of the cities reported in the annual tax rate tabulations experienced an average growth in population of 7 per cent and an average increase in adjusted tax rates of 12 per cent for the ten-year period. But the remaining third, which showed an average decrease of 2 per cent in population, showed an average increase in tax rates of 24 per cent, or twice that of the growing cities. Only growing cities of over 500,000 population reported a greater tax rate increase than declining cities in their population group and in fact a greater increase than was reported for any other group of cities.

TABLE I

COMPARISON OF 1930-40 CHANGES IN ASSESSED VALUES AND TAX RATES OF GROWING CITIES WITH DECLINING CITIES

Population Group	*1930-40 Increase in Adjusted Tax Rate*		*1930-40 Decrease in Assessed Value*		*No. of Growing Cities*	*No. of Declining Cities*
	Growing Cities	*Declining Cities*	*Growing Cities*	*Declining Cities*		
I	36.2%	25.3%	19.8%	28.8%	8	6
II	19.2	32.8	21.7	12.1	9	3
III	9.6	21.0	17.0	21.9	30	12
IV	8.2	28.2	15.8	38.9	25	11
V	8.4	20.4	8.8	17.2	20	11
Total	11.9	24.2	19.2	26.1	92	43

TABLE II

COMPARISON OF 1939-40 CHANGES IN ASSESSED VALUES AND TAX RATES OF GROWING CITIES WITH DECLINING CITIES

Population Group	*1939-40 Increase in Adjusted Tax Rate*		*1939-40 Decrease in Assessed Value*		*No. of Growing Cities*	*No. of Declining Cities*
	Growing Cities	*Declining Cities*	*Growing Cities*	*Declining Cities*		
I	1.1%	2.3%	2.4%	2.5%	8	6
II	4.8	6.4	+.4	4.5	13	3
III	—1.0	3.8	.7	.1	40	21
IV	.4	4.6	+.9	.8	55	25
V	.1	1.2	+.5	.1	55	26
Total	.3	2.4	1.4	1.9	171	81

Major reductions in assessed valuation accompanied the increased tax rates for all groups[1] of cities. In growing cities assessed values decreased about one-fifth (19 per cent) whereas in declining cities the decrease was about one-quarter (26 per cent). In other words, cities which lost in population raised tax rates and reduced assessed valuations to a greater extent than those which gained in population.

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[1] The United States Census groups cities according to population as indicated in "Method of Compiling" discussed later in this article.

There are several possible explanations of this trend: (1) failure to adjust the cost of municipal services to declining population; (2) a pronounced tendency to finance capital improvements on a pay-as-you-go basis; (3) liquidation of operating deficits accumulated subsequent to 1930; (4) time lag in re-orientation of municipal finance which should follow major economic and social changes; (5) the ever-present demand for additional municipal services, regardless of ability to pay; (6) moratoriums in capital expenditures in some cities during the depression which have resulted in capital needs which could no longer be postponed.

TAX INCREASE DECLINING

Tax rate increases since 1939 are also more pronounced in declining cities than in growing cities in all population groups, as shown in Table II. The average increase in rates of all cities in the former is 2.4 per cent, whereas the increase in the latter cities is .3 per cent. Decreases in assessed values are practically the same for the two categories in all groups except II (where the number of cities with decreasing population is only three) and group IV.

Tax rates have increased again in the past year as before, but by a smaller increment. A deceleration in tax rates has been noted for the past four years, and it would appear that there is an increasing tendency for them to become more or less stationary. There are two possible explanations. First, population growth is rapidly approaching the leveling-off point. Second, revenue from taxation of real property may be approaching a point of diminishing returns—further increase in tax rates may produce political reverberations, and a migration of assessed values. Although not indicated in this compilation, which is concerned with a single tax source, there seems little doubt that cities have, to a great extent, replaced their declining general property tax revenues with other revenues, largely from state and federal governments.

ADJUSTED TAX RATES

Between 1939 and 1940 the average increase in the adjusted tax rate for the 252 cities reporting in both years was 29 cents. The largest increase ($1.47) was in the cities with populations between 300,000 and 500,000 (group II). Group III cities

TABLE III

Comparison of Assessed Values and Average Adjusted Tax Rates of American Cities Reporting in Two Successive Years

Years	*Assessed Values Per Cent of Increase or Decrease*	*Average Adjusted Tax Rate, Amount of Increase or Decrease*
1939-40	—1.5%	$+.29
1938-39	— .5	+.45
1937-38	+ .8	+.65
1936-37	— .3	+.82
1935-36	+ .1	+.61
1934-35	—1.8	—.19
1933-34	—6.4	+.71
1932-33	—8.1	—.57
1931-32	—4.3	+.85

cut their tax rates by 13 cents, and their assessments remained about stationary. Group IV and V cities have shown increased assessments for the last three consecutive years. This opposes the trend in group I and II cities, whose assessments decreased for the fourth consecutive year.

The larger cities (groups I and II) continue to present a serious tax situation. These have shown the greatest increase in tax rates accompanied by a decrease in assessments. Even for the ten-year period ending in 1940, the larger cities show the greatest increase in tax rates, and a relatively large decrease in assessed values. While the problem is acute in all cities, it is particularly so in the larger centers of population. The cost of government continues to rise. Increasing tax rates and decreasing assessed valuations cannot proceed indefinitely. The potentialities of increases in revenue from the general property tax are becoming smaller every year.

RANGE IN RATES

Table IV is an excellent illustration of the wide variations in assessing practices throughout the country. Actual tax rates levied (unadjusted rates) vary from $14.69 in Lorain, Ohio, to $116.38 in Tampa, Florida. When differences in assessment practices have been taken into consideration the resulting adjusted tax rates vary from $10.80 in Birmingham, Alabama, to $60.46 in Atlantic City. Even after they have been adjusted for variations in assessing, however, the greatest caution should be exercised in comparing tax rates of various cities. Some of the cities showing the highest rates in their respective groups (Tampa, St. Petersburg, and Atlantic City) are resort cities with unusually large populations during

TABLE IV

RANGE OF 1940 TAX RATES IN 283 AMERICAN CITIES

Population Group	*City*	*Rate*	
I	Unadjusted Rates		
	Chicago, Ill.	$91.10	High
	St. Louis, Mo.[1]	27.40	Low
	Average	38.71	
	Adjusted Rates		
	Boston, Mass.	40.60	High
	San Francisco, Calif.[1]	19.69	Low
	Average	28.87	
II	Unadjusted Rates		
	Minneapolis, Minn.	100.00	High
	Columbus, Ohio	19.30	Low
	Average	44.98	
	Adjusted Rates		
	Jersey City, N. J.	52.98	High
	Cincinnati, Ohio	17.26	Low
	Average	29.39	
III	Unadjusted Rates		
	Tampa, Fla.	116.38	High
	Canton, Ohio	16.60	Low
	Average	41.57	
	Adjusted Rates		
	Lowell, Mass.	48.60	High
	Birmingham, Ala.	10.80	Low
	Average	29.08	
IV	Unadjusted Rates		
	St. Petersburg, Fla.	115.13	High
	Hamilton, Ohio	16.36	Low
	Average	38.58	
	Adjusted Rates		
	Atlantic City, N. J.	60.46	High
	Hamilton, Ohio	11.45	Low
	Average	27.25	
V	Unadjusted Rates		
	Butte, Mont.	103.32	High
	Lorain, Ohio	14.69	Low
	Average	39.55	
	Adjusted Rates		
	Clifton, N. J.	47.70	High
	Parkersburg, W. Va.	14.15	Low
	Average	26.96	

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[1] Excluding Washington which receives a substantial contribution from the federal government and whose unadjusted rate is $17.50, and adjusted rate is $15.75.

certain periods of the year. Chicago and Minneapolis show high rates because of peculiarities in their assessment bases. On the other hand, cities in Ohio and other states with rigid over-all tax rate limitations have been forced to remain in the lower tax rate brackets.

In comparing the tax rates of two cities the number of services rendered by the cities as well as the effectiveness of those services should be taken into consideration. As has been indicated before, the tax rate is only one of several indices of the cost of government, and in making comparisons it is important to remember the other factors involved.

TABLE V

COMPARISON OF 1939 AND 1940 AVERAGE UNADJUSTED AND ADJUSTED TAX RATES OF 252 AMERICAN CITIES

Population Group	*Average Unadjusted Rates Per $1,000 of Assessed Value*			*Average Adjusted Rates Per $1,000 of Assessed Value*		
	1940	*1939*	*Increase*	*1940*	*1939*	*Increase*
I	$38.71	$38.20	$ .51	$28.87	$28.41	$ .46
II	44.98	43.52	1.46	29.39	27.92	1.47
III	41.57	40.78	.79	29.08	29.21	—.13
IV	38.43	38.19	.24	27.14	26.64	.50
V	39.85	39.80	.05	27.65	27.51	.14
Total	40.08	39.67	.41	28.01	27.72	.29

TABLE VI

COMPARISON OF FIVE AND TEN YEAR INCREASES IN ADJUSTED TAX RATES

Population Group	*Average Adjusted Rates of 237 Cities Per $1,000 of Assessed Value*			*Average Adjusted Rates of 135 Cities Per $1,000 of Assessed Value*		
	1940	*1935*	*Increase*	*1940*	*1930*	*Increase*
I	$28.87	$24.67	$4.20	$28.87	$21.96	$6.91
II	29.39	25.49	3.90	31.34	25.34	6.00
III	28.93	26.75	2.18	27.72	24.55	3.17
IV	27.36	24.94	2.42	26.50	23.15	3.35
V	27.70	25.88	1.82	30.75	27.34	3.41
Total	28.08	25.70	2.38	28.53	24.62	3.91

TABLE VII

ONE, FIVE, AND TEN YEAR CHANGES IN PER CAPITA ASSESSED VALUES OF AMERICAN CITIES

Population Group	*Average Per Capita Assessed Value*		*Per Cent Decrease*	*Per Cent Decrease*	*Per Cent Decrease*
	1940	*1939*	*1939-40*	*1935-40*	*1930-40*
I	$1603	$1643	2.4%	3.1%	25.6%
II	1202	1214	1.0	3.1	20.9
III	1142	1147	.4	+ .4	21.9
IV	1208	1204	+ .3	+1.0	28.4
V	1132	1128	+ .4	+ .1	13.8
Total	1378	1399	1.5	2.0	24.4

Tax collection by the easy payment process may well be considered a depression phenomenon. In 1930 about 70 per cent of the cities reporting required payment of taxes in one lump sum, in accordance with the traditional method of settlement. At that time no city allowed payment in more than three parts. Five years later about one-quarter of the cities (23 per cent) retained the single payment plan, one-half permitting two payments, and a fifth (19 per cent) permitting four installments. These were the depression years, when tax payments were difficult and the cost of government unduly onerous.

TABLE VIII
NUMBER OF INSTALLMENTS IN WHICH CITY TAXES ARE PAYABLE

No. of Installments	*Per Cent of Cities 1930*	*Per Cent of Cities 1935*	*Per Cent of Cities 1940*
1	69%	23%	17%
2	29	47	48
3	2	4	3
4		19	19
5-9		5	6
10 and over		5	6
Optional			5
	100%	100%	100%

In 1940 the picture remains practically unchanged. Although the number of cities requiring a single payment has dropped slightly, this is probably due to better reporting rather than to any great change in collection methods. In the face of continued liberalization in installment buying in the merchandising field, about one-fifth of the cities (17 per cent) still demand a lump sum payment of taxes. Only a third (32 per cent) permit taxes to be paid in as many as four or more installments.

METHOD OF COMPILING

This is the nineteenth annual tabulation of cities over 30,000 population in America and Canada. It is made possible through coöperation of city and county officials, chambers of commerce, and bureaus of research.

Cities have been arranged in population groups according to the preliminary releases of the 1940 census. Group I includes cities over 500,000; group II, 300,000 to 500,000; group III, 100,000 to 300,000; group IV, 50,000 to 100,000; group V, 30,000 to 50,000. Everett, Washington, and Bellingham, Washington, have been included in the tabulation this year, although below the 30,000 population mark, because it is possible that the official census may be slightly higher than preliminary figures.

Of the thirty new cities which have passed the 30,000 population mark according to the 1940 count, fifteen have reported this year. To facilitate comparison of 1940 tax data with that of previous years, the rank order number of each city according to the 1930 census has been placed in parentheses beside the new number. Where no old number appears, the city was not included in previous tabulations because it was below 30,000 population.

The date taxes are due and the number of installments in which they may be paid refers to city taxes only. Where real property and personal property taxes are not payable in the same number of installments, procedure for the real property installments is shown.

Tax rates shown are the actual

rates levied by city, school district, county, and state. In many cities there are one or several taxing districts in addition to those listed. In such instances the special rates are added to one of the categories above in accordance with generally accepted practice in the majority of cities. For instance, park, sewage disposal, poor relief, and library rates are added to the city rate except where otherwise specified.

Because of wide variations in assessing practices it becomes necessary to adjust the total actual tax rate levied on a piece of property. In most states the legal basis of assessment is 100 per cent of true value. In a few states, however, such as Arkansas and Washington, the law provides that property shall be assessed at 50 per cent of true value; in Alabama the legal basis of assessment is 60 per cent. In Minnesota property is classified and each class is assessed at a different percentage of true value. In Montana property is assessed at full value, but the taxable value of different classes of property is obtained by applying various ratios to the assessed value.

Even if all cities had legal provisions for 100 per cent assessments, it is common knowledge that assessments actually vary from the legal basis. In a few states (i.e. Washington, New York, Illinois, California) state tax commissions or other official bodies issue schedules showing what percentage of full value the assessments of the various counties or cities actually have. Where such schedules are not available the reporting agency is asked to estimate the assessment ratio. Wherever possible this estimate is checked with other sources of information. Unfortunately there is little tangible evidence for estimates in many cities, and at best estimates are not mathematically accurate.

Another situation which arises to complicate the comparison of actual tax rates is found in such states as Texas, Pennsylvania, and California where the city may assess property at a given percentage of true value and the county and/or school districts at different ratios. In a few cities as many as three assessment ratios must be applied to actual rates levied to arrive at the adjusted rate. Cases where more than one assessment ratio has been applied are indicated in the table by a symbol, and the assessment ratio shown is the weighted average of the several ratios.

Because of peculiarities in the taxation and assessment provisions of the cities reporting, it is important in using this compilation to read footnotes carefully. At the end of the tabulation are shown general footnotes which refer to all the cities within the state specified.

Of the 301 cities contributing data, fifteen are Canadian, and one is Honolulu. Thirty-one cities reporting this year did not report in 1939—fifteen of these had a population of less than 30,000 last year. Three cities reported incomplete data. Comparisons of 1940 rates with those in 1939 are therefore based on the 252 American cities which reported in both years.

(See following pages for complete compilation of tax rates.)

COMPARATIVE TAX RATES OF 301 CITIES FOR 1940

Compiled by the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research from Data Furnished by City Officials and Members of the Governmental Research Association
(See General Notes at End of Tabulation)

		Census 1940 Preliminary	Assessed Value	Per Cent		City Fiscal Year Begins	Date City Taxes (or 1st Installment) Are Due	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per $1,000 of Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	Amount of Homestead Exemption	
				Realty	Personalty				City	School	County	State	Total				
	Group I																
	Population 500,000 and over																
1(1)†	New York, N. Y.[x]	7,380,259	$16,470,154,054	100		July 1	Nov. 1	2	$23.47*	$ 5.53	$ .74	$ —	$29.74	92	$27.36		1
2(2)	Chicago, Ill.[2]	3,384,556	2,043,354,428	69	31	Jan. 1	June 1	2	52.50	31.90	6.70	N	91.10	37	33.71		2
3(3)	Philadelphia, Pa.[3]	1,935,086	3,314,775,259	76	24	Jan. 1	July 1	1	17.00	11.75	N	N	28.75	100	28.75		3
4(4)	Detroit, Mich.[4]	1,618,549	2,413,180,400	76	24	July 1	Aug. 16	2	19.78	8.30	5.15	N	33.23	100	33.23		4
5(5)	Los Angeles, Calif.[5]	1,496,792	1,281,632,625	84	16	July 1	Dec. 5	2	17.07	17.98	21.85	N	56.90	50	28.45		5
6(6)	Cleveland, Ohio[6]	878,385	1,203,648,010	86	14	Jan. 1	Sept. 22	2	16.27	10.00	5.68	N	31.95	80	25.56		6
7(8)	Baltimore, Md.[7]	854,144	1,492,699,788	72	28	Jan. 1	Aug. 1	—	22.40	5.60*	N	2.34	30.34	100	30.34		7
8(7)	St. Louis, Mo.	813,748	1,041,082,350	89	11	Apr. 9	Jan. 1	4	17.50	8.70	N	1.20	27.40	85	23.29		8
9(9)	Boston, Mass.	769,520	1,483,234,500	93	7	Jan. 1	Nov. 1	10	26.46	8.67	1.94	3.53	40.60	100	40.60		9
10(10)	Pittsburgh, Pa.[8]	665,384	1,047,023,860	100		Jan. 1	Apr. 1	12	17.14	11.75	7.88	N	36.77	80	29.42		10
11(14)	Washington, D. C.[9]	663,153	1,297,018,995	94	6	July 1	Oct. 1	2	17.50	—	N	N	17.50	90	15.75		11
12(11)	San Francisco, Calif.[10]	629,553	821,302,011	87	13	July 1	Dec. 5	2	32.56	6.81	N	N	39.37	50	19.69		12
13(12)	Milwaukee, Wis.[11]	589,558	821,125,690	92	8	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	1	15.39	11.49	10.58	.35	37.81	90	34.03		13
14(13)	Buffalo, N. Y.[12]	575,150	937,472,860	100		July 1	Aug. 1	2	24.00	6.95	9.27	.20	40.42	84	33.95		14
	Group II																
	Population 300,000 to 500,000																
15(16)	New Orleans, La.[13]	492,282	493,304,700	72	28	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	2	21.50	7.00	5.50	5.75	39.75	71§	28.38	2,000[g]	15

*=Estimated. N=None. — = Figures or breakdown not available.

† Cities are arranged according to 1940 census figures (preliminary). Numbers in parentheses show order in which cities were listed in previous tabulations in accordance with 1930 census figures. Where there is no number in parentheses, the city had a population of less than 30,000 in the 1930 decennial census.

§These cities report different assessment ratios for the city and the county. The figure shown is the weighted average (to the nearest integer) of the several ratios.

No state levy on property in the following states: California, Delaware, Illinois, Michigan, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, and Virginia.

[x] **New York City.** Division of $29.74 total tax rate is estimated on basis of appropriations. Varying rates are levied on the several boroughs, the rate shown being that for Manhattan. Included in total rate is $1.40 for the reassessment of special assessments which are borough-wide in character. See footnote [m].

[2] **Chicago.** City rate includes $3.00 poor relief, $10.90 park district, and $6.60 sanitary district rates. County rate includes $.90 forest preserve rate.

[3] **Philadelphia.** Assessed value includes $792,883,051 "money at interest" (stocks, bonds, mortgages, notes, etc.) taxed at 8 mills. City rate includes cost of county government which is consolidated with the city.

[4] **Detroit.** Both city and county rate are for 1940-41 this year.

[5] **Los Angeles.** County rate includes $2.20 flood control and $4.90 metropolitan water district rates.

[6] **Cleveland.** Assessed value does not include intangible personal property assessed on income at from 2 to 5 mills, but does include $163,140,170 tangible personalty taxed at same rate as realty, but at 50 to 70 per cent of its value. See footnote [o].

[7] **Baltimore.** Drop in assessed value due to removal of securities (except deposits in savings banks and shares of banks and trust companies assessed at $220,000,000 and $41,000,000 and taxed at $1.875 and $10 per $1,000 respectively) from tax rolls. State income tax now applies to securities. School rate estimated on basis of appropriation.

[8] **Pittsburgh.** City rate is average of $23 rate on land and $11.50 rate on buildings. Because of varying proportions of land to building on different pieces of property, the rate actually varies from about $10 to $20. See footnote [q].

[9] **Washington, D. C.** Valuation does not include intangible personalty of about $500,000,000 subject to income tax. School rate included in city rate. While central business property is assessed at 100%, it is estimated that residential property pulls the average assessment ratio down to 90% of true value.

[10] **San Francisco.** City is combined with county. Valuation does not include solvent credits of $162,712,562 taxed at one mill.

[11] **Milwaukee.** City rate includes $1.55 for retirement of debt of Metropolitan Sewerage District.

[12] **Buffalo.** City rate includes school debt service and $.75 sewer rate.

[13] **New Orleans.** Figure in county column is levee and flood reparation rate. The county levies no tax since it is consolidated with city government. Legal basis of assessment for city is 85%, for county, 100% of true value.

		Census 1940 Preliminary	Assessed Value	Per Cent Realty	Per Cent Personalty	City Fiscal Year Begins	Date City Taxes (or 1st Installment) Are Due	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per $1,000 of Assessed Valuation City	School	County	State	Total	Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	Amount of Homestead Exemption	
16(15)	Minneapolis, Minn.	489,971	237,537,098	82	18	Jan. 1	June 1	4	51.57	25.33	13.40	9.70	100.00	35	35.00	4,000[j]	16
17(17)	Cincinnati, Ohio	452,852	831,987,450	89	11	Jan. 1	Dec. 21	10	10.65	7.64	3.29	N	21.58	80	17.26		17
18(18)	Newark, N. J.[14]	428,236	777,835,463	78	22	Jan. 1	Feb. 2	4	27.10	12.36	6.05	2.99	48.50	100	48.50		18
19(19)	Kansas City, Mo.[15]	400,175	507,123,360	78	22	May 1	Oct. 1	1	17.50	14.00	6.90	1.20	39.60	83§	32.79		19
20(21)	Indianapolis, Ind.[16]	386,170	507,973,920	74	26	Jan. 1	May 6	2	12.80	9.60	8.90	1.50	32.80	75	24.60		20
21(26)	Houston, Texas[17]	386,150	325,374,440	78	22	Jan. 1	Dec. 31	—	19.75	11.50	9.10	6.90	47.25	47§	22.03	3,000[t]	21
22(20)	Seattle, Wash.[18]	366,847	243,097,795	78	22	Jan. 1	June 1	2	21.51	16.59	13.98	2.43	54.51	47	25.62		22
23(22)	Rochester, N. Y.[m]	324,694	531,376,528	100		Jan. 1	Feb. 1	4	20.48	10.94	11.51	—	42.93	77	33.06		23
24(24)	Louisville, Ky.[19]	318,713	418,583,400	73	27	Sept. 1	May 1	4	16.70	7.20	4.00	.50	28.40	85	24.14		24
25(29)	Denver, Colo.[20]	318,415	353,865,750	71	29	Jan. 1	Mar. 1	2	20.70	16.84	N	4.40	41.94	80	33.55		25
26(25)	Portland, Ore.[21]	307,572	265,944,570	86	14	Jan. 1	Mar. 16	4	27.60	15.50	16.80	2.50	62.40	54	33.70		26
27(28)	Columbus, Ohio	304,936	364,674,310	77	23	Jan. 1	May 1	2	8.40	8.20	2.70	N	19.30	100	19.30		27
28(30)	Oakland, Calif.[22]	304,909	263,068,695	86	14	July 1	Dec. 5	2	19.70	16.20	15.90	N	51.80	35	18.13		28
29(32)	Atlanta, Ga.	302,538	350,000,000*	72	28	Jan. 1	May 1	3	11.20	6.30	13.50	5.00	36.00	59§	21.20	2,000[d]	29
30(23)	Jersey City, N. J.[1]	301,012	603,479,397	90	10	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	4	27.80	11.40	10.46	3.32	52.98	100	52.98		30
	Group III																
	Population 100,000 to 300,000																
31(33)	Dallas, Texas	293,306	290,043,000	72	28	Oct. 1	Nov. 30	2	17.00	7.50	7.40	6.90	38.80	53	20.56	3,000[t]	31
32(36)	Memphis, Tenn.[23]	291,312	266,861,875	76	24	Jan. 1	June 10	4	14.80	6.50	8.70	.80	30.80	85	26.18		32
33(31)	St. Paul, Minn.[24]	288,023	134,137,478	82	18	Jan. 1	June 1	2	20.13	42.28	27.09	9.70	99.20	35	34.72	4,000[j]	33
34(27)	Toledo, Ohio	281,096	434,080,339	78	22	Jan. 1	July 25	2	8.07	8.35	2.78	N	19.20	100	19.20		34
35(34)	Birmingham, Ala.	264,151	161,185,231*	—	—	Sept. 1	Jan. 1	4	11.50	6.50	11.50	6.50	36.00	30	10.80	2,000[a]	35
36(37)	Providence, R. I.[25]	253,214	499,509,130	81	19	Oct. 1	Oct. 24	4	24.00	—	N	N	24.00	100	24.00		36
37(38)	San Antonio, Tex.	253,143	215,444,630	75	25	June 1	June 1	1	18.70	10.00	6.50	6.90	42.10	66§	26.89	3,000[t]	37
38(35)	Akron, Ohio[26]	243,130	271,600,000	73	27	Jan. 1	Feb. 15	2	16.29	11.59	3.12	N	31.00	60	18.60		38
39(39)	Omaha, Neb.[27]	223,185	233,665,895	70	30	Dec. 31	Mar. 1	2	14.85	14.00	5.10	3.10	37.05	68§	25.12		39
40(41)	Dayton, Ohio	211,456	Not reporting														40
41(40)	Syracuse, N. Y.	205,637	347,105,590	100		Jan. 1	Feb. 1	4	16.47	9.56	10.55	.21	36.79	91	33.48		41
42(43)	Oklahoma City, Okla.[28]	204,517	114,785,228	83	17	July 1	Feb. 1	4	13.89	19.99	9.55	N	43.43	40	17.37	1,000[p]	42
43(53)	San Diego, Calif	202,038	149,932,440	75	25	July 1	Dec. 5	2	19.20	17.00	20.60	N	56.80	50	28.40		43

[14] **Newark.** City rate includes amount levied for "cash basis" reserve for entire levy.

[15] **Kansas City, Mo.** City rate shown includes $2.50 park rate levied on real property only. Total levy on personal property is $37.10.

[16] **Indianapolis.** County rate includes $4.00 township poor relief.

[17] **Houston.** The 1939 assessed value figures are the latest available although 1940 rates are shown. Installments of any size accepted.

[18] **Seattle.** County rate includes $1.40 for Port of Seattle. See footnote [v].

[19] **Louisville.** Rate shown is for real property. Personal property rate is $32.90.

[20] **Denver.** City rate includes cost of county which is consolidated with it. City rate shown includes $2.00 Moffat Tunnel Improvement District rate on real estate only. Rate on personal property totals $39.94.

[21] **Portland.** City rate includes dock and port rates of $2.34 and $1.90 respectively.

[22] **Oakland.** County rate includes $2.00 municipal water district, $.50 regional park district, and $.10 mosquito abatement rates.

[23] **Memphis.** City rate includes $1.10 park and $.30 library rates.

[24] **St. Paul.** Homestead assessment of $14,959,788 is subject to rate of $93.13. See footnote [j].

[25] **Providence.** Assessed value does not include $261,617,200 intangible personal property taxed at 4 mills. See footnote [r].

[26] **Akron.** City rate includes $.12 Metropolitan Park Board.

[27] **Omaha.** City rate includes $1.00 for relief and $1.00 for sewage disposal.

[28] **Oklahoma City.** Assessed value includes $14,699,365 homestead property taxed at $15.23 per $1,000.

		Census 1940 Preliminary	Assessed Value	Per Cent Realty	Per Cent Personalty	City Fiscal Year Begins	Date City Taxes (or 1st Installment) Are Due	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per $1,000 of Assessed Valuation City	School	County	State	Total	Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	Amount of Homestead Exemption	
44(42)	Worcester, Mass.	193,402	265,467,100	94	6	Jan. 1	Oct. 31	—	25.76	8.52	1.52	2.80	38.60	100	38.60		44
45(44)	Richmond, Va.[29]	190,341	259,453,373	92	8	Feb. 1	July 1	10	14.50	7.50	N	N	22.00	100	22.00		45
46( )	Honolulu, Hawaii[30]	179,359	170,301,686	71	29	Jan. 31	June 21	2	30.40	—	N	N	30.40	80	24.32[30]		46
47(48)	Fort Worth, Tex.[31]	177,748	164,103,758	75	25	Oct. 1	Dec. 1	2	21.10	11.00	8.00	7.70	47.80	62§	29.25	3,000[t]	47
48(63)	Jacksonville, Fla.[32]	174,336	83,179,120	89	11	Jan. 1	June 1	1	22.00	22.50	24.44	6.47	75.41	50	37.71	5,000[c]	48
49(78)	Miami, Fla.[c]	170,877	175,196,056	88	12	July 1	Apr. 1	1	29.24	—	—	—	—	—	—	5,000[c]	49
50(45)	Youngstown, Ohio[33]	167,426	266,776,740	87	13	Jan. 1	Apr. 13	2	7.88	8.33	2.19	N	18.40	80	14.72		50
51(51)	Nashville, Tenn.	167,415	169,304,656	69	31	Aug. 1	Oct. 1	2	18.05	2.95	8.50	.80	30.30	90	27.27		51
52(47)	Hartford, Conn.[34]	166,329	370,368,104	85	15	Apr. 1	May 2	4	15.58*	11.88	.52	1.27	29.25	100	29.25		52
53(46)	Grand Rapids, Mich.[1]	164,061	191,684,675	82	18	Apr. 1	Aug. 1	1	8.57	7.60	4.00	N	20.17	100	20.17		53
54(57)	Long Beach, Calif.[35]	163,441	232,849,043	—	—	July 1	Dec. 5	2	11.77	16.89	21.85	N	50.51	53§	27.02		54
55(49)	New Haven, Conn.	160,257	303,778,427	84	16	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	2	18.67	9.79	.34	.70	29.50	100	29.50		55
56(56)	Des Moines, Iowa[36]	159,155	131,315,146	83	17	Apr. 1	Apr. 1	2	21.85	23.26	13.27	2.28	60.66	68	41.25	2,500[f]	56
57(50)	Flint, Mich.[1]	151,275	202,394,940	81	19	July 1	Aug. 1	3	10.13	8.11	3.70	N	21.94	100	21.94		57
58(59)	Salt Lake City, Utah[37]	150,019	132,036,535	—	—	Jan. 1	Nov. 30	1	15.00	13.00	7.00	7.15	42.15	70	29.51	note[u]	58
59(52)	Springfield, Mass.	148,989	261,087,270	92	8	Jan. 1	Nov. 2	2	21.34	10.95*	1.35	2.56	36.20	100	36.20		59
60(54)	Bridgeport, Conn.	146,900	245,865,380	78	22	Apr. 1	May 1	2	21.53	5.56	.24	.97	28.30	100	28.30		60
61(62)	Norfolk, Va.[38]	143,275	151,114,070	88	12	Jan. 1	Apr. 1	4	25.00	—	N	N	25.00	80	20.00		61
62(61)	Yonkers, N. Y.	142,404	302,412,477	100		Jan. 1	Apr. 12	4	25.11	9.28	5.23	.16	39.78	95	37.79		62
63(58)	Tulsa, Okla.	141,750	105,637,485	81	19	July 1	Nov. 1	4	17.91	18.57	8.38	N	44.86	60	26.92	1,000[p]	63
64(55)	Scranton, Pa.	140,393	100,998,180	100		Jan. 1	July 1	4	19.84	25.00	7.60	N	52.44	70	36.71		64
65(60)	Paterson, N. J.[1]	139,651	164,211,934	—	—	Jan. 1	Feb. 2	4	17.58	16.56	8.36	3.20	45.70	70	31.99		65
66(64)	Albany, N. Y.[39]	130,447	236,899,354	100		Jan. 1	—	1	27.42	—	6.01	.17	33.60	88	29.57		66
67(67)	Chattanooga, Tenn.[39]	128,138	110,629,183	74	26	Oct. 1	Mar. 1	—	20.00	—	16.00	.80	36.80	75	27.60		67
68(65)	Trenton, N. J.	124,685	155,670,726	84	16	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	4	20.24	16.51	7.68	2.97	47.40	85	40.29		68
69(70)	Spokane, Wash.[v]	122,462	72,259,098	77	23	Jan. 1	May 31	2	18.00	11.50	12.07	2.43	44.00	47	20.68		69
70(66)	Kansas City, Kans.	121,258	85,541,180	74	26	Jan. 1	Dec. 20	2	21.89	21.10	16.00	2.07	61.06	50	30.53		70
71(68)	Camden, N. J.	117,777	136,165,538	80	20	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	4	16.26	16.59	9.07	2.48	44.40	70	31.08		71
72(69)	Erie, Pa.[75]	116,247	123,611,740	100		Jan. 1	July 1	—	13.00	17.00	7.00	N	37.00	65	24.05		72
73(72)	Fort Wayne, Ind.[40]	116,190	150,000,000	75	25	Jan. 1	May 7	2	6.40	9.75	7.45	1.50	25.10	75	18.83		73

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[29] **Richmond.** Assessed value does not include $14,050,655 machinery taxed at $6.00 per $1,000.

[30] **Honolulu.** Rate on real property shown; rate on personal property is $34.35. City rate includes cost of county and school district. *Homestead Exemption:* First $1,500 of assessed value plus one half of value over $1,500 and below $5,000. Maximum exemption is $3,250.

[31] **Fort Worth.** City rate includes $3.60 for water conservation. Rates shown are for 1939.

[32] **Jacksonville.** State rate includes $1.60 for inland navigation and ship canal.

[33] **Youngstown.** City rate includes $2.09 sanitary district and $.12 township park rates.

[34] **Hartford.** City rate includes $.91 metropolitan district rate. Division of rates estimated on basis of appropriations.

[35] **Long Beach.** County rate includes $4.90 metropolitan water district and $2.20 flood control rates.

[36] **Des Moines.** Assessed value does not include $34,327,304 moneys and credits taxed at six mills.

[37] **Salt Lake City.** County rate includes $.20 mosquito abatement and $.20 metropolitan water rates.

[38] **Norfolk.** Assessed value includes $1,300,000 machinery taxed at $10 per $1.000. School rate included in city rate.

[39] **Albany, Chattanooga, Knoxville.** School rate included in city rate.

[40] **Fort Wayne.** City rate includes $.75 library rate. County rate includes $2.65 township rate.

		Census 1940 Preliminary	Assessed Value	Per Cent Realty	Per Cent Personalty	City Fiscal Year Begins	Date City Taxes (or 1st Installment) Are Due	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per $1,000 of Assessed Valuation City	School	County	State	Total	Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	Amount of Homestead Exemption	
74(71)	Fall River, Mass.[h]	115,567	92.900,550	90	10	Jan. 1	Nov. 2	2	—	—	—	—	44.20	100	44.20		74
75(77)	Wichita, Kans.	113,540	115,069,786	85	15	Jan. 1	Dec. 20	2	10.85	16.07	8.92	1.76	37.60	70	26.32		75
76(81)	Knoxville, Tenn.[39]	112,002	128,665,238	75	25	Jan. 1	July 1	12	26.50	—	14.50	.80	41.80	80	33.44		76
77(80)	Wilmington, Del.[41]	111,432	159,695,975	100		July 1	May 1	—	14.50	1.50	4.00	N	20.00	80	16.00		77
78(74)	Cambridge, Mass.	111,120	170,603,600	94	6	Jan. 1	Oct. 1	2	29.56	8.22	1.05	4.17	43.00	100	43.00		78
79(88)	Evansville, Ind.[42]	111,034	119,295,840	72	28	Jan. 1	May 7	2	9.80	10.60	11.90	1.50	33.80	100	33.80		79
80(92)	Gary, Ind.[43]	110,863	133,221,220	—	—	Jan. 1	May 4	2	11.12	12.60	11.78	1.50	37.00	60	22.20		80
81(76)	Reading, Pa.	110,704	143,962,050	100		Jan. 1	July 1	1	11.00	14.00	5.50	N	30.50	95§	28.96		81
82(75)	New Bedford, Mass.[57]	110,296	96,326,125	88	12	Jan. 1	Nov. 1	2	42.28	—	1.90	3.42	47.60	100	47.60		82
83(73)	Elizabeth, N. J.	109,396	137,905,934	91	9	Jan. 1	Feb. 2	4	19.24	12.64	7.42	3.10	42.40	100	42.40		83
84(83)	Canton, Ohio	107,862	147,673,950	80	20	Jan. 1	—	2	5.20	8.80	2.60	N	16.60	80	13.28		84
85(91)	Tampa, Fla.[44]	107,674	73,803,331	87	13	June 1	Jan. 1	—	38.50	20.00	53.00	4.88	116.38	37§	42.61	5,000[e]	85
86(79)	Tacoma, Wash.[45]	107,520	48,117,405	78	22	Jan. 1	June 1	2	23.42	13.00	15.94	3.18	55.54	50	27.77		86
87(96)	Sacramento, Calif.[46]	105,530	118,021,260	86	14	July 1	Dec. 5	2	18.90	18.70	14.20	N	51.80	55§	28.36		87
88(82)	Peoria, Ill.	105,003	Not reporting														88
89(85)	Somerville, Mass.	102,304	116,392,450	93	7	Jan. 1	Nov. 1	10	24.87	11.59	1.29	4.55	42.30	100	42.30		89
90(84)	South Bend, Ind.[47]	101,410	128,653,610	76	24	Jan. 1	May 7	2	8.40	11.70	8.30	1.50	29.90	70	20.93		90
91(93)	Lowell, Mass.	101,331	93,642,000	92	8	Jan. 1	Nov. 1	10	35.36	9.35	1.28	2.61	48.60	100	48.60		91
92(89)	Utica, N. Y.	100,534	126,438,372	100		Jan. 1	July 1	2	25.63	9.71	9.14	.20	44.68	78	34.85		92
93(90)	Duluth, Minn.[j]	100,238	51,463,224	79	21	Jan. 1	June 1	4	43.08	39.72	22.40	9.70	114.90	33	37.92	4,000[j]	93
	Group IV **Population 50,000 to 100,000**																
94(94)	Waterbury, Conn.[48]	99,158	167,199,550	80	20	Jan. 1	June 1	2	—	—	—	—	32.50	80	26.00		94
95(87)	Lynn, Mass.	98,072	Not reporting														95
96(115)	Shreveport, La.	97,964	Not reporting														96
97(97)	Allentown, Pa.[q]	96,827	104,800,000	100		Jan. 1	July 1	4	12.40	15.00	5.00	N	32.40	75	24.30		97
98(86)	El Paso, Tex.	96,677	76,623,970	78	22	Mar. 1	Mar. 1	2	13.50	11.50	7.10	6.90	39.00	66§	25.90	3,000[t]	98
99(102)	Savannah, Ga.[49]	95,271	59,693,662	80	20	Jan. 1	—	4	23.00	10.00	12.50	5.00	50.50	60	30.30	2,000[d]	99
100(103)	Charlotte, N. C.[49]	94,501	109,180,400	78	22	July 1	Feb. 2	2	12.30	2.83	9.00	N	24.13	67	16.17	note[n]	100
101(106)	Little Rock, Ark.	88,129	Not reporting														101

[41] **Wilmington.** Rate shown is on real property. Public utility assessment of $2,408,600 (included in total assessment) is taxed at $44.00 per $1,000.

[42] **Evansville.** City rate includes $.80 township rate. County rate includes $4.70 township rate.

[43] **Gary.** City rate includes $1.73 sanitary district rate. County rate includes $6.28 township rate.

[44] **Tampa.** City rate includes $12.50 for debt service which is the weighted average of the rates of the four territories.

[45] **Tacoma.** City rate includes $2.50 metropolitan park rate. County rate includes $3.00 port rate.

[46] **Sacramento.** County rate includes $.30 municipal utility and $.30 river flood control rates.

[47] **South Bend.** County rate includes $3.10 township rate.

[48] **Waterbury, Newton, Malden, Arlington, Lewiston, Watertown, New London.** Division of rates not available.

[49] **Savannah, Charlotte, Mobile, La Crosse.** Tax rates are for 1940, assessment for 1939.

		Census 1940 Preliminary	Assessed Value	Per Cent		City Fiscal Year Begins	Date City Taxes (or 1st Installment) Are Due	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per $1,000 of Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	Amount of Homestead Exemption	
				Realty	Personalty				City	School	County	State	Total				
102(178)	Austin, Tex.[50]	86,311	64,567,175	81	19	Jan. 1	Apr. 2	1	16.50	6.00	8.20	7.70	38.40	60§	22.95	3,000[t]	102
103(95)	Schenectady, N. Y.[51]	86,226	154,680,565	100		Jan. 1	Jan. 18	4	15.26	10.19*	8.39	.16	34.00	120	40.80		103
104(99)	Wilkes-Barre, Pa.[75]	86,130	86,064,504	92	8	Jan. 1	July 1	—	17.50	17.50	5.20	N	40.20	100	40.20		104
105(101)	Lawrence, Mass.	85,049	85,322,150	92	8	Jan. 1	Nov. 1	2	22.64	13.24	1.80	3.12	40.80	100	40.80		105
106(104)	Berkeley, Calif.[52]	84,827	91,868,200	93	7	July 1	Dec. 5	2	12.36	20.16	15.90	N	48.42	54§	25.82		106
107(100)	Rockford, Ill.[53]	84,467	54,274,379	72	28	Jan. 1	July 1	2	25.20	21.00	4.70	N	50.90	40	20.36		107
108(109)	Harrisburg, Pa.[q]	83,878	92,155,495	100		Jan. 1	July 1	—	13.50	15.50	6.00	N	35.00	55	19.25		108
109(108)	Saginaw, Mich.[l]	82,697	96,610,850	86	14	July 1	Aug. 1	8	9.38	6.99	3.25	N	19.62	80	15.70		109
110(110)	Sioux City, Iowa[54]	82,385	87,013,178	79	21	Apr. 1	Apr. 1	2	13.84	17.66	9.43	1.26	42.19	70	29.53	2,500[f]	110
111(117)	Lincoln, Neb.	81,846	98,398,490	78	22	Sept. 1	Dec. 1	2	10.12	15.25	3.51	3.08	31.96	80	25.57		111
112(147)	Glendale, Calif.	81,744	61,181,620	—	—	July 1	Dec. 6	2	12.66	22.33	16.95	N	51.94	50	25.97		112
113(116)	Pasadena, Calif.[55]	81,566	125,862,685	91	9	July 1	Feb. 5	1	12.26	18.23	18.35	N	48.84	56§	27.49		113
114(105)	Altoona, Pa.[75]	80,071	72,000,000*	80	20	Jan. 1	July 1	—	13.00	16.50	4.00	N	33.50	71§	23.93		114
115(120)	Winston Salem, N. C.	79,828	101,677,849	61	39	July 1	Feb. 2	1	12.45	2.55	5.50	N	20.50	67	13.74	note[n]	115
116(98)	Bayonne, N. J.[l]	78,905	132,413,374	85	15	Jan. 1	Feb. 2	4	29.92	16.08	10.90	3.45	60.35	100	60.35		116
117(118)	Huntington, W. Va.[56]	78,781	109,482,710	62	38	July 1	Dec. 1	2	5.00	12.58	5.34	.10	23.02	80	18.42	note[w]	117
118(111)	Lansing, Mich.[l]	78,479	102,964,853	85	15	May 1	Oct. 14	1	13.16	10.00	5.00	N	28.16	80	22.53		118
119(129)	Mobile, Ala.[49]	78,324	41,606,400	77	23	Oct. 1	Jan. 1	1	7.50	3.00	18.50	6.50	35.50	60	21.30	2,000[a]	119
120(114)	Binghamton, N. Y.[m]	78,278	106,760,119	100		Jan. 1	Feb. 1	2	22.51	8.45	6.62	—	37.58	83	31.19		120
121(136)	Montgomery, Ala.	78,008	Not reporting														121
122(113)	Manchester, N. H.	77,625	Not reporting														122
123(119)	Niagara Falls, N. Y.[m]	77,374	150,890,501	100		Jan. 1	Dec. 1	2	17.50	10.75	5.67	—	33.92	82	27.81		123
124(123)	Quincy, Mass.	76,605	Not reporting														124
125(107)	St. Joseph, Mo.	75,802	64,038,350	73	27	Apr. 22	Sept. 1	1	15.00	12.80	7.50	1.50	36.80	65	23.92		125
126(121)	East St. Louis, Ill.	75,469	Not reporting														126
127(112)	Pawtucket, R. I.[57]	75,449	157,446,554	68	32	Jan. 1	Oct. 16	4	21.00	—	N	N	21.00	100	21.00		127
128(124)	Springfield, Ill.[58]	75,393	51,000,000	82	18	Sept. 1	June 1	2	27.00	17.00	6.00	N	50.00	39	19.50		128

[50] **Austin, Galveston.** These Texas cities had not fixed their 1940 rates in time for this tabulation—1939 rates are shown.

[51] **Schenectady.** School rate estimated on basis of appropriation. Assessed value of residential and general business property estimated at 120% of true value. State equalization figure of 85% reflects undervaluation of one manufacturing plant representing 11% of total valuation of city.

[52] **Berkeley.** County rate includes $2.00 municipal utility, $.50 regional park and $.10 mosquito abatement rates.

[53] **Rockford.** City rate includes $6.80 township, $3.90 sanitary district sewer, and $1.50 park rates.

[54] **Sioux City, Cedar Rapids, Dubuque.** Assessed value does not include moneys and credits of $11,000,995 in Sioux City, $23,139,864 in Cedar Rapids, and $8,447,531 in Dubuque, taxed at 6 mills.

[55] **Pasadena.** County rate includes $1.40 metropolitan water and $2.20 flood control rates.

[56] **Huntington.** Assessed value includes $13,790,670 Class I and $23,473,160 Class II property taxed at $5.75 and $11.51 respectively. The remainder is taxed at the rate shown. See note [w].

[57] **Pawtucket, Roanoke, Holyoke, Portsmouth, Pittsfield, Cranston, Petersburg, Newport, R. I.** School rate included in city rate.

[58] **Springfield.** City rate includes $.38 town, $.20 park, and $.40 sanitary rates.

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129(125)	Portland, Me.[59]	73,464	76,000,000	79	21	Jan. 1	Oct. 2	—	28.34	10.48	1.88	6.50	47.20	90	42.48		129
130(148)	Charleston, S. C.	70,869	Not reporting														130
131(128)	Springfield, Ohio[o]	70,712	84,883,297	80	20	Jan. 1	Jan. 21	4	6.77	7.70	2.23	N	16.70	80	13.36		131
132(122)	Troy, N. Y.[m]	70,117	73,277,815	100		Jan. 1	Feb. 1	2	27.79	9.61	13.28	—	50.68	80	40.54		132
133(140)	Hammond, Ind.[e]	69,800	89,031,010	75	25	Jan. 1	May 7	2	11.55	12.75	10.80	1.50	36.60	60	21.96		133
134(137)	Newton, Mass.[48]	69,625	167,587,000	91	9	Jan. 1	Nov. 1	2	—	—	—	—	29.20	100	29.20		134
135(127)	Roanoke, Va.[57]	69,167	64,185,943	86	14	Jan. 1	July 1	4	25.00	—	N	N	25.00	50	12.50		135
136(126)	Lakewood, Ohio[o]	69,056	93,888,520	91	9	Jan. 1	Jan. 21	2	7.79	13.13	5.68	N	26.60	75	19.95		136
137(131)	East Orange, N. J.[1]	68,589	113,383,878	96	4	Jan. 1	Feb. 2	4	18.62	11.42	6.53	3.23	39.80	100	39.80		137
138(130)	New Britain, Conn.[60]	68,581	106,041,259	82	18	Apr. 1	June 16	1	13.58*	13.64	.52	1.51	29.25	100	29.25		138
139(163)	San Jose, Calif.[61]	68,298	59,182,130	86	14	Dec. 1	Dec. 5	2	13.60	16.67	14.90	N	45.17	50	22.59		139
140(141)	Topeka, Kans.	67,654	90,233,767	57	43	Jan. 1	Dec. 21	2	16.28	16.40	7.39	2.03	42.10	70	29.47		140
141(152)	Charleston, W. Va.	67,282	Not reporting														141
142(132)	Racine, Wis.	67,159	103,647,646	91	9	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	1	6.09	11.14	12.82	.22	30.27	90	27.24		142
143(150)	Mt. Vernon, N. Y.	67,120	150,962,397	100		Jan. 1	Feb. 1	2	13.80	13.00	7.28	.22	34.30	100	34.30		143
144(160)	Madison, Wis.	66,802	127,462,345	91	9	Jan. 1	Mar. 1	7	9.26	11.61	5.42	.21	26.50	97	25.71		144
145(139)	Pontiac, Mich.[1]	66,716	72,225,800	67	33	Jan. 1	Sept. 1	1	12.37	8.57	5.79	N	26.73	100	26.73		145
146(133)	Johnstown, Pa.	66,610	Not reporting														146
147(151)	Davenport, Iowa	65,963	Not reporting														147
148(153)	Augusta, Ga.[d]	65,945	46,112,887	72	28	Jan. 1	Apr. 21	3	22.50	14.00	9.00	5.00	50.50	57§	29.00	2,000[d]	148
149(142)	Oak Park, Ill.[62]	65,596	43,265,638	82	18	Jan. 1	June 1	2	28.40	31.20	7.60	N	67.20	37	24.86		149
150(198)	Phoenix, Ariz.	65,434	71,635,752	77	23	July 1	Nov. 11	2	17.00	16.40	18.60	8.60	60.60	64§	38.80		150
151(144)	Evanston, Ill.[63]	65,119	52,868,013	80	20	Jan. 1	Apr. 1	2	28.43	32.16	5.80	N	66.39	37	24.56		151
152(134)	Cicero, Ill.	64,438	Not reporting														152
153(135)	Atlantic City, N. J.[1]	63,787	92,205,694	92	8	Jan. 1	—	4	37.64	10.97	8.67	3.18	60.46	100	60.46		153
154(188)	Dearborn, Mich.[1]	63,655	185,591,980	65	35	July 1	Aug. 20	4	14.03	9.56	5.79	N	29.38	100	29.38		154
155(155)	Medford, Mass.	63,123	Not reporting														155
156(146)	Terre Haute, Ind.[e]	62,546	53,363,720	80	20	Jan. 1	May 7	2	14.96	12.85	9.69	1.50	39.00	80	31.20		156
157(143)	Brockton, Mass.	62,262	Not reporting														157
158(169)	Cedar Rapids, Iowa[54]	62,037	57,532,130	83	17	Apr. 1	Apr. 1	2	14.09	18.97	9.68	1.22	43.96	50	21.98	2,500[f]	158
159(138)	Covington, Ky.	62,014	58,003,308	74	26	Jan. 1	July 1	2	15.80	11.40	6.50	.50	34.20	70	23.94		159
160(197)	Jackson, Miss.	61,965	46,412,519	74	26	Oct. 1	Feb. 2	3	18.50	8.00	13.30	6.00	45.80	60	27.48	note[k]	160
161(145)	Passaic, N. J.[1]	61,341	80,345,654	88	12	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	4	21.32	16.34	8.30	3.14	49.10	100	49.10		161
162(154)	Lancaster, Pa.[q]	61,284	90,217,800	100		Jan. 1	July 1	1	6.00	10.50	1.90	N	18.40	94§	17.36		162
163(164)	Springfield, Mo.	61,026	40,250,000*	73	27	Jan. 1	Jan. 1	1	17.30	14.50	5.50	1.20	38.50	60	23.10		163

[59] **Portland.** County rate includes $.38 pier site and bridge district rate. No. of installments optional.

[60] **New Britain.** Rates estimated on basis of appropriation.

[61] **San Jose.** Rates do not include $4.90 Santa Clara Valley water rate on land only.

[62] **Oak Park.** City rate includes $6.60 sanitary district, $3.20 township poor relief, and $3.00 park district rates. County rate includes $.90 forest preserve and $.90 mosquito abatement and driveway maintenance rates.

[63] **Evanston.** City rate includes $3.10 township supervisor and poor relief rate and $7.90 sanitary district, mosquito abatement, and forest preserve rates reported as one lump sum.

		Census 1940 Preliminary	Assessed Value	Per Cent Realty	Per Cent Personalty	City Fiscal Year Begins	Date City Taxes (or 1st Installment) Are Due	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per $1,000 of Assessed Valuation City	School	County	State	Total	Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	Amount of Homestead Exemption	
164(149)	Wheeling, W. Va.	61,007	Not reporting														164
165(182)	Fresno, Calif.	60,644	55,706,850	86	14	July 1	Dec. 5	2	17.60	16.20	9.80	N	43.60	50	21.80		165
166(185)	Columbia, S. C.	60,505	Not reporting														166
167(180)	Galveston, Tex.[50]	60,334	60,987,540	80	20	July 1	Jan. 31	2	19.10	6.50	5.00	7.70	38.30	57§	21.71	3,000[t]	167
168(184)	Durham, N. C.	59,731	83,323,190	66	34	July 1	Feb. 2	1	12.35	3.15	6.00	N	21.50	75	16.12	note[n]	168
169(157)	Chester, Pa.[q]	59,278	55,113,241	100		Jan. 1	July 1	—	12.50	15.00	4.95	N	32.45	87§	28.22		169
170(234)	St. Petersburg, Fla.[64]	59,178	80,910,125	92	8	Oct. 1	Apr. 1	1	23.50	26.00	60.75	4.88	115.13	31§	35.96	5,000[c]	170
171(165)	Decatur, Ill.[65]	59,129	32,364,811	85	15	May 1	June 1	2	30.20	23.30	4.40	N	57.90	50	28.95		171
172(162)	Beaumont, Tex.	58,912	58,447,850	83	17	July 1	Feb. 1	4	17.30	7.70	10.40	6.90	42.30	61§	25.67	3,000[t]	172
173(177)	Greensboro, N. C.	58,786	91,000,000	76	24	July 1	Feb. 1	1	12.00	2.30	7.50	N	21.80	75	16.35	note[n]	173
174(161)	Bethlehem, Pa.	58,478	Not reporting														174
175(159)	Malden, Mass.[48]	57,836	68,723,775	92	8	Jan. 1	Nov. 1	2	—	—	—	—	41.40	100	41.40		175
176(176)	Macon, Ga.[d]	57,793	39,145,689	82	18	Jan. 1	Jan. 1	9	15.00	10.81	10.19	5.00	41.00	56§	23.10	2,000[d]	176
177	Corpus Christi, Tex.	57,443	Not reporting														177
178(175)	New Rochelle, N. Y.[m]	57,415	187,855,814	100		Jan. 1	Feb. 1	4	15.90	9.80	6.10	—	31.80	91	28.94		178
179(170)	York, Pa.[q]	56,666	48,876,835	100		Jan. 2	July 1	1	10.50	18.00	6.00	N	34.50	56§	19.50		179
180(158)	Union City, N. J.[66]	55,947	65,373,632	95	5	Jan. 1	Feb. 10	4	22.39	15.18	11.17	3.52	52.26	100	52.26		180
181(181)	Waco, Tex.	55,844	48,022,170	71	29	Oct. 1	Mar. 1	12	17.50	7.00	—	—	—	—	—	3,000[t]	181
182(174)	McKeesport, Pa.[75]	55,460	55,110,175	100		Jan. 1	July 1	1	12.00	15.00	10.25	N	37.25	60	22.35		182
183(186)	Cleveland Hts., Ohio[o]	55,031	106,505,580	99	1	Jan. 1	Sept. 22	2	4.02	14.70	5.68	N	24.40	60	14.64		183
184(166)	Irvington, N. J.[67]	54,955	76,706,116	88	12	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	4	18.50	13.70	6.50	3.20	41.90	100	41.90		184
185(199)	Stockton, Calif.[68]	54,513	64,367,785	86	14	Jan. 1	Mar. 1	10	18.60	12.60*	18.86	N	50.06	56§	28.38		185
186(171)	Jackson, Mich.[1]	54,346	67,443,600	86	14	July 1	July 21	5	9.22	8.27	5.00	N	22.49	80	17.99		186
187(172)	Kalamazoo, Mich.[1]	53,892	74,256,675	79	21	Jan. 1	Aug. 1	12	9.10	10.46	4.79	N	24.35	100	24.35		187
188(167)	Holyoke, Mass.[57]	53,569	72,691,960	95	5	Jan. 1	Nov. 1	2	28.01	—	1.41	2.88	32.30	100	32.30		188
189(173)	East Chicago, Ind.[e]	53,379	86,131,860	—	—	Jan. 1	May 7	2	8.95	10.35	10.80	1.50	31.60	60	18.96		189
190(221)	Columbus, Ga.[d]	53,104	39,000,000*	—	—	Jan. 1	Sept. 1	1	12.00	7.00	8.00	5.00	32.00	62§	19.80	2,000[d]	190
191(253)	Santa Monica, Calif.[69]	52,828	49,133,145	75	25	July 1	Dec. 5	2	19.50	16.31	21.85	N	57.66	50	28.83		191
192(191)	Pueblo, Colo.[70]	51,805	26,360,290	68	32	Jan. 1	Mar. 1	2	33.10	18.70	12.40	4.40	68.60	70	48.02		192
193(208)	Waterloo, Iowa[71]	51,614	32,164,162	80	20	Apr. 1	Apr. 1	2	15.19	20.30	9.10	2.27	46.86	45	21.09	2,500[f]	193
194(220)	Amarillo, Tex.	51,497	55,611,180	77	23	Apr. 16	July 1	2	12.30	9.40	5.90	6.90	34.50	66§	22.68	3,000[t]	194
195(190)	Asheville, N. C.	51,227	54,261,999	86	14	July 1	Jan. 1	1	15.30	5.00	8.70	N	29.00	75	21.75	note[n]	195
196(207)	Stamford, Conn.	51,018	111,170,143	80	20	Nov. 4	Sept. 1	1	21.88	5.50	.20	.52	28.10	100	28.10		196
197(179)	Highland Park, Mich.[1]	50,727	79,718,950	80	20	July 1	Aug. 20	2	14.40	11.60	5.82	N	31.82	100	31.82		197
198(212)	Portsmouth, Va.[57]	50,687	32,598,550	92	8	Jan. 1	July 5	2	—	—	N	N	25.00	70	17.50		198
199(183)	Hamilton, Ohio[72]	50,632	66,286,940	85	15	Jan. 1	June 30	2	7.61	6.49	2.26	N	16.36	70	11.45		199
200(168)	Hamtramck, Mich.[1]	50,160	72,861,350	66	34	July 1	July 31	2	19.20	10.50	6.18	N	35.88	80	28.70		200

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[64] **St. Petersburg.** City rate shown is average of rates of the 4 tax zones.

[65] **Decatur.** City rate includes $5.80 township, $3.20 road and bridge, $2.80 park district, $2.50 sanitary district, and $1.00 tuberculosis sanitarium rates.

[66] **Union City.** Union City is a consolidation of two towns, each with debt service obligations at the time of consolidation. The rate shown is for the town of Union, the West Hoboken rate being $50.88. See footnote [1].

[67] **Irvington.** Taxes payable in 4 installments, but if taxpayer takes out installment book, he may make weekly payments. See footnote [1].

[68] **Stockton.** County rate includes $2.71 port rate.

[69] **Santa Monica.** County rate includes $4.90 metropolitan water and $2.20 flood control.

[70] **Pueblo.** School rate shown is district 1. School district 20 rate is $16.32.

[71] **Waterloo.** Rate shown is for East Side. West Side rate is $50.66.

[72] **Hamilton.** City rate includes $3.66 flood protection rate.

		Census 1940 Preliminary	Assessed Value	Per Cent Realty	Per Cent Personalty	City Fiscal Year Begins	Date City Taxes (or 1st Installment) Are Due	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per $1,000 of Assessed Valuation City	School	County	State	Total	Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	Amount of Homestead Exemption	
	Group V																
	Population 30,000 to 50,000																
201(192)	Pittsfield, Mass.[57]	49,863	59,208,990	92	8	Jan. 1	Oct. 1	2	32.62	—	1.65	2.73	37.00	100	37.00		201
202(206)	Muncie, Ind.[e]	49,625	46,012,160	86	14	Jan. 1	May 7	2	12.35	12.60*	13.20	1.50	39.65	50	19.83		202
203(156)	Hoboken, N. J.	49,603	Not reporting														203
204(210)	Lexington, Ky.	49,311	Not reporting														204
205(200)	Brookline, Mass.	49,278	158,978,500	92	8	Jan. 1	Nov. 1	2	16.69	4.51	.64	4.16	26.00	100	26.00		205
206(193)	Woonsocket, R. I.[73]	49,204	73,181,500	77	23	Jan. 1	Oct. 11	4	25.00	—	N	N	25.00	100	25.00		206
207(204)	Clifton, N. J.[1]	48,840	49,068,661	94	6	Jan. 1	Feb. 10	4	17.52	18.70	8.33	3.15	47.70	100	47.70		207
208(203)	Berwyn, Ill.[74]	48,474	20,731,194	91	9	Jan. 1	June 1	2	28.40	40.50	6.70	N	75.60	37	27.97		208
209(189)	Kenosha, Wis.	48,464	68,977,080	91	9	Jan. 1	Mar. 1	1	8.73	13.82	9.66	.79	33.00	82	27.06		209
210(202)	Bay City, Mich.[1]	48,019	42,693,810	84	16	July 1	Oct. 1	1	16.29	8.93	7.43	N	32.65	80	26.12		210
211(195)	New Castle, Pa.[75]	47,602	54,543,104	94	6	Jan. 1	July 1	—	11.00	17.50	4.50	N	33.00	97§	32.10		211
212(229)	Muskegon, Mich.[1]	47,502	52,026,744	80	20	Jan. 1	Jan. 10	1	9.64	9.63	4.16	N	23.43	100	23.43		212
213(194)	Haverhill, Mass.	47,323	50,339,500	90	10	Jan. 1	Oct. 1	1	29.50	7.47	1.09	2.34	40.40	100	40.40		213
214(223)	Cranston, R. I.[57]	47,173	76,175,800	78	22	Oct. 1	Nov. 21	4	23.00	—	N	N	23.00	90	20.70		214
215(196)	Everett, Mass.	46,788	72,949,350	87	13	Jan. 1	Nov. 1	2	23.86	7.60	1.23	4.71	37.40	100	37.40		215
216(251)	Raleigh, N. C.[75]	46,640	51,413,472	82	18	July 1	Feb. 1	—	13.50	2.50	6.50	N	22.50	70	15.75	note[n]	216
217(205)	Aurora, Ill.[76]	46,313	26,955,729	79	21	Jan. 1	June 1	2	26.20	23.80	4.20	N	54.20	33	17.89		217
218(250)	Green Bay, Wis.[77]	45,840	53,946,175	90	10	Jan. 1	Mar. 1	1	11.54	14.72	6.99	.25	33.50	80	26.80		218
219(187)	Port Arthur, Tex.	45,500	28,825,250	82	18	July 1	Feb. 1	2	19.00	7.50	8.00	6.90	41.40	59§	24.51	3,000[t]	219
220(201)	Elmira, N. Y.[m]	45,046	49,375,320	100		Jan. 1	Sept. 15	2	28.92	9.72	8.70	—	47.34	80	37.87		220
221(216)	Wichita Falls, Tex.	44,937	32,227,000	62	38	Oct. 1	Nov. 1	2	14.00	11.50	13.10	6.90	45.50	61§	28.08	3,000[t]	221
222(225)	Lima, Ohio[o]	44,764	52,200,000	80	20	Jan. 1	Feb. 20	2	9.65	7.45	3.90	N	21.00	70	14.70		222
223(233)	Lynchburg, Va.	44,470	41,845,204	92	8	Jan. 1	July 16	3	12.00	11.50	N	N	23.50	70	16.45		223
224(249)	San Bernardino, Calif.	44,373	28,206,910	67	33	July 1	Dec. 1	2	12.27	14.60	19.50	N	46.37	50	23.19		224
225(211)	Williamsport, Pa.[75]	44,262	29,660,865	100		Jan. 1	July 1	—	13.50	22.00	11.00	N	46.50	55§	25.70		225
226(214)	Lorain, Ohio[o]	43,927	74,000,000	86	14	Jan. 1	Jan. 21	2	6.33	6.02	2.34	N	14.69	100	14.69		226
227(228)	Dubuque, Iowa[54]	43,833	34,100,928	100		Apr. 1	Apr. 1	2	19.19	16.44	9.51	2.26	47.40	60	28.44	2,500[f]	227
228(236)	Ogden, Utah	43,719	30,000,000*	—	—	Jan. 1	—	1	13.50	14.75	9.40	7.15	44.80	50	22.40	note[u]	228
229(217)	Battle Creek, Mich.[1]	43,477	60,589,800	79	21	July 1	Aug. 20	1	9.60	7.90	3.30	N	20.80	100	20.80		229
230(247)	Rock Island, Ill.	42,648	Not reporting														230
231(213)	Jamestown, N. Y.[m]	42,502	56,845,933	100		Jan. 1	June 11	1	14.24	12.30	7.44	—	33.98	85	28.88		231
232(240)	La Crosse, Wis.[49]	42,441	50,859,465	89	11	Jan. 1	Mar. 1	3	10.77	9.53	11.47	.23	32.00	90	28.80		232
233(230)	Warren, Ohio[o]	42,413	55,522,407	80	20	Jan. 1	—	2	5.90	8.40	3.70	N	18.00	80	14.40		233
234(222)	Joliet, Ill.[78]	41,936	22,594,249	80	20	Jan. 1	Sept. 1	2	25.70	34.10	8.40	N	68.20	30	20.46		234
235(246)	Bloomfield, N. J.[1]	41,636	68,908,072	89	11	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	4	12.45	14.90	6.45	3.20	37.00	100	37.00		235

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[73] **Woonsocket.** Assessed value includes $3,720,200 intangible personalty taxed at $4.00 per $1,000. See footnote [r].

[74] **Berwyn.** School district No. 98 rate reported. School district No. 100 has rate of only $39.40, but has an additional $4.40 park district rate. Of the total assessed value, 43% lies in No. 98 and 57% in No. 100.

[75] **Houston, Erie, Wilkes Barre, Altoona, McKeesport, New Castle, Raleigh, Williamsport, Cumberland, Kearny, Amsterdam.** Number of payments optional.

[76] **Aurora.** City rate includes $4.10 town, $2.50 road and bridge, and $4.00 sanitary rates. County rate includes $.30 forest preserve rate.

[77] **Green Bay.** City rate includes $2.00 metropolitan sewerage district rate.

[78] **Joliet.** City rate includes $4.90 township, $3.30 township road and bridge, and $3.90 park district rates. County rate includes $.30 forest preserve rate.

		Census 1940 Preliminary	Assessed Value	Per Cent Realty	Per Cent Personalty	City Fiscal Year Begins	Date City Taxes (or 1st Installment) Are Due	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per $1,000 of Assessed Valuation City	School	County	State	Total	Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	Amount of Homestead Exemption	
236(215)	Chicopee, Mass.	41,575	Not reporting														236
237(232)	Fitchburg, Mass.	41,497	47,558,075	85	15	Jan. 1	Nov. 1	2	23.08	12.27	1.49	2.76	39.60	100	39.60		237
238(238)	Anderson, Ind.	41,450	Not reporting														238
239(226)	Council Bluffs, Iowa	41,443	Not reporting														239
240(219)	Salem, Mass.	41,303	53,974,720	88	12	Jan. 1	Nov. 2	10	18.01	9.87	2.92	2.70	33.50	100	33.50		240
241(218)	Perth Amboy, N. J.[1]	41,071	45,097,280	—	—	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	4	20.62	19.80	11.87	3.11	55.40	50	27.70		241
242(209)	Chelsea, Mass.	41,069	45,819,510	89	11	Jan. 1	Nov. 1	2	31.87	8.49	N	5.04	45.40	100	45.40		242
243(243)	Waltham, Mass.[79]	40,794	50,163,150	92	8	Jan. 1	Nov. 1	10	32.16	—	1.48	2.76	36.40	100	36.40		243
244(284)	Sioux Falls, S. Dak.	40,646	41,913,898	83	17	Jan. 1	May 1	2	15.14	13.74	5.14	N	33.98	70	23.79	note[s]	244
245(244)	Quincy, Ill.[80]	40,521	34,207,765	66	34	May 1	June 1	2	15.20	15.00	4.60	N	34.80	50	17.40		245
246(224)	Portsmouth, Ohio[o]	40,474	49,632,000	94	6	Jan. 1	June 2	2	8.42	9.14	3.94	N	21.50	100	21.50		246
247(235)	Poughkeepsie, N. Y.[m]	40,237	52,153,939	100		Jan. 1	Feb. 16	4	24.96	8.23	5.80	—	38.99	70	27.29		247
248(248)	Cumberland, Md.[75]	40,127	47,300,000	87	13	Apr. 1	July 15	—	11.00	6.35	8.95	2.34	28.64	80	22.91		248
249(265)	White Plains, N. Y.[m]	40,116	145,006,773	100		Jan. 1	Feb. 1	2	14.26	10.53	6.03	—	30.82	90	27.74		249
250(261)	Arlington, Mass.[48]	39,939	59,274,700	95	5	Jan. 1	Nov. 2	2	—	—	—	—	35.80	100	35.80		250
251(242)	Sheboygan, Wis.	39,881	49,783,855	89	11	Jan. 1	Mar. 22	5	17.72	11.14	5.70	.23	34.79	100	34.79		251
252(262)	Norwalk, Conn.[81]	39,505	71,405,170	99	1	Sept. 1	Nov. 1	2	—	—	—	—	25.00	80	20.00		252
253(245)	Meriden, Conn.	39,455	59,415,655	83	17	Jan. 1	May 5	2	14.70	11.40	.30	.60	27.00	100	27.00		253
254(254)	West New York, N. J.[1]	39,402	41,314,498	81	19	Jan. 1	Feb. 10	4	23.92	19.45	10.78	3.39	57.54	60	34.52		254
255(239)	E. Cleveland, Ohio[o]	39,395	53,605,740	96	4	Jan. 1	Sept. 22	2	7.62	14.50	5.68	N	27.80	65	18.07		255
256(237)	Oshkosh, Wis.[82]	39,054	42,337,425	89	11	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	4	16.63*	15.55*	5.57*	.65*	38.40	90	34.56		256
257(288)	Laredo, Tex.	38,921	16,257,535	—	—	May 1	May 1	4	16.65	7.65	8.50	6.90	39.70	56§	22.28	3,000[t]	257
258	Alhambra, Calif.	38,820	27,300,380	—	—	July 1	Dec. 5	4	35.09	5.07	10.59	N	50.75	50	25.38		258
259(231)	Kearny, N. J.[75]	38,815	77,114,443	84	16	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	—	12.77	10.72	11.38	3.56	38.43	65	24.98		259
260(227)	Montclair, N. J.	38,543	Not reporting														260
261(257)	High Point, N. C.	38,449	41,617,918	75	25	July 1	Feb. 1	4	11.60	5.35	5.05	N	22.00	80	17.60	note[n]	261
262(263)	Elgin, Ill.[83]	38,171	21,867,001	76	24	Jan. 1	June 1	2	24.30	18.80	4.20	N	47.30	30	14.19		262
263(270)	Lewiston, Me.[48]	38,083	32,019,165	86	14	Apr. 1	Dec. 15	1	—	—	—	—	38.00	50	19.00		263
264(255)	Hazleton, Pa.[q]	37,979	29,430,727	92	8	Jan. 1	July 1	1	14.50	28.00	8.20	N	50.70	51§	26.17		264
265(264)	Norristown, Pa.[q]	37,944	22,927,460	100		Jan. 1	Nov. 1	—	14.00	24.00	2.50	N	40.50	50	20.25		265
266(267)	Steubenville, Ohio	37,586	52,029,330	86	14	Jan. 1	Jan. 20	2	5.10	8.70	2.40	N	16.20	80	12.96		266
267(252)	Taunton, Mass.	37,445	Not reporting														267
268(259)	Zanesville, Ohio	37,409	Not reporting														268
269(276)	Plainfield, N. J.[1]	37,350	59,176,015	90	10	Jan. 1	Feb. 2	4	14.91	16.46	7.35	3.08	41.80	90	37.62		269
270(297)	Pensacola, Fla.	37,173	Not reporting														270

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[79] **Waltham.** City rate includes $1.35 metropolitan district rate, and school rate.

[80] **Quincy.** City rate includes $3.00 town rate. County rate includes $1.23 road aid and $.40 mother's pension rates.

[81] **Norwalk.** Rate shown is for districts 2 and 3 comprising 38% of total assessed valuation. City is composed of 5 taxing districts. Districts 1, 5, and 6 have rates of $27.25, $18.70, and $22.40 and comprise 27.6%, 5.5% and 28.9% of assessed value respectively.

[82] **Oshkosh.** Separation of rates estimated on basis of appropriation.

[83] **Elgin.** City rate includes $4.40 sanitary district and $6.20 township rate.

		Census 1940 Preliminary	Assessed Value	Per Cent Realty	Per Cent Personalty	City Fiscal Year Begins	Date City Taxes (or 1st Installment) Are Due	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per $1,000 of Assessed Valuation City	School	County	State	Total	Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	Amount of Homestead Exemption	
271(281)	Joplin, Mo.	37,132	22,700,000	71	29	Jan. 1	Jan. 1	1	16.50	17.50	6.40	1.20	41.60	50	20.80		271
272	Gadsden, Ala.	37,014	15,172,322	80	20	Oct. 1	Feb. 1	2	10.00	3.00	11.50	6.50	31.00	60	18.60	2,000[a]	272
273(241)	Butte, Mont.[84]	36,964	45,396,230	62	38	July 1	Dec. 1	2	39.10	32.00	26.72	5.50	103.32	30	31.00		273
274(277)	Newport News, Va.	36,933	36,095,734	86	14	Jan. 1	Dec. 6	1	15.85	14.30	N	N	30.15	50	15.08		274
275(280)	Mansfield, Ohio[o]	36,895	54,210,650	79	21	Jan. 1	Jan. 20	2	5.20	8.20	2.60	N	16.00	100	16.00		275
276(256)	Danville, Ill.[85]	36,865	20,505,258	78	22	May 1	June 1	2	27.00	23.10	6.00	N	56.10	46	25.81		276
277(289)	Tucson, Ariz.	36,763	24,500,000*	92	8	July 1	Nov. 4	2	20.18	15.28	12.77	8.60	56.83	53	30.12		277
278(299)	Fort Smith, Ark.	36,540	Not reporting														278
279	Orlando, Fla.	36,302	49,781,100	90	10	Jan. 1	Apr. 1	1	12.00	22.75	41.00	4.88	80.63	55§	44.52	5,000[c]	279
280(273)	West Allis, Wis.[86]	36,146	57,252,147	80	20	Jan. 1	Mar. 1	—	12.04	14.04	11.47	.23	37.78	80	30.22		280
281(285)	Colorado Springs, Colo.	36,130	28,228,830	77	23	Jan. 1	May 1	2	13.00	22.79	7.07	4.40	47.26	67	31.66		281
282	Riverside, Calif.	35,967	Not reporting														282
283(258)	Auburn, N. Y.	35,705	Not reporting														283
284(268)	Orange, N. J.[1]	35,449	43,451,233	92	8	Jan. 1	Feb. 2	4	13.98	14.46	6.52	3.24	38.20	100	38.20		284
285(296)	Meridian, Miss.	35,410	23,252,716	69	31	Oct. 1	Feb. 2	3	16.00	13.00	15.60	6.00	50.60	60	30.36	note[k]	285
286	Albuquerque, N. Mex.	35,378	20,912,522	88	12	July 1	Dec. 1	2	16.23	5.65	12.06	6.55	40.49	60	24.29		286
287(271)	Watertown, Mass.[48]	35,200	51,345,115	94	6	Jan. 1	Nov. 1	1	—	—	—	—	35.00	100	35.00		287
288(269)	Alameda, Calif.	35,133	30,756,160	86	14	July 1	Dec. 5	2	15.16	19.84	15.90	N	50.90	53§	26.66		288
289(290)	Richmond, Ind.[e]	35,040	34,197,653	72	28	Jan. 1	May 6	2	3.70	13.00	10.10	1.50	28.30	70	19.81		289
290(260)	Superior, Wis.	34,944	40,912,492	88	12	Jan. 1	Mar. 2	1	14.56	15.69	10.22	.23	40.70	100	40.70		290
291	Greenville, S. C.	34,745	Not reporting														291
292(293)	Moline, Ill.	34,599	22,406,210	71	29	May 1	June 1	2	15.60	25.20	6.40	N	47.20	33	15.58		292
293(278)	Santa Barbara, Cal.	34,438	47,029,195	—	—	July 1	Dec. 5	2	14.40	12.60	13.00	N	40.00	53§	21.44		293
294(266)	Revere, Mass.	34,376	Not reporting														294
295(306)	Baton Rouge, La.	34,337	Not reporting														295
296(291)	Rome, N. Y.[m]	34,239	28,879,602	100		Jan. 1	May 1	2	19.79	12.46	10.65	—	42.90	70	30.03		296
297	Burbank, Calif.	34,090	31,992,055	73	27	July 1	Dec. 5	2	11.90	19.88	21.85	N	53.63	50	26.82		297
298(282)	Waukegan, Ill.	34,060	Not reporting														298
299(279)	Paducah, Ky.	34,018	21,750,357	—	—	Jan. 1	July 1	2	19.20	12.30	—	—	—	—	—		299
300(283)	Norwood, Ohio	33,947	Not reporting														300
301(287)	Kokomo, Ind.[e]	33,910	29,440,415	61	39	Jan. 1	May 6	2	11.10	12.20	11.00	1.50	35.80	100	35.80		301
302	Alexandria, Va.	33,800	Not reporting														302
303	West Hartford, Conn.	33,744	Not reporting														303
304(272)	Amsterdam, N. Y.[75]	33,640	27,188,795	100		Jan. 1	May 16	—	25.11	22.84	13.60	—	61.55	55	33.85		304
305(275)	Easton, Pa.[q]	33,509	42,443,300	100		Jan. 1	July 1	4	12.00	14.50	9.00	N	35.50	92§	32.80		305

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[84] **Butte.** In Montana property is assessed at full cash value, but the taxable value of various types of property is only a fraction of the assessed value. Household goods, autos, trucks, etc., have a taxable value of 20% of the assessed value; real estate, 30%; live stock, merchandise, furniture, and fixtures, 33 1/3%; moneys, stocks, and bonds, 7%; net proceeds of mines 100%. The total taxable value is approximately 30% of the assessed value and this is the figure shown in the assessment ratio column.

[85] **Danville.** City rate includes $2.50 sanitary district, $3.80 township, and $5.90 road and bridge rates.

[86] **West Allis.** City rate includes $2.60 metropolitan sewer rates.

		Census 1940 Preliminary	Assessed Value	Per Cent Realty	Per Cent Personalty	City Fiscal Year Begins	Date City Taxes (or 1st Installment) Are Due	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per $1,000 of Assessed Valuation City	School	County	State	Total	Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	Amount of Homestead Exemption	
306(286)	Elkhart, Ind.[e]	33,335	38,133,309	—	—	Jan. 1	May 6	2	9.20	9.60	8.50	1.50	28.80	60	17.28		306
307(294)	Watertown, N. Y.[m]	33,239	45,866,516	100		July 1	Aug. 2	1	16.80	11.20	8.35	—	36.35	90	32.72		307
308	W. Palm Beach, Fla.	33,208	Not reporting														308
309(274)	New Brunswick, N. J.[l]	33,165	41,188,401	92	8	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	4	21.60	12.80	12.00	3.10	49.50	70	34.65		309
310(309)	Santa Ana, Calif.[87]	33,111	24,651,975	—	—	July 1	Dec. 5	2	17.00	20.08	15.05	N	52.13	50	26.06		310
311	Fargo, N. Dak.	33,109	20,612,878	69	31	—	—	—	20.29	19.79	10.08	6.55	56.71	50	28.36		311
312(292)	Wilmington, N. C.	32,980	Not reporting														312
313	University City, Mo.	32,863	Not reporting														313
314(298)	Nashua, N. H.[87]	32,860	38,500,000*	—	—	Jan. 1	Dec. 2	—	29.72	—	7.88	N	37.60	100	37.60		314
315(303)	Bloomington, Ill.	32,826	Not reporting														315
316	Danville, Va.	32,745	Not reporting														316
317(300)	Port Huron, Mich.[l]	32,738	33,512,470	87	13	May 1	Aug. 1	1	14.94	9.14	7.50	N	31.58	100	31.58		317
318	Spartanburg, S. C.	32,521	Not reporting														318
319(304)	Hagerstown, Md.[88]	32,441	36,400,000	92	8	Apr. 1	Jan. 1	1	5.00	4.30	2.90	2.34	14.54	100	14.54		319
320(295)	Muskogee, Okla.	32,314	Not reporting														320
321	East Providence, R. I.	32,093	Not reporting														321
322(301)	Newburgh, N. Y.[m]	31,797	38,700,810	100		Jan. 1	May 3	1	17.24	11.00	15.63	—	43.87	86	37.73		322
323	Lubbock, Tex.	31,588	26,716,275	78	22	Apr. 1	Feb. 1	1	10.00	9.50	5.00	6.90	31.40	66	20.72	3,000[t]	323
324	Ottumwa, Iowa	31,502	19,000,000	84	16	Apr. 1	Apr. 1	2	14.68	27.22	15.13	2.29	59.32	60	35.59	2,500[f]	324
325(307)	Newark, Ohio	31,294	Not reporting														325
326	Middletown, Ohio	31,230	Not reporting														326
327(310)	Alton, Ill.	31,197	15,581,268	73	27	Apr. 1	Oct. 15	2	20.90	22.50	5.80	N	49.20	50	24.60		327
328(302)	Marion, Ohio	30,785	Not reporting														328
329	Salem, Ore.	30,773	15,177,542	—	—	—	—	—	24.40	21.30	16.40	—	62.10	50	31.05		329
330	Newport, Ky.	30,734	Not reporting														330
331	Wyandotte, Mich.	30,571	Not reporting														331
332	Clarksburg, W. Va.	30,543	Not reporting														332
333	Petersburg, Va.[87]	30,526	24,764,596	88	12	Jan. 1	Mar. 31	4	23.50	—	N	N	23.50	100	23.50		333
334	Eau Claire, Wis.	30,517	26,232,535	88	12	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	1	9.32	15.62	9.82	.24	35.00	84	29.40		334
335	Newport, R. I.[87]	30,402	75,719,100	61	39	Apr. 1	Sept. 1	4	24.00	—	N	N	24.00	100	24.00		335
336	Owensboro, Ky.	30,125	13,922,262	73	27	June 1	Aug. 1	1	15.00	13.70	6.00	.50	35.20	50	17.60		336
337	Bristol, Conn.	30,103	Not reporting														337
338	New London, Conn.[48]	30,094	49,939,113	90	10	Oct. 1	May 15	2	—	—	—	—	28.50	95	27.07		338
339	Parkersburg, W. Va.[w]	30,088	43,421,170	65	35	July 1	Dec. 1	2	5.80	10.25	4.06	.10	20.21	70	14.15	note[w]	339
340(308)	Everett, Wash.[89]	29,975	14,833,142	75	25	Jan. 1	June 1	2	23.20	12.00	11.50	3.00	49.70	50	24.85		340
341(305)	Bellingham, Wash.[90]	28,802	14,066,508	75	25	Jan. 1	June 1	2	26.26	10.00	14.92	2.96	54.14	44	23.82		341

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[87] **Santa Ana.** County rate includes $4.90 metropolitan and $1.35 harbor and flood control rates.

[88] **Hagerstown.** Tax rate is for June 1 to December 31, 1940, only, to make possible the adoption of the calendar year as the levy year.

[89] **Everett.** City rate includes $3.00 port rate. See note [v].

[90] **Bellingham.** County rate includes $2.92 port and $.91 public utility district rates. See note [v].

		Population	Assessed Value	Per Cent Realty	Per Cent Personalty	City Fiscal Year Begins	Date City Taxes (or 1st Installment) Are Due	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per $1,000 of Assessed Valuation City	School	Province	Total	Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	Amount of Homestead Exemption	
	Canadian Cities															
1(1)	Montreal, Que.	818,577	Not reporting													1
2(2)	Toronto, Ont.[91]	648,309	955,103,105	100		Jan. 1	June 10	3	23.70	11.45	N	35.15	100	35.15		2
3(3)	Vancouver, B. C.[92]	259,989	208,063,554	100		Jan. 1	—	1	33.93	15.71	N	49.64	70	34.75		3
4(4)	Winnipeg, Man.[93]	215,814	179,036,775	100		Jan. 1	Oct. 1	1	16.85	18.39	1.26	36.50	76	27.74		4
5(5)	Hamilton, Ont.[94]	160,000	165,224,697	100		Jan. 1	Apr. 17	4	25.71	13.29	N	39.00	90	35.10		5
6(6)	Quebec, Que.[95]	151,432	118,072,053	100		May 1	Nov. 1	—	21.20	11.00	5.00	37.20	80	29.76		6
7(7)	Ottawa, Ont.[96]	142,851	156,977,512	100		Jan. 1	June 19	2	27.60	11.40	N	39.00	100	39.00		7
8(8)	Windsor, Ont.[97]	103,644	94,975,030	100		Jan. 1	Jan. 1	—	21.21	19.79	N	41.00	100	41.00		8
9(9)	Edmonton, Alta.[92]	90,419	54,719,650	100		Jan. 1	May 17	4	24.50	27.00	N	51.50	69	35.54		9
10(10)	Calgary, Alta.[98]	85,726	55,467,018	100		Jan. 1	June 27	—	21.59	24.41	N	46.00	63	28.98		10
11(11)	London, Ont.[97]	76,424	83,122,440	100		Jan. 1	June 19	3	24.02	14.63	N	38.65	96	37.10		11
12(13)	Halifax, N. S.[97]	63,582	61,307,650	100		May 1	Sept. 1	2	25.20	11.30	.90	37.40	100	37.40		12
13(12)	Verdun, Que.[99]	60,745	41,248,380	100		Jan. 1	Jan. 2	1	15.00	10.00	N	25.00	80	20.00		13
14(14)	Regina, Sask.[100]	53,354	40,644,495	100		Jan. 1	Jan. 1	2	27.15	20.67	2.18	50.00	65	32.50		14
15(15)	St. John, N. B.	50,200	Not reporting													15
16(16)	Saskatoon, Sask.[92]	41,734	31,324,991	100		Jan. 1	Jan. 1	2	18.63	24.57	2.20	45.40	73	33.14		16
17(18)	Three Rivers, Que.	40,185	Not reporting													17
18(17)	Victoria, B. C.[92]	39,082	44,630,029	100		Jan. 1	Oct. 1	—	28.41	11.59	N	40.00	76	30.40		18

[91] **Toronto.** Assessed value includes $71,805,608 taxed for school purposes only and 11.8% business and income. Public school rate shown. Separate school rate is $15.50.

[92] **Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton, Regina, Saskatoon, Victoria.** Land is assessed at 100%, buildings at 50% in Vancouver, 50% in Calgary, 55% in Edmonton, 30% in Regina, 70% in Saskatoon, 65% in Victoria.

[93] **Winnipeg.** Land assessed at 100%, buildings at 66 2/3% of true value. Assessment includes $9,372,305 business taxed at rates ranging from 6% to 20%.

[94] **Hamilton.** Public school rate shown; separate school rate is $16.54.

[95] **Quebec.** Neutral school rate reported. Catholic rate is $10.50; Protestant rate, $12.00.

[96] **Ottawa.** Assessed value includes 10% business and income. Public school rate reported. Separate school rate is $18.95.

[97] **Windsor, London, Halifax.** Assessed value includes 12% business and income in Windsor, 11% in London, 8% in Halifax.

[98] **Calgary.** Assessed value includes 3% franchises. Rates reported do not include $3.63 levy on land only for the provincial government social services tax. See note 92.

[99] **Verdun.** Protestant school rate reported. Catholic school rate is $8.67, neutral rate is $12.00.

[100] **Regina.** Public school rate shown. Separate school rate is $27.76. Assessed value includes 16% business and income. See note 92.

GENERAL NOTES

[a] **Alabama.** The legal basis of assessment is 60 per cent of true value. The rates shown are actual rates. *Homestead Exemption:* First $2,000 of assessed value of homesteads exempt from state tax only.

[b] **Arkansas.** *Homestead Exemption:* First $1,000 of assessed value of homesteads exempt from state tax only.

[c] **Florida.** *Homestead Exemption:* The first $5,000 of the assessed value of homesteads is exempt from state and all local taxes except debt service on obligations incurred prior to the passage of the amendment.

[d] **Georgia.** Intangibles are assessed at 100% of true value and taxed at 3 mills by state only. *Homestead Exemption:* First $2,000 of assessed value of homesteads exempt from state, county, and school district rates except for debt service on debt incurred previous to act.

[e] **Indiana.** County tax rate includes township rate. Library rate included in school rate.

[f] **Iowa.** *Homestead Exemption:* Amount of homestead exemption is determined by the Board of Assessment and Review each year. The maximum exemption is 25 mills on the first $2,500 of assessed values or $62.50 which was allowed in 1940. This applies to the state and all local units of government.

[g] **Louisiana.** *Homestead Exemption:* Applies to state and parish taxes only, except that New Orleans (no other city) may also exempt homesteads from city taxes. Maximum exemption is $2,000, allowed hereafter. New homes are exempt from all state and local levies for three years following their completion.

[h] **Massachusetts.** In many cities the division of the total rate into city, school, county, and state purposes is not available and only the total rate is shown.

[i] **Michigan.** County rates shown were fixed to cover fiscal year starting December 1, 1939. The new rates are not fixed in time for inclusion in this report except in Wayne County this year.

[j] **Minnesota.** *Property Classification:* There are 5 classes of property assessed at varying percentages of true value: platted real estate at 40%, except the first $4,000 of homesteads which is assessed at 25%; unplatted real estate at 33 1/3%, except first $4,000 of homesteads at 20%; iron ore at 50%; and personalty in 3 classes at 10%, 25%, and 33 1/3%. The first $4,000 of true value of homesteads is exempt further from state tax levies except debt service on obligations issued prior to the enactment of the law. Assessments average 35% of true value in Minneapolis and St. Paul, and 33% in Duluth. Tax rates shown are actual rates.

[k] **Mississippi.** *Homestead Exemption:* Total assessed value exempt from state taxes and levies for maintenance and current expenses of counties, school districts, and road districts.

[l] **New Jersey.** The state levies a school tax which is distributed back to the school districts. To conform with the method of reporting used in the past this school tax is left in the state rate, although it might justifiably be transferred to the school rate. The amounts are as follows: Newark, $2.79; Jersey City, $3.08; Camden, $2.25; Atlantic City $2.96; Passaic $2.92; Kearny, $3.31; Bloomfield, $2.97; West New York, $3.15. In other New Jersey cities this item was not segregated from the other items in the state rate.

[m] **New York.** Realty valuations include public utilities. Where state rate is not shown it is included in county rate.

[n] **North Carolina.** *Homestead Exemption:* Authorized but enabling legislation not yet enacted.

[o] **Ohio.** Realty assessment includes public utility valuations.

[p] **Oklahoma.** *Homestead Exemption:* The first $1,000 of the assessed value of homesteads is exempt from tax rates for all units. Debt service charges on obligations incurred prior to this act are specifically allowed.

[q] **Pennsylvania.** Tangible personal property is not subject to city rate except as noted. Intangible personal property—not included in assessments—is subject to a 4 mill state and a 4 mill county rate.

[r] **Rhode Island.** There is no county government in Rhode Island. State does not tax real property.

[s] **South Dakota.** *Homestead Exemption:* Homesteads are exempt from state tax levies only. However, the 1939-40 state tax has been abolished on all property.

[t] **Texas.** *Homestead Exemption:* First $3,000 of assessed value of homesteads is exempt from state taxes only.

[u] **Utah.** *Homestead Exemption:* Authorized but not effective.

[v] **Washington.** Legal basis of assessment is 50% of true value.

[w] **West Virginia.** *Property Classification:* Property in cities is divided into three classes: Class I property (intangible personal property) pays ¼ of full rate. Class II (property occupied by the owner as a residence) pays ½ the full rate. Class IV (all real and personal property not in Class I or II) pays the full rate. *Homestead Exemption:* Homesteads may be taxed at not more than 1% of assessed value.

Contributors in Review

ALONG with other luminaries of New York City reform, **Paul Blanshard** (*A Battle Lost, a War to Win*) has long been prominent in the minor and major battles for good government in the largest city of the nation. He has done his battling both inside and outside the city's government. Throughout the first LaGuardia administration he was Commissioner of Accounts—head of the department which acts as general trouble-shooter for the city, and now called the Department of Investigation. Before that he was executive director of the City Affairs Committee and before that associate editor of *The Nation*. One of his written works, in co-authorship with Norman Thomas, was called *What's the Matter with New York; a National Problem,* published in 1932.

A MINISTER-NEWSPAPERMAN by dual profession, **William F. McDermott** (*Chicago's One-Man Cleanup Campaign*) has for many years served at the same time Chicago's newspapers, Chicago's churches, and Chicago's unfortunates. As religious editor of the *Chicago Daily News,* he has raised large sums in that paper's 100 Neediest Families Christmas Fund. His first regular church (1915-1917) was located in the Chicago stockyards, one block from Upton Sinclair's "Jungle." Although advised some twenty-five years ago by a University of Chicago professor of English that writing "just isn't your field," Mr. McDermott has earned his living by writing ever since.

THE first Master of Public Administration degree ever awarded by Wayne University went to **Rosina K. Mohaupt** (*Comparative Tax Rates of 301 Cities—1940*) last June. Miss—and Master—Mohaupt is titled statistician-librarian of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research and since December 1936 has been the REVIEW's semi-annual contributor of municipal tax rates (every December) and municipal debt statistics (every June).

AT THE University of Newark **William L. Nunn** (*Local Progress in Labor Peace*) is known to students as their professor of economics. But he has also a trail-blazing avocation as the first chairman of the Newark Labor Relations Board, and is still a member of that body. This, his third NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW article on municipal labor relations, stems from Professor Nunn's extra-curricular interests.

Researcher's Digest: December

Researchers meet in the West, Pacific coast conference emphasizes research by public agencies; some research bureau exhortations.

ONE hundred and eighty members strong, the youthful **Western Governmental Research Association** dedicated its third annual conference for Pacific states researchers (October 24, 25, and 26 in Los Angeles) to the proposition that research tools, as well as research subjects, are worth discussion.

Almost all the sessions were of the round table panel variety, with panel members and audience alike joining in informal deliberation on such matters as methods of gathering and organizing research data, and types of reports for effective research reporting. A clinic on research methods took the form of radio's "Information Please," built around practical-minded questions submitted by those attending the conference.

The opening session of the convention constituted a rapid-fire succession of three-minute reports by forty researchers on the activities of their agencies during the past year.

On the subject-matter side of the program were sessions on population growth and movements during the past decade, advancements in the technique of the budgetary process, research problems involved in governmental interrelationships, problems involved in administration of general relief in California, and research in the defense of the nation.

Distinguishing characteristics of the three-year-old Western Governmental Research Association are the relative youthfulness of its membership and the overwhelming proportion of the members who are attached to governmental or publicly-supported agencies. Judging from the roster of the 130 attendants at the convention, less than 10 per cent of the organization's members are connected with citizens' or unofficial research organizations.

Newly elected president of the WGRA is DeWitt W. Krueger, of the California State Board of Equalization, succeeding Professor John M. Pfiffner, of the University of Southern California. Arthur Harris, of the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of California, succeeds Professor Samuel C. May as executive secretary.

What Bureaus Are Advocating

A winnowing of the exhortations contained in recent research bureau publications reveals some varied suggestions for better government at home:

The citizen should do his part to reduce to a minimum the amount of street cleaning that the city must do. —Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research.

City and county governments should adopt a no-hiring policy to free potential workers for defense industries and to permit re-hiring of drafted men. —Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research.

Confine the use of the profits of the water division to the payment of the expenses of the water division, preferably to pay off its bonded debt.—Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau.

The municipality must learn again to live efficiently and economically within its own means, so that it can stand upon its own feet financially, independent of grants from the federal and state governments for purposes heretofore regarded as responsibilities of local government.—Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy.

The great defect in the local relief program has been that we have only fed people but have done nothing to rehabilitate them and find jobs for them.—Des Moines Bureau of Municipal Research.

If you want to be something more than a weather vane and a family grumbler, you should vote your convictions when you are given the chance. —Dayton Research Association.

It is time to understand and, by understanding, help harassed city officials to reach a solution.—Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research.

Providing inadequate facilities for care and supervision of feeble-minded is wasteful "economy." Many can become self-supporting by proper training.—The Ohio Institute.

Only with a consolidated tax accounting system will full potential savings be realized.—Kansas City Civic Research Institute.

Reduce the number of city departments from sixteen to nine.—Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research.

Reorganize assessing procedures in the city of Detroit along more modern lines.—Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Accounting

Briefly—about a Planned Procedure. Civic Research Institute, *Kansas City Public Affairs,* October 24, 1940. 3 pp.

Briefly—about Local Tax Accounting. Civic Research Institute, *Kansas City Public Affairs,* October 17, 1940. 3 pp.

Assessment

Suggestions for the Reorganization of Assessing Practices in the City of Detroit. By J. M. Leonard. Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, March 1940. 15 pp.

Form of Government

Civic Departmentalization (Story No. 2). Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research, *White Paper No. 252,* October 17, 1940. 4 pp.

Institutions

State Care for Feeble-Minded. The Ohio Institute (Columbus), *The Ohio Citizen,* October 31, 1940. 2 pp.

Population

Movement of Negro Population Within the City of Detroit by Census Tracts—1930-38. By John R. Searles. Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., 1940. 3 pp. charts.

Public Welfare

The Public Welfare Riddle. The Commission on Governmental Efficiency & Economy, Inc. (Baltimore), *Your Tax Dollar,* October 20, 1940. 5 pp.

Salaries

City Salaries and the Budget. The Commission on Governmental Efficiency & Economy, Inc. (Baltimore), *Your Tax Dollar,* November 7, 1940. 8 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Cost of Government in Canada—Public Revenue, Expenditure, and Debt—Federal, Provincial, and Municipal, 1928, 1930, and 1938. Citizens' Research Institute of Canada, *Canadian Taxation,* October 22, 1940. 4 pp.

Industries Won't Come Without Tax Inducements. Des Moines Bureau of Municipal Research, *Subscribers' Bulletin, No. 93,* November 8, 1940.

(Continued from Page 769)

will supersede the statutory commission which is now administering the balance of the merit system left by the 1939 act. Administration will be vested in a state personnel director selected by the commission after open competitive examination.

The legislature is directed to appropriate for each fiscal year a sum of not less than 1 per cent of the payroll of the state service for the preceding fiscal year (about $250,000). Finally, the amendment contains provision by which violation of any of its provisions may be restrained or observance compelled by injunctive or mandamus proceedings.

While the amendment allows administrative flexibility, it is designed through its self-executing provisions to prevent anything like a repetition of the legislative action of 1939. Governor-elect Murray D. Van Wagoner has given public assurances of his intention to appoint a high-grade, sympathetic commission. Although the opposition is not as yet resigned and may seek to contest this modification of the constitution before the Supreme Court of Michigan on a variety of procedural grounds, the amendment by its own stipulation automatically takes effect on January 1, 1941. The amendment further provides that after August 1, 1941, no payment for personal services shall be made or authorized until its provisions have been complied with in every particular.

ARTHUR W. BROMAGE
University of Michigan

Nonpartisan Court Plan Wins in Missouri

The Missouri nonpartisan court plan[1] received a majority of something over 85,000 votes in its favor. This proposition to take judges out of state politics was generally considered the most important change in the Missouri constitution proposed at the November 5 election. From the earliest tallies it took a comfortable margin.

Credit for the passage of the amendment is due to the Missouri Institute for Administration of Justice, made up of members of the bar and interested laymen. Committees were set up in more than one hundred counties and the public was educated to the advantages of the proposition. The vote speaks for the thoroughness of the job.

JOHN A. PERKINS
University of Michigan

Park Authority for Metropolitan Detroit

A new park authority for the Detroit metropolitan area will soon be established as a result of a favorable referendum vote on November 5. Named the Huron-Clinton Metropolitan Authority, the new agency will be empowered to develop and maintain parks, connecting drives, and limited access highways in five counties in the Detroit region.

Control is to be vested in a board of seven commissioners, one chosen by the board of supervisors of each county, and two appointed by the governor. Commissioners selected by the counties will serve for six-year overlapping terms.

The authority may levy a property tax of not more than one-quarter mill per dollar. It may finance the purchase and construction of revenue-producing recreational facilities by issuing self-liquidating bonds.

LAURENCE MICHELMORE
Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research

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[1] See Professor Perkins' article in the November NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, p. 741.

Charter Change Obstacles Remain in Minnesota

Amendments to city charters (home rule) in Minnesota require publication in three different papers for thirty days previous to election. This is unduly expensive, and unnecessary; it is also impractical because there is only one city in the state which actually has three daily papers!

A proposed constitutional amendment, submitted to the voters on November 5, would have changed this requirement to publication in one paper, once each week for four issues previous to election. Civic clubs, Leagues of Women Voters, the State League of Municipalities, and similar groups endorsed the amendment and put on educational campaigns for it.

The vote was 635,815 for and 287,286 against but the amendment was defeated because the law requires a majority of all votes cast in the election to adopt amendments. There were some 300,000 voters who did not vote on the amendment and these were enough to defeat it although those who did express an opinion on the amendment voted more than two to one for it.

In the two cities of the state that use voting machines only 26 per cent of the voters acted on the amendment but in the rest of the state 71 per cent voted on it.

Rudolph Lee

Minneapolis Civic Council

Tennessee Refuses Constitutional Amendments

Two constitutional amendments, one extending the term of the governor from two to four years and the other raising the pay of legislators from $4 to $10 per diem, were passed upon by the Tennessee electorate at the general election of November 5. Neither was adopted although an overwhelming majority of the citizens who expressed an opinion on them favored their passage. The two amendments were initiated in 1937 and received the necessary two-thirds favorable vote of the 1939 General Assembly. In the election just held the favorable vote for the amendments was considerably less than a majority of the total vote cast for state representatives, as required for passage by the state constitution. If all the citizens who voted for representatives had expressed an opinion on the two amendments they undoubtedly would have been approved, since there was no particular opposition.

No changes through amendment have been made in the Tennessee constitution since its adoption in 1870, although on four other occasions proposed amendments have been referred to the people. The legislature may also at any time submit to the people the question of calling a convention to alter, reform, or abolish the constitution, and has done so on eight different occasions since 1870. In every instance a majority of the electorate voted against calling the convention.

M. H. Satterfield

Tennessee Valley Authority

Council Manager Plan News

In Massachusetts, on election day (November 5), **Cambridge** adopted Plan E—council-manager with proportional representation—by a large majority, 25,875 to 18,323.[1]

Plan E failed of adoption, however, in three cities—**Qunicy**, 19,410 to 11,039; **Chicopee**, 7,985 to 6,793; and **North Adams**, 5,538 to 2,807. In **Haverhill** Plan D—council-manager without P. R. —won by the close vote of 8,207 to 8,181, with a recount probable.

Traverse City, Michigan, adopted a

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[1] See also pages 820 and 830.

manager charter at the November election by 302 votes.

At a meeting of the Connecticut Federation of Taxpayers' Associations, held on October 26, a committee of five was appointed to draft a law making it easier for **Connecticut** towns and cities to adopt a manager type of government.

In New York at the November election **Schenectady** retained its manager charter 15,530 to 13,561. **Onondaga County,** containing the city of Syracuse, rejected a proposed manager charter by 27,803 to 13,239. **New Rochelle** defeated a proposal to return to the nonpartisan ballot for city elections.

The **Poughkeepsie, New York,** Taxpayers' Association is urging a change in the form of that city's government, and charges unnecessary delays in inauguration of the city administration's charter study movement, authorized in November 1939. The association proposes two plans for consideration, one consisting of a council of five, elected at large (to replace an existing board of seventeen aldermen), which would choose one of its number as mayor who would appoint department heads; there would be a separately elected comptroller and school board. The other plan would have a city manager, appointed by the council to take charge of administrative departments, but would otherwise be similar to the first-mentioned plan.

In the borough of **Fort Lee, New Jersey,** a newly formed taxpayers' group is reported to be advocating a referendum on manager government.

In **Hackensack** and **Teaneck,** manager municipalities in New Jersey, referenda were successful recommending that the legislature adopt amendments to the municipal manager act to increase from 25,000 to 40,000 the population limit at which councils are increased from five to seven members with higher salaries.

The **Wilmington, North Carolina,** *Star News* is urging as the first item of its program consolidated city-county government under council-manager administration. While the consolidation feature involves constitutional difficulties, the *Star News* states that a change from the present commission government in the city to the manager form could be accomplished by Wilmington within a year.

In **Raleigh, North Carolina,** many voting irregularities are being unearthed in connection with the defeat of the council manager plan on October 1.

The **Waukesha, Wisconsin,** Taxpayers' Council has appointed a committee to study city manager government with the purpose of bringing this subject before the voters in the spring election.

Mankato, Minnesota, is to vote on a new manager charter January 6, 1941.

A citizens' committee was recently organized in **Little Rock, Arkansas,** to foster a movement to secure the manager form of city government for that city, and to conduct a campaign in connection with the election of a charter committee by the people at the special November 26 election.

Voters of **Abilene, Texas,** are to decide on December 10 whether that city will have a city manager form of government. A majority of the members of the city commission have indicated support of the idea, but Mayor W. W. Hair is opposed. Eight charter amendments will be submitted, including one to make the police chief appointive.

Denial by the superior court on October 18, upon the city attorney's demurrer, of a writ of mandate to compel **Santa Monica, California,** to proceed with an election on the city manager form of government, was thought by manager plan advocates to call for an appeal to the supreme court to obviate a wait of two years before new petitions could be filed. The petitions and charter amendment were alleged to contain errors.

The city commission of **San Antonio, Texas,** voted unanimously on October 24 to submit charter amendments, providing for a city manager and other changes, to popular vote on December 17. One commissioner, however, announced his opposition to the manager plan, and others indicated disapproval of other amendments. Mayor Maury Maverick reiterated his support of the manager plan and the disadvantages of the existing plan of centering administrative and other responsibilities on an elected mayor. "San Antonio has a mayor's complex, hard on the city and hard on the mayor," he said. An organized opposition to the manager plan was indicated by the newspapers as in process of formation in the city.

Providence's New Council

The city council elected on November 5 in Providence, Rhode Island, under its new charter, is not only different in size, being half as large as formerly and composed of one house rather than two, but has responsibility for bringing about the improvement in government which was the purpose of charter revision. According to the Providence Governmental Research Bureau, important foundation stones for better administration are enactment of a civil service ordinance and the setting up of rules and regulations to govern the purchasing department—duties specifically delegated to council by the new charter.

Congress Passes Civil Service Bill

The Ramspeck bill, to extend the merit system to 150,000 employees of government agencies, was adopted by the Senate and House of Representatives on November 19. It is part of President Roosevelt's reorganization plan. Opposition was largely from representatives of states that have not had as many federal jobs, pro rata, as other states, and also from some of the minority party who contended that civil service status was being given to unqualified employees. Another objection was to a provision permitting the Civil Service Commission, by regulation, to substitute fingerprints for photographs, for identification purposes.

Aid for Civil Service in New York Cities

The New York State Civil Service Commission has established a municipal civil service bureau, to aid municipalities in the technical functions of personnel work, as authorized by the state legislature last spring. It will aid local civil service commissions, on request, in classification and examination work and other administrative and legal problems at cost.

Vermont Regional Meetings Successful

The six regional conferences of Vermont town officers in September and October were attended by more than 700 individuals, representing 163 of the 238 towns in Vermont; stated otherwise, 70 per cent of the towns had one or more officers attending the meetings. The committee on local finances and affairs of the state chamber of commerce which, with state officials, farm bureaus, and the agricultural extension service, sponsored the conferences, considers that the excellent attendance and the ready participation of town officers in the discussions indicate that these officials are much interested in improving town government in their communities. Nearly all in attendance desired to make the conferences an annual affair.

1941 Training Schools for New York Planners

Two regional training schools for planning boards and zoning boards of appeals and their employees will be held early next year by the Municipal Training Institute of New York State. The central theme will be land use. Three-day sessions are expected to be held in Rochester late in January and in New York City early in February.

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

San Mateo County Votes for Merit System

Defeats Proposal Making Manager Appointive

After much controversy and a close popular vote on a proposed charter amendment, the board of supervisors of San Mateo County, California, now is empowered to establish the merit system for its employees. A committee appointed by the county manager had wished to establish the merit system directly by charter amendment, but the board of supervisors refused to place this proposition on the ballot stating that it was too long and too inflexible.

An important factor contributing to the adoption of the amendment was the fact that the State Welfare Board was preparing to place all non-merit county welfare workers into a state merit system in order to retain federal aid. Thus the fear of losing local control over welfare workers stimulated many to support the proposal. This narrow purpose is demonstrated by the fact that the board of supervisors promised not to enact a civil service ordinance for other county employees until after full consultation with all interested parties.

A proposal to change the office of county executive back to an appointive basis was defeated decisively. When the office was created in 1932 it was made appointive, but at a special election several years ago it was made elective. Two other proposed amendments also relating to the manager system were defeated by large margins. One provided for temporary appointment of a manager in emergencies, and the other attempted to clarify the manager's authority over payment of claims.

California Grand Jury Recommends County Manager

The grand jury of Ventura County, California, in its recent annual report recommends that the county adopt the manager form of government. The report states, "Without casting aspersions at our present governing officers we are of the opinion that with a county manager in control great savings can be effected, and we beg permission to call attention to the difference in the lower cost and efficiency of operation of the city of Ventura under charter form, as compared with Oxnard, Santa Paula, Fillmore, or many places outside of the county that are not using the charter form of government." The report disclosed that the manager plan would result in "putting under the management of one department many branches of the present setup that are individual and in some instances a duplication of effort." The grand jury recommended that the taxpayers of Ventura be informed regarding the merits of manager government and "that such steps as are necessary be taken to put the question before them to express their opinions."

Onondaga County, New York, Defeats Manager Proposal

Once more Onondaga County, New York, has failed in its attempt to improve its structure of government. The voters of the county in the general election last month rejected a manager plan that had been proposed by a special charter commission appointed by the board of supervisors.[1]

In 1939 the voters defeated a previous county manager proposal that would have been much more sweeping in its effects. The earlier plan had encountered strong opposition because it would have reduced the membership of the board of supervisors by nearly three-fourths, and because it would have provided for the election of supervisors by proportional representation. Although the charter was rejected, the campaign served to arouse the previously dormant interest in county reorganization.

During the ensuing months sufficient public pressure was exerted to induce the board of supervisors to draft a second manager charter. This plan, however, consisted largely in the establishment of the office of manager without vesting any genuine administrative or budgetary control in the office. Since this plan was not one of the forms permitted under the New York optional county government law, its adoption required a special enactment by the state legislature. Such legislation was duly passed, but the bill was subsequently vetoed by Governor Lehman. Various civic groups in Onondaga County, including the League of Women Voters, had petitioned the Governor to veto the bill, chiefly because of its unsound budgetary provisions. The veto message not only criticized the proposed plan as being inadequate but emphasized the manifest need for reorganization in county government throughout the state. The governor's message produced many repercussions in Onondaga County, but its most obvious effect was to stimulate still further a critical public interest in county reorganization.

Finally, in April 1940, the board of supervisors appointed a bipartisan county charter commission. The commission was instructed to investigate possibilities for change and improvement, and to submit a report within three months. The commission's membership included nine persons, among them the president of the League of Women Voters and prominent business men and lawyers of the county and of the city of Syracuse.

In submitting its recommendations the charter commission reported that it had "decided against any attempt at an intricate or radical revision in the county's political and governmental system," due in part to the absence of a "concerted public demand for sweeping changes," particularly in the rural areas of the county outside the city of Syracuse. The commission made no attempt to draft a plan of its own, recommending instead an optional county manager system permitted by state law under the Buckley act of 1937.[2] This plan, reported the charter commission, represented a "middle course" between the existing organization of the county government and the more thoroughgoing change rejected by the voters the previous year. For this reason it hoped that the plan would be received favorably by the electorate of the county.

MARGUERITE J. FISHER
Syracuse University

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[1] Past developments were reported in NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, Vol. XXVIII (1939), pp. 551f., 671f., 740, 748, 877, 887; Vol. XXIX (1940), pp. 209, 334, 621f, 755.

[2] Chapter 863, Laws of 1937.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

Roundup—

Local civic organizations, distressed to discover how little is actually known about their programs and policies by citizens of their own communities, are always on the lookout for new ways and means of bringing their work before the public in an understandable form. . . . The **Citizens League of Cleveland** has attacked the problem in what appears to be a highly enlightened manner.

The October 17 issue of *Greater Cleveland* contains a transcript of a radio program over a local radio station in which members of the league's board answered questions on all aspects of league organization, source of income, program, and purposes. Since the director of a civic organization is constantly on the firing line, having such a program as this handled by other officers and board members is a particularly good way of getting across the idea that the organization is a community-wide one and not just a one-man show.

The **Seattle Municipal League** has conceived more than a few ingenious ideas for increasing its membership. . . . On October 29 it staged a "Membership Day." The league's membership committee met at breakfast, devoted the day to membership efforts, and met again that evening to report results at the league dinner.

In a strenuous "get-out-the-vote" campaign the **Minneapolis Civic Council** issued a complete voters' directory for the November election and offered speakers who would appear before any local organization to talk on "Civic Responsibility and the Importance of Voting" at no cost to the organization. . . . The directory, similar to others in lay-out and content, was enlivened by the appearance at the bottom of each page of the phrase, "Vote—Thank God You Can!"

Over a year ago representatives of the **League of Wisconsin Municipalities,** real estate groups, and numerous taxpayers in Wisconsin asked the **Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance** to make an analysis of the Iowa homestead credit plan. In the October 1 issue of *The Wisconsin Taxpayer* this analysis is published. No recommendations are included, just a description and explanation.

Add to the schools for voters one held at Nashua, New Hampshire, in October. Sponsored by the **Business and Professional Women's Club** in cooperation with the **League of Women Voters, Young Business Men's Club,** and the **Ayuda Club,** it proved so successful that plans are already being made for similar schools to be held before state and city elections. Lecturers were provided by the Department of Government of the University of New Hampshire.

Ruth M. Williams

Civic Revolution in Cambridge

The city of Cambridge has just experienced one of the most remarkable civic revolutions in Massachusetts history. By a margin of 25,875 votes to 18,323 an independent citizens' committee led by Dean James M. Landis of the Harvard Law School overcame, on November 5, an entrenched political opposition to adopt an optional city charter ("Plan E") based on the city manager plan with proportional representation.

Early this year the volunteer workers, active when the same plan lost by a narrow margin two years ago, were again stirred to undertake solicitation of signatures on new Plan E petitions. Working out of temporary headquarters and with the help of a specially prepared printed folder, the signatures soon began to roll in. The educational work of two years ago made the job of obtaining signatures much easier than on the previous occasion when citizens knew so little of what Plan E meant. In early May 9,078 signatures were filed, almost twice as many as required. The Plan E statute stipulates that in order to have the question placed on the ballot 10 per cent of the voters at the last state election must so petition—only 5,285 were therefore needed.

During the summer months many of our workers left town; hence campaign efforts were largely devoted to making plans and preparing a new edition of the Campaign Manual, which again played a very important part in various aspects of the campaign.

Once again ward and precinct committees were set up working out of a permanent headquarters under the extremely able leadership of Mrs. Brenton K. Fisk. In addition a group of volunteer workers undertook the addressing of 30,000 large blank postcards. These cards were then printed with red and blue ink and mailed at a penny each to every voting family on the Friday before election.

Pulling Doorbells

Volunteer Plan E workers in increasing numbers undertook persistent educational work with voters in their homes. Great effort was made through much doorbell ringing and pavement pounding in each of the eleven wards of Cambridge.

Accompanying this effort was that of a speakers' committee which searched out and trained talent for explaining Plan E to groups of every conceivable variety. A special subcommittee undertook the task of finding groups and arranging speeches. For distribution at such meetings and also in the house-to-house canvass a new attractive folder was printed in large quantities.

The publicity committee used every opportunity to stimulate favorable publicity. As a result strong favorable editorials appeared in the *Boston Transcript, Herald, Christian Science Monitor,* and morning and evening editions of the *Globe*; and Robert L. Norton, a key political writer with the *Boston Post,* ran an extended Sunday story in that important paper. Locally the *Cambridge Chronicle-Sun* was of great importance by reason of its complete coverage of all Plan E news developments and its powerful editorials.

The Cambridge League of Women Voters and numerous other local groups worked long and earnestly in the charter's behalf.

A pleasant development was an unexpected offer by the apartment house owners to insert "pink slips" with the monthly rent bills delivered to tenants toward the end of October. This slip suggested a Yes vote on the Plan E question on the grounds that continuation of present conditions would lead to higher rents.

Paid Publicity

Throughout the period publicity efforts had been hampered by the attention naturally being given to the war and to the presidential election. Hence, as the campaign entered its final two or three weeks, available funds that had been raised by a finance committee were used for paid publicity. Large two-color posters were used on the front of trolley cars in Cambridge and on the platforms of subway stations in Cambridge. A number of half-page advertisements were inserted in the weekly edition of the *Cambridge Chronicle-Sun* and in the Cambridge edition of the *Boston American.* On election day the Plan E committee received as a donation the use of nine new trucks without chassis. These trucks were equipped with large colored signs twelve feet long and six feet high urging citizens to "Vote Yes on Plan E." A hostile police department made some difficulties because of an old and forgotten ordinance, but able legal counsel prevented that effort from going very far. On election day workers outside polling places were provided with small cards which urged the voters to vote with us.

During the last few weeks of the campaign several radio broadcasts of fifteen minutes each were also purchased. One experiment in this direction which worked out very well was a radio quiz during which an interlocutor asked questions of three members of the Plan E committee from a prepared manuscript, although a certain amount of extemporaneous talk helped to keep the discussion fresh and lively.

Now that Plan E has been won there comes the even greater task of planning for the future. As I write very little has been done in this direction because most of the leaders in the fight are resting up. While details may vary there can be little question that future efforts must take care of three problems: (1) a watch over city hall during the next twelve months to prevent the politicians from running away with the city hall; (2) scrutiny of legal problems so as to eliminate possible conflicts between special statutes affecting Cambridge and the more general provisions of the Plan E law; (3) an educational campaign to stress the nature and use of P.R. ballots and the results to be expected from the count. In the latter connection it would be of the greatest help if some organization such as the National Municipal League prepared a 5-10 minute talkie which might be inserted from time to time during the programs of the local movie houses. I know of no better way in which a large number of people can be reached.[1]

H. C. LOEFFLER, *Secretary*
Boston Municipal Research Bureau

Citizens Councils for Civic Defense

Most of us would agree with the significant clause of a resolution passed at a meeting of the Department of Adult Education of the National Education Association held at Madison, Wisconsin, in July:

> In proposals for defense against invasion from without and fifth columnists from within, provision must be made for uniting our people and regenerating in them a deep and abiding faith in democracy and a sensitive awareness of the benefits and achievements of a government by consent of the governed.

But there is too little agreement on how to reach these objectives. We shall not fulfill them as best we might if we limit ourselves chiefly to calling attention to the benefits and achievements of the national government.

We must also create a sensitive awareness of the benefits and achievements of those local levels of government which are the more immediate concern of this REVIEW and its readers.

In fact, the process of learning the benefits of democratic government as a general method might with much profit begin at home at the non-governmental level. For the democratic method cannot be learned in the full operational sense of that word unless one can actually participate in a deliberating group, help arrive at a group decision, and then directly experience the effect of such a decision.

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[1] Others aspects of the Cambridge victory are discussed in the P.R. department on page 830.

Participants in the town meetings of New England can have this experience in the operation of their local governments. But for others it usually must come through functioning as a member of a voluntary group interested in government but not an official part of it.

Civic Groups for Training

Almost any such group may serve as a training ground in which to learn the invaluable art of direct participation in democracy, provided the group can be really said to use the democratic process.

The citizens council, long advocated by the National Municipal League, can justly claim to be an excellent training group for learning that sensitivity to the values and benefits of the democratic process and democratic government which the Department of Adult Education of the National Education Association correctly maintains is fundamental for civic defense.

In small cities membership in such citizens councils is open to all civic-minded persons; in larger cities the council is a representative body composed of delegates from all civic groups each with a particular interest which must be adjusted to other civic interests. In both cases the learning process for those who participate is inherent in the work of their council.

Heretofore, we have thought of citizens councils chiefly in terms of their effect on the actual operation of local government. Now it is worthwhile to stress the values the councils have for those who belong to them because of the training they give in democratic participation.

A citizens council as a citizen training ground in the democratic process bears a special relation to another invaluable method of giving such training. That other method is student participation in school government. This latter method is not yet in use in all schools, not even all high schools. Consequently, for many adults the citizens council is an excellent way of getting, after school is passed, the training in the democratic process by which all properly organized schools are now giving students some participation in directing their own group activities.

The citizens council also has value for those who have had the benefit of student participation in school government. All skills grow rusty from disuse and between the time of leaving school and the "first vote" there is a period which should be bridged over so that the skill can be kept sharp. Clubs for young people in connection with religious institutions have an enormous value in this regard and every citizens council should make special efforts to foster them and to aid the young people in them to expand their interests until the operation of the government of the city in which they live becomes so vital that they voluntarily ask to join the citizens council or one of its constituent groups. In fact, there is no reason why some of these young groups should not be represented in the council.

The National Municipal League will continue to help citizen councils work out ways in which this training in the democratic method can be extended to all who wish to learn it or keep it alive. Thus it will continue to implement the excellent suggestion in the resolution adopted by the N.E.A.'s Department of Adult Education.

W. J. M.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Unique Debt Schedule Set Up by South Bend

Debt charges of county, city, township and schools equalized under new plan.

When the city of South Bend, Indiana, recently had occasion to issue a large amount of bonds—more than the city's existing bonded indebtedness—officials worked out a unique schedule of bond principal maturities. Their goal was to equalize the total debt charges of all indebted governmental units levying taxes on property within the borders of South Bend. They attempted to provide, for the next few years, an even level of combined principal and interest charges of five overlapping governmental units—city, South Bend school city, Park District, Portage Township, and St. Joseph County.

Officials first projected the existing annual principal and interest requirements of the five units through to their final maturity. From this they computed the combined tax rate needed each year to meet debt service of all units in full from taxation. Then came the problem of fitting in the tax requirements of the city's large new issue in order to avoid extreme fluctuations in the existing tax charge for "over-all" debt payment.

In doing this two important demands had to be met: first, the new liability was to be liquidated in the shortest possible time; second, this was to be done with the least possible burden to the taxpaying public during the period of liquidation.

In view of the size of the new bond issue, the problem presented certain difficulties. The city proposed to issue $1,650,000 new bonds. This more than doubled the city's existing tax-supported indebtedness. It added nearly one-third to the combined tax-supported debt of all governmental units levying taxes in South Bend.

Fortunately, the existing schedule of over-all debt service permitted a steadily decreasing tax levy for the principal and interest payments in the years 1941 through 1947. Maturities of the city's new bond issue were therefore fitted into the existing schedule in such a way as to produce an even level of over-all tax requirements in 1941 through 1946 with a sharply decreased levy thereafter.

Thus, over the next six years an even tax rate of $6.60 per $1,000 of assessed valuation will service all general bond requirements payable in this period. This same tax rate is in effect in 1940 to cover over-all debt service. Thus no increase in the over-all tax rate will be necessary in subsequent years, except as the assessed valuation fluctuates, despite the city's large addition to its tax-supported debt.

Ordinarily, one serious defect in such a plan would be the city's inability to control the debt-incurring policies of the other over-lapping units. This problem has already arisen in a minor way in South Bend because St. Joseph County recently issued a relatively small amount of bonds, thus increasing the debt service tax rates slightly.

The possibility of an upset in the even level of tax requirements has been minimized as much as possible by an attempt to coördinate planning in the issuance of new bonds. According to City Comptroller Harry S. Driggs, "the Mayor [Jesse I. Pavey] met with the boards of the various taxing units and explained to them the civil city's predicament and was assured that unless unforeseen events came about, there would be no need for bond issues during the years this particular issue [the city's new $1,650,000 of bonds] covers. All of these groups recognize the burden as a burden of the city of South Bend, and have shown a very decided willingness to maintain the constant levy for debt purposes."

Substantial credit for the plan goes to a group of citizens of South Bend selected by Mayor Pavey to act as financial advisers. The actual mechanics of the program were worked out by City Comptroller Driggs.

This is probably the first occasion in the history of American municipal finance that officials of a major city have attempted to "equalize" the tax requirements for debt payment in a given area, taking into account the overlapping debts of every local governmental unit having power to levy taxes in the area.

Robert A. Hall

New York City

Big Publicly-Financed Toll Bridge Collapses

The collapse of the Tacoma Narrows Bridge in a thirty-mile wind early in November provided many readers with more than an interesting story and dramatic pictures in the Sunday supplements. It was also the first failure of a major structure erected in the United States by a public authority through the sale of revenue bonds.

The bridge, opened for traffic on July 4, had in its slightly more than four months of operation, far exceeded its sponsor's expectations in so far as traffic and revenues were concerned.

The bridge was erected at a cost of $6,582,000 by the Washington State Toll Bridge Authority, a public corporation created under Washington laws which had also recently completed the Lake Washington Bridge at Seattle. A PWA grant of $2,832,000 was secured to defray part of the cost, and the remaining $3,750,000 was raised by the sale of revenue bonds to the RFC. The bonds were repayable solely from revenues derived from bridge tolls and charges, adequately safeguarded by provisions controlling the establishment of debt service funds, etc. Little more than a week before the span collapsed, the $3,750,000 Narrows Bridge revenue bonds had been resold to the public by the RFC, half at 3 per cent and half at 3¼ per cent interest, and had been distributed at retail by New York and west coast investment houses.

It appears unlikely, however, that holders of the bonds will suffer any loss. The bridge was insured in the amount of $5,200,000, the insurance distributed among some twenty underwriters, and had in addition use and occupancy insurance for twelve months in an amount double the amount of a year's bond interest accruals. Thus both the rebuilding of the bridge and the meeting of debt service charges are provided for in the interim.

Governor C. D. Martin, who is chairman of the authority, is quoted as stating that the bridge will be rebuilt immediately. Work has already started according to Tacoma advices, the first step being the removal of the roadways on the approaches in order to lighten the strain on the cables and allow the two towers to return to position.

While collapse of the bridge has naturally raised a hornets' nest of argument in engineering circles, it is notable that the design and construction specifications were approved by outstanding bridge engineers and consultants of the nation, including those of the PWA and the RFC. Several official investigations have already been launched, and despite the fact that some reputations may suffer, the findings should prove invaluable from an engineering standpoint in adding to the existing relatively elementary knowledge of the behavior of large suspension bridges.

Not the least important aspect of the accident is the manner in which it has disrupted transportation between Tacoma and the peninsula across the Narrows. Bremerton, seat of a navy yard and numerous manufacturing plants working on defense contracts, was connected to Tacoma by the bridge. Ferries which previously transported workers and materials across the Narrows went out of operation when the bridge was opened, and when remobilized after the accident proved sadly insufficient to meet the need since the greater convenience of the bridge had in a few brief months greatly augmented traffic. Tacomans as well as holders of the bridge bonds will thus be anxious to see their span rebuilt, with the cashiers' machines once more ringing in the revenues of an enterprise which was demonstrating when it collapsed both its usefulness and ability to pay its own way.

Washington Voters Approve Pensions and Tax Limits

Confronted by six proposed changes in state law, carried on the general election ballot November 5, voters of the state of Washington approved three, two of which in many respects nullified each other. Referendum No. 5, placed on the ballot by the state legislature after identical measures had been approved by initiative four times since 1932, re-enacts a so-called 40-mill limitation on property taxes. The measure carried by an overwhelming majority.

Initiative measure No. 141, however, providing greatly increased benefits to the state's senior citizens, also was approved by an almost identical majority, and will result in substantial increases in other types of taxation. Briefly, the pension measure provides a full $40 monthly to citizens over sixty-five, in place of the present average of $22.50; all necessary medical and dental care by physicians of the applicant's own choosing; artificial teeth, hearing aids, etc., also without cost to the applicant; and funeral benefits of $100.

It is expected that the new pension law will bring benefits to 80,000 of the state's aged, while the present law gives pensions to approximately half that number. The increase results from provisions in the law which allow applicants otherwise eligible to own their homes, automobiles, insurance policies up to $500 cash value, and personal property up to $200 in value, and also extends old-age benefits to persons otherwise eligible who raise their own food-stuffs, livestock, dairy products, fuel, etc.

Increased costs of the new pension program to the state are estimated at from $10,000,000 to $40,000,000 annually, and the initiative included no plans for raising these funds, except to direct that the state legislature shall levy such additional taxes and appropriate such additional funds from the general fund as may be necessary.

Proponents of the bill since the election have proposed ten new taxes to finance the pension program, including a 1 per cent tax on stocks, bonds, and promissory notes; from 1 to 10 per cent taxes on gifts depending on value, a 1 per cent tax on mortgages, a 10 per cent tax on liquor, 2 per cent sales tax on gasoline, and millage taxes on gross rentals and capital stock of state and national banks. A graduated net income tax, now prohibited in the state constitution, is also advocated by the sponsors.

The third proposal carried in the election was an amendment to the state constitution providing for the removal of double liability from state bank stock.

The bitterly fought Initiative No. 139 was decisively defeated. This measure would have required approval of the voters in any public utility district before the district could assume major financial obligations.

Also defeated were two constitutional amendments, one of which provided that the legislature or the people by initiative could raise the salaries of constitutional officers of the state, including state legislators. The other, which would have removed the two-term limitation on county officials, also was voted down, despite a huge majority vote cast for a third term for President Roosevelt.

Initiative No. 145, relating to reorganization of the state government, failed to secure sufficient signatures to place it on the ballot.

Ewen C. Dingwall
Municipal League of Seattle

Winston-Salem Collects on Tax-Delinquent Land

By placing in operation a new plan for disposal of tax-foreclosed properties, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, has recently collected $76,952 in a sale of 169 such properties, says the Municipal Finance Officers' Association of the United States and Canada.

The city has issued building permits amounting to $125,840 for improvements to the properties and it is estimated that income from taxes will amount to $3,000.

In June of 1939 a new real estate committee was appointed which worked out a land disposal plan to be applied to the two thousand parcels of tax-foreclosed land which the city had on its hands. The plan, described below, was put into effect last September.

The city keeps a duplicate set of tax maps, which are used as city property maps, on which are recorded in color all city-owned property. When the city takes over tax-foreclosed property, the building inspector determines whether the building should be demolished or what repairs are needed. Each lot is checked also to see if it may be needed in the future for public improvement projects.

All city-owned property not wanted for governmental purposes is listed for sale with the real estate board of Winston-Salem, which receives established rates for disposing of the land. An independent appraisal committee is appointed and paid a nominal fee for each parcel appraised.

Each lot is cleaned, surveyed, and marked off; attractive financial terms are offered to purchasers. Before any property is sold, however, the former owner is given an opportunity to repossess it through payment of back taxes.

When properties are ready to be sold, descriptions are distributed to the city's realtors. When an offer for a piece of property is received, the property is placed on auction, and if no better bid is made it goes to the original bidder.

In cases where land titles may be considered defective because the former owner could not be served legal notice of foreclosure, the lots when sold are registered under the "Torrens system" by which the title is guaranteed by the state.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

New York Repulses Attack on P. R.[1]

Cambridge adopts Plan E; other attempts fail.

Consistency is said to be a virtue of fools and kings. On November 5, 1940, the ordinary citizen was king, and he showed that he was in more ways than one. One way in which he showed it in New York City was particularly pleasing to most workers for good municipal government in this country. I refer to the result of the referendum on the abolition of the P.R. system of voting for the election of the New York City council. The voters decided 782,768 to 565,879 to keep P.R.

The New York City Democratic machine leaders, like the Bourbons of old, never learn and never forget. Beaten in the courts twice in 1936 and twice more in 1937, and beaten at the polls on the adoption of P.R. in 1936 and its retention in 1938,[2] they tried again in 1940 to get rid of the election system which they rightly consider the greatest threat to the continuation, or better the revival, of their old-time power of all the many advances in the municipal government of New York City since 1933.

They were enabled to raise the question once more because of a provision in the New York City charter requiring a referendum vote at a general election upon any question supported by a petition of at least 50,000 voters.

It was not until about August 1 that news of the new challenge leaked out to the general public. Then there was but little publicity about the circulation of the petition, but on September 5 the Democratic organizations, through the president of the Bronx Chamber of Commerce as agent, filed with the proper authorities a petition bearing some 278,000 names. This petition called for the repeal of those sections in the city charter providing for the use of the proportional representation system in electing the city council.

Poor Substitute

They proposed as a substitute the election of one councilman from each of the twenty-three state senatorial districts within the city limits and, because of the very unfair apportionment of senatorial districts between the boroughs, the election of ten additional councilmen, three from the Bronx at large, four from Queens at large, and three from Brooklyn at large. All of these thirty-three councilmen were to be chosen by plurality vote after partisan primaries. Judging from all recent results in these senatorial districts and the boroughs, the Democrats would have been sure of electing all but one of these councilmen—except in the event of political upheaval. That would have meant return with a vengeance to the conditions which characterized the old aldermanic elections.

Within a few days after the filing of the petition it was clear that support and opposition would follow much the same lines as in 1936 and 1938. The *World-Telegram, Herald-Tribune, Times,* and *Post* gave vigorous editorial support to P.R. The *Sun, News,*[3] and *Brooklyn*

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[1] An address delivered at the annual meeting of the Proportional Representation League in connection with the annual National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, Springfield, November 19, 1940.

[2] The vote in 1938 was on a constitutional amendment to ban the use of P.R. anywhere in the state.

[3] The *News* favored the adoption of P.R. but was disappointed with the first

Eagle editorially advocated its repeal, as did the *Bronx Home News* and the *Staten Island Advance.* Other local newspapers, notably the *Long Island Star Journal* and the *Long Island Daily Press,* vigorously supported P.R. Practically all of the civic organizations which had supported it in 1936 and 1938 continued to do so, and they were joined by the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce.

Civic leaders, like Judge Seabury, Thomas D. Thacher, and Charles E. Hughes, Jr., were forthright and effective in their opposition to the repeal, as were Mayor LaGuardia and Council President Newbold Morris.

An Active Campaign

The Citizens' Non-Partisan Committee, which had been organized to conduct the campaign for the anti-Tammany council candidates in 1937 and 1939, took charge of the campaign against the P.R. repeal. The methods which had proven so successful in the preceding four years were followed, although the time for organization was short and the competition of the war and the presidential campaign made it exceptionally difficult to catch public attention.

The Citizens Union furnished quarters and the services of its staff to organize and run the campaign with some additional help. Our valiant old standby, Walter Millard, spent several weeks in the city during October, talking in his usual convincing fashion in favor of P.R., and devoting most of his time during the day to explanatory addresses to public school pupils. Thirty-three free radio periods were obtained and a number of speakers were sent to political meetings. The *Voters' Directory* of the Citizens Union, which has a long-established and powerful influence with many voters, of course strongly supported P.R., as did The Merchants' Association of New York, the Women's City Club, and the League of Women Voters. Both wings of the American Labor party did likewise, and in Manhattan that party distributed about 100,000 cards calling for "No" votes on the referendum. S. Burton Heath of the *World-Telegram,* the publicity man of the earlier P.R. campaigns, continued his effective preparation of material for the press.

A very effective statement was made by six of the nine members of the 1935 charter commission.

The most important piece of campaign literature was the pocket-size leaflet similar to leaflets used in 1936 and 1938. Because of the fact that the Court of Appeals' decision on a proposed county government petition was not handed down until late in October, it was impossible to start distribution of this leaflet until it was known whether or not it would have to contain a statement on the county referendum. When the decision finally did come, the shortness of time raised a difficult problem of distribution; it was handled very effectively, however, through the coöperation of civic organizations, the American Labor party, and the various groups supporting Wendell Willkie for President. A million copies were printed and used.

The results show that the voters of New York City are still in the same independent frame of mind as they were in 1936, when they emphatically followed the advice of the Democratic party leaders as to candidates and emphatically rejected it in regard to the form of their city government. In 1936 they adopted P.R. by a vote of 923,186 to 555,217, carrying all four of the large boroughs by substantial majorities, and losing by a relatively small number of votes in Richmond. In 1940 there was the same

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P.R. election, from which it expected too much, and has remained in opposition ever since.

story, although the majority in favor of P.R. was about 150,000 less, probably because of the smaller interest which could be mustered. It is significant that the vote against the adoption of P.R. in 1936 was 555,217, and the vote in 1940 for its repeal only 565,879. This would seem to be the real numerical strength of the Democratic machine vote in New York City. The result once more indicates that after the voters of an American city have had the privilege of using P.R. they are very unwilling to give it up.

The fact that such a referendum was put on the ballot confirms the continuing hostility of political machines to the system. The result on November 5 insures at least one more P.R. council election in New York City, but, despite the third successive and emphatic defeat of its opponents, it is quite probable that they will make another attempt to abolish the system whenever a favorable opportunity presents itself.

The advocates of P.R. the country over may well take heart in the fact that P.R. has come through the most drastic test to which it has yet been submitted in this country so successfully, that the voters of New York City believe it should be continued.

GEORGE H. MCCAFFREY
Director of Research
Merchants' Association of New York

A Smashing Plan E Victory in Cambridge

Two years ago late passage of an optional Plan E—city manager, proportional representation—law in Massachusetts limited the amount of work which could be done to obtain a new charter for the city of Cambridge. In a brief effort, handicapped by legal obstacles, the fight was lost by 1,767 votes.

This year the story is markedly different. Ample time made possible a more adequate campaign and when the smoke cleared away election night it developed that Plan E had won by 7,552 votes. Experienced old-time observers count this as one of the most remarkable overturns in Massachusetts politics.

And before I tell the why and how of that remarkable result I must pay warm tribute to the leadership of Dean James M. Landis of the Harvard Law School, who again led the fight. Two years ago special assignments from President Roosevelt took him out of town when the going was the roughest and we missed him greatly. This year he was with us from the beginning and devoted all of his spare time to Plan E with the exception of local radio broadcasting as an ardent New Dealer. Incidentally his membership in the Democratic party was no mean advantage in a strongly Democratic city, although the membership of the Plan E committee naturally included many important Republicans in its ranks.

The campaign this year was very thoroughly organized, starting early in the spring.[1] The opposition, however, was quiescent until the last two or three weeks of the campaign, when the Mayor provided the leadership evidently lacking theretofore. It seems that during prior months quiet work with some of the 1938 leaders of the opposition had caused them to lose interest at least to the extent of spending much time and effort.

The Mayor challenged Dean Landis to debate with Associate Professor Hermens of Notre Dame University; but the debate was never organized since the Dean insisted that Plan E be discussed, with the Mayor and Professor Hermens upholding the negative and the Dean and another Plan E proponent the affirmative. A large crowd of possibly a thousand persons attended the mass meeting at which Professor Hermens spoke, but that meeting was not very successful.

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[1] For a description of the conduct of the campaign see page 820.

The spearhead of the opposition was undoubtedly the city employees who, it was reported, were assessed part or all of a day's pay to meet the expenses of the opposition campaign.

The following table contrasts the official election returns in the Plan E campaign of 1938 with the newspaper unofficial figures for 1940:

	1938	1940
Yes	19,955	25,875
No	21,722	18,323
Blank	4,615	7,513
Total	46,292	51,711

The foregoing shows that yes votes increased by more than the increase in the number of ballots cast, while the no vote declined materially, undoubtedly because our propaganda had made inroads into city employees who were worried about payless pay days.

We carried eight of the eleven wards in the city, losing out only in three of the poorer wards which have long been political strongholds of the opposition.

The sweeping nature of the Plan E victory undoubtedly means that the voters were fed up with developments at city hall and were "applying a vacuum cleaner," as a political friend of mine describes it. Beyond question our quiet educational campaign yielded results.

The Plan E type of charter will be given a real try-out in Cambridge. The first balloting under proportional representation will occur next November and the new P.R. city council and school committee will both take office when terms of the present officials expire at the end of 1941. By statute no repeal of Plan E may be attempted until it has been tried out for four years.

H. C. Loeffler
Boston Bureau of Municipal Research

Plan E Loses in Three Other Cities

The vote on the manager plan with P.R. in Chicopee, Massachusetts, was close, 7,985 to 6,793, but the margin was against adoption. Under the leadership of E. A. Roy the local committee put on a campaign which deserved to win. Ten thousand tabloid sheets setting forth the arguments were distributed to every home in the city. A complete plan of newspaper advertising, using the endorsements of fifty local business and labor leaders, was carried through. Numerous radio talks were given. Walter J. Millard, field secretary of the National Municipal League, was brought to the city to speak and to help formulate plans. A series of letters was sent to all city employees to reassure them that the adoption of the plan did not endanger their jobs.

In North Adams there was much less organization and the adverse vote was 5,538 to 2,807. A small committee headed by Ernest Rosasco and the local newspaper, the *Transcript,* with no help from either political party, carried on an inexpensive educational effort against vigorous and well financed opposition from the city administration. In the circumstances the result was not discouraging and there is talk of trying again with better preparation two years hence, when the Cambridge success will answer the argument that North Adams is being made a "guinea pig" for Massachusetts cities.

In Quincy the plan lost decisively for the second time, 19,401 to 11,039. Reasons given were "the opposition of the Republican organization led by Mayor Thomas S. Burgin and the lack of spectacular abuses or dangers as an incentive to voters."[1]

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[1] Report on the Quincy and Cambridge Plan E elections by DeWitt John in the *Christian Science Monitor* for November 6, 1940.

Books in Review

EDITED BY ELSIE S. PARKER

New England Town Meeting—Safeguard of Democracy. By John Gould. Brattleboro, Vermont, Stephen Daye Press, 1940. 61 pp. illus. $1.00.

If the title "town meeting" gives you a twinge of nostalgia for the "good old days of democracy" you can't do better than spend an hour with John Gould's "Yankeefied" little book.

The photographs alone will give you more of the flavor of a New England town meeting than you could get by actually attending some of them, for, as Mr. Gould frankly states, as towns increase in size they sometimes find the system unwieldy. Some have become cities and in some the influx of strangers, without the Yankee tradition, has killed the town meeting institution.

But Mr. Gould hails from Maine where, as in Vermont, town meetings are still town meetings. His book is proof of the jacket blurb which says he is a "local reporter and professor of small-town human nature who has practically lived in that combination of old home week, Socratic dialogue, Anglo-Saxon 'witan', gathering of clansmen, and communion of neighbors who bring their wives and infant babies, their sewing and whittling, and baskets of lunch."

In rich prose and expertly chosen photographs Mr. Gould takes you through town meeting day beginning at 6 A. M. when the Town House steps creak with early comers assembled to elect the moderator.

In pictures you meet the town of Harpswell's selectmen (stress syllables equally, see-lect-men) preparing their annual report, the bible of town affairs.

There's a shot of the pre-meeting cracker-barrel discussion around the stove at the South Harpswell store, one of the Durham Eastern Star women in smiles and aprons ready to put on the town meeting dinner—and dozens of other exceptional shots.

Incidentally you can almost smell that dinner (at noon)—one of the high points of the day. It is always sponsored by some women's group and held near the Town Hall.

Women hold office with increasing commonness. But the old town meeting hasn't been quite the same since the nineteenth amendment. Lilies on the moderator's table and sweet pure air have replaced thick, blue tobacco smoke and sawdust on the floor.

"Before the nineteenth amendment were the horse days, too, and much of the stable came to meeting. Buffalo and bear coats with a rich country tang rolled in at the front door with a buggy whip in one hand. If the day was brisk, squirrel and 'coon skin caps appeared. The crossroads Cicero used language and spoke from the shoulder—and a spade was always a plain, ordinary, well handled spade."

But the town meetings go on—and apparently not so much changed at that where the author comes from.

E. N. T.

Tomorrow's Citizens. A Study and Program for the Improvement of the New Orleans Public Schools. (Summary report on the New Orleans Study and Program of Public Education.) New Orleans, Citizens' Planning Committee for Public Education, 1940. viii, 162 pp. 25 cents, paperbound.

A comprehensive study of the public schools of New Orleans, made possible by the combined support of citizens groups, teachers, parents, and directly implemented by the Bureau of Governmental Research, has resulted in this summary of findings and seven other monographs besides. The survey began in February 1938 and continued over about two years, with reports printed in the spring of 1940. This particular summary is that of the director of studies, Alonzo G. Grace, who took part in the now famous Regents survey of New York State education and who is now Commissioner of Education in Connecticut.

While, of course, the report has special application to New Orleans, it brings out in a practical light some vital principles of public education, besides exploring frankly a question peculiar to the south: the problem of educating large groups of white *and* Negro children in a democratic system.

M. R.

Economic Principles and Problems. (Fourth edition, 2 vols.) By Walter E. Spahr and others. New York City, Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1940. xix, 572, and xviii, 660 pp. $5.00.

This is the fourth edition of a symposium first published in 1932. It is offered as the basis for a college course in economics and, as such, is quite unlike the conventional text on the subject. Instead of one, two, or three authors, twenty-eight writers on economics have participated in producing these two volumes of over 1,200 pages. Professor Spahr of New York University has served in the capacities of both editor and contributor. Among the contributors are such well known names as Sir Norman Angell, E. Dana Durand, S. S. Huebner, Paul Studenski, Willard L. Thorp, and Barbara Wootton.

The introductory chapters provide a background and setting for the later discussion of economic problems. These problems relate to labor, capital, business organization and policy, insurance, marketing, consumption, prices, money and credit, banking, foreign trade, rent, interest, wages, profits, business cycles, trade unionism, social insurance, agricultural production, public utilities, transportation, public credit, economic control, economic planning, and the economics of war.

The new edition contains several important changes. A new chapter on the economics of war by Sir Norman Angell has been added. The chapters on production, capital, trade unionism, and collective bargaining have been rewritten. A chapter on resources, contained in the previous edition, has been dropped and the material on the subject included in the chapter on land. The entire section on value and price has been recast by Professor Bruce W. Knight of Dartmouth College. On the whole, the two volumes have been considerably reduced in length over those of the previous edition. Questions and reference lists are supplied at the end of each chapter. The text, in general, reads well and the method of presentation is calculated to stimulate student interest.

A. E. Buck
Institute of Public Administration

Municipal Index and Atlas: 1940-1941 (Sixteenth Annual Edition). New York City, The American City Magazine Corporation, 1940. 615 pp. $5.00.

This four-and-a-half-pound book is called an annual but should with more propriety be called a perennial. This year its contents are divided into ten major sections. There is a classified list of products and services—of over seven hundred items—ranging from "Accountants and Auditors" to "Zeolite Softeners." In each section are short articles on subjects appropriate to the section, each written by a technical authority. There are nearly four hundred such pieces of writing from "Abandonment of the use of property" to "Zoning."

Hence this volume is an encyclopedia on local government. It should not be in the library but on the desk of every municipal executive and every municipal legislator who takes his job seriously. It should be in the public library of every city of fair size so that citizens can use it to judge whether their own local government is keeping abreast of developments and whether local officials are using all available means to give taxpayers their money's worth, for in it are listed and discussed the apparatus and methods which will achieve those ends.

W. J. M.

Additional Books and Pamphlets Received

Accounting

Governmental Cost Accounting. By Carl W. Tiller. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers' Association of the United States and Canada, 1940. 97 pp. $1.00.

Defense

Administration and Organization in Wartime in the United States. A bibliography. By Dorothy Campbell Culver. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1940. 23 pp. 50 cents.

Civil-Military Relations. Bibliographical notes on administrative problems of civilian mobilization. By Louis Hartz, Charles M. Hardin, William S. McCauley, and George F. Rohrlich. Prepared under the direction of Pendleton Herring for the Committee on Public Administration of the Social Science Research Council. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1940. vi, 77 pp. 75 cents.

Defense Employment and Training for Employment. Washington, D. C., Executive Office of the President, Office of Government Reports, 1940. 23 pp.

If War Comes. Mobilizing Machines and Men. By Percy W. Bidwell. New York City, Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1940. 32 pp. 10 cents.

Elections and Voting

Absentee Voting and Registration. By James K. Pollock. Washington, D. C., American Council on Public Affairs, 1940. 20 pp. 25 cents.

Ballot Behavior. A Study of Presidential Elections. By Louis H. Bean. Washington, D. C., American Council on Public Affairs, 1940. vii, 102 pp. $1.50 clothbound; $1.00 paperbound.

Regulation of Campaign Expenditures. Springfield, Research Department, Illinois Legislative Council, 1940. ii, 26 pp., mimeo.

The Central Count. A brief review of Hamilton County experience at the primary election of May 14, 1940, and an examination of ways in which the count can be expedited and the cost kept down. Cincinnati, Cincinnati Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., 1940. 30 pp. mimeo. $1.00 plus postage.

The Direct Primary Ballot. Springfield, Research Department, Illinois Legislative Council, 1940. i, 15 pp.

The Presidential Vote 1936. Supplementing the Presidential Vote 1896-1932. By Edgar Eugene Robinson. Stanford University, Stanford University Press, 1940. vii, 91 pp. $2.00.

Initiative and Referendum

Direct Government in Michigan. By James K. Pollock. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1940. 20 pp. 10 cents.

Legal Notes on Local Government

THE Section of Municipal Law of the American Bar Association announces that beginning with its October 1940 issue, *Legal Notes on Local Government,* the official publication of the Section, will be published quarterly instead of bimonthly. The subscription price to non-members of the Section will be reduced from $6.00 per annum to $4.00.

Current reprints of important articles will be free to subscribers and members, but a charge of fifty cents each will be made to others. Among recent reprints available are:

THE PROBLEM OF "COVERING IN" INCUMBENTS IN CIVIL SERVICE POSITIONS.....................H. ELIOT KAPLAN

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THE EFFECT OF THE CENSUS UPON THE LEGAL STATUS OF MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS...............*Robert H. Holley*

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JUST PUBLISHED

IN large and small cities, in all sections of the country, municipal officials are asking: How can we arouse citizen interest in government? This report will guide municipal officials in ways and means of improving relations with the public. It suggests in broad outline just what is involved in such relations and illustrates with numerous suggestions specific devices or practices which have been found useful.

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- **Surveying Public Relations**
- **Personnel Practices and Public Relations**
- **Employee Contacts with Citizens**
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